

Macpherson, James

The History Of Great Britain, From The Restoration, To The Accession Of  
The House Of Hannover In Two Volumes

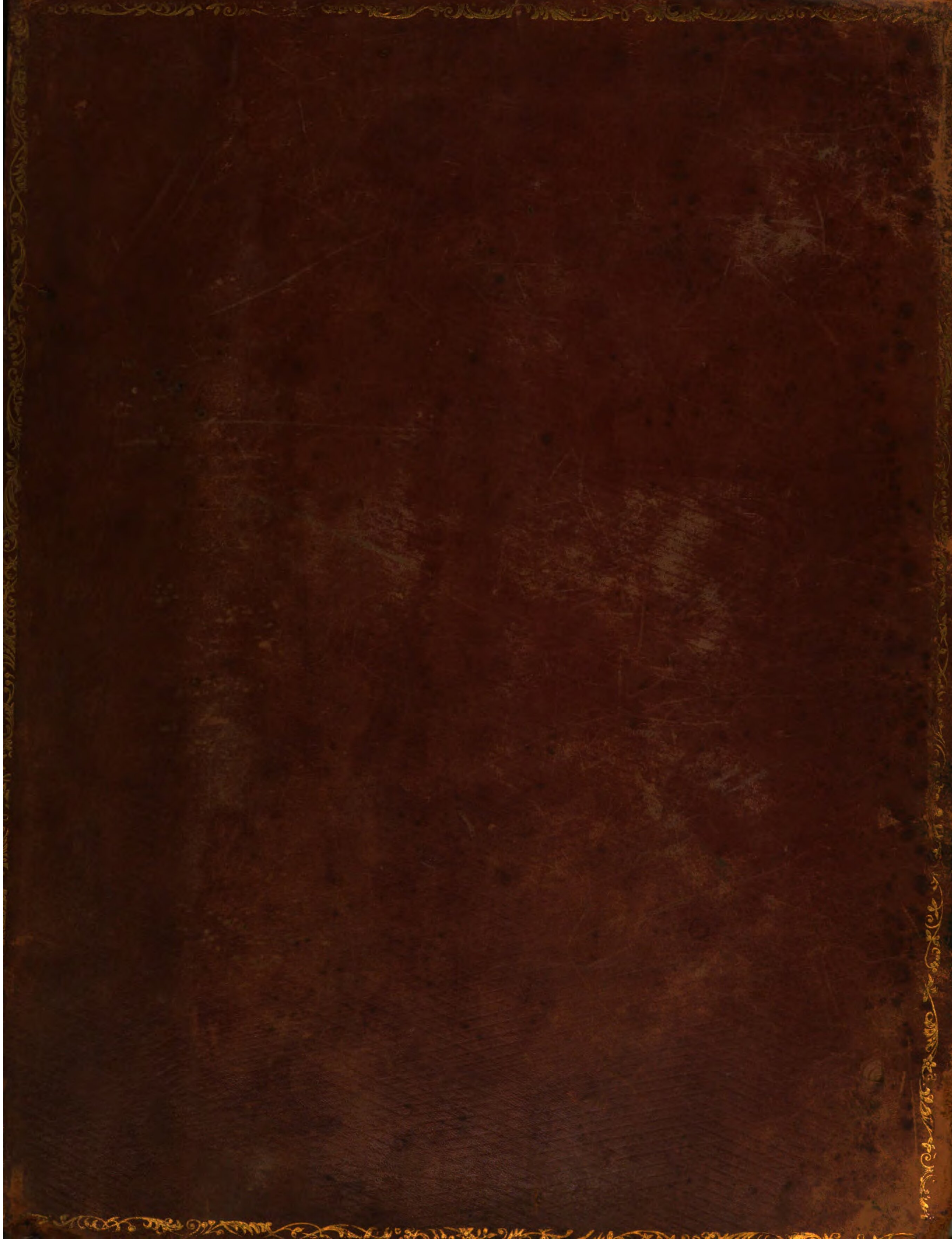
Bd.: 1

London (1776)

4 Brit. 72 x-1

urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10225274-2







Macpherson

4° Brit.

72<sup>x</sup>(1



<36626430320010

S

<36626430320010

Bayer. Staatsbibliothek













JAMES MACPHERSON ESQ<sup>R</sup>

*J. Macpherson Esq. per. J. Macpherson.*

*Published 1775*

*J. K. Sherwin sculp.*



*H. Bril. 72 X*

THE  
H I S T O R Y  
OF  
G R E A T B R I T A I N,  
FROM THE  
R E S T O R A T I O N,  
TO THE ACCESSION OF THE  
H O U S E O F H A N N O V E R.

By JAMES MACPHERSON, Esq;

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

THE SECOND EDITION.

---

L O N D O N:

Printed for W. STRAHAN; and T. CADELL, in the Strand.

MDCCLXXVI.



Macpherson

4° Brit.

72<sup>x</sup>(1



<36626430320010

S

<36626430320010

Bayer. Staatsbibliothek













JAMES MACPHERSON ESQ<sup>R</sup>

*J. J. Reynolds Esq. pinx.*

*Published 1775*

*J. K. Sherwin sculp.*



*H. Bril. 72 £*

THE  
H I S T O R Y  
OF  
G R E A T B R I T A I N,  
FROM THE  
R E S T O R A T I O N,  
TO THE ACCESSION OF THE  
H O U S E O F H A N N O V E R.

By JAMES MACPHERSON, Esq;

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

THE SECOND EDITION.

---

L O N D O N:

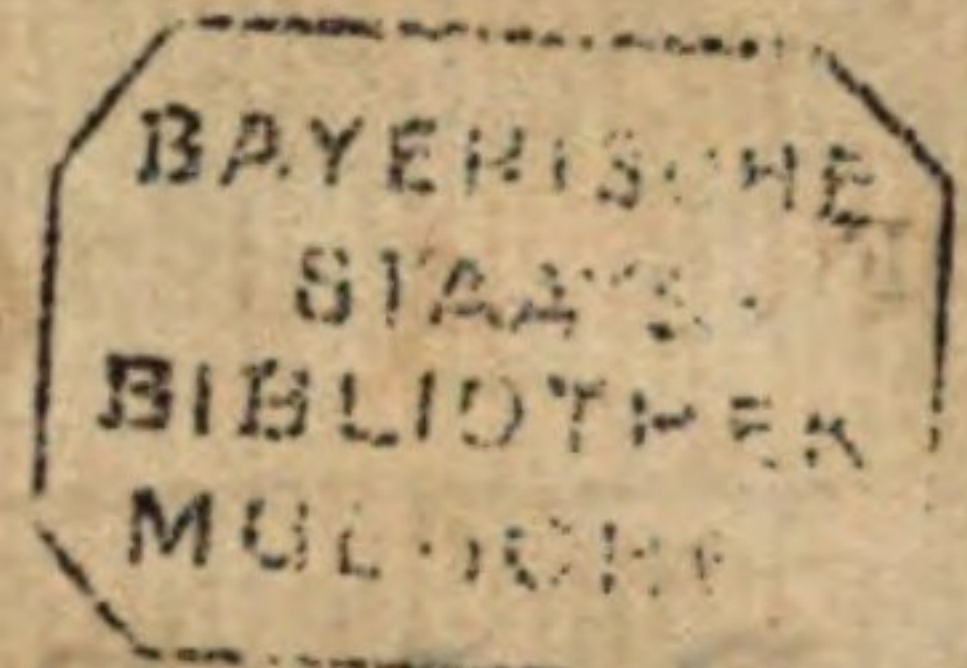
Printed for W. STRAHAN; and T. CADELL, in the Strand.

MDCCLXXVI.



THE

HISTORY



GRAND BRITAIN

THE Tapes of the family of Brackenbury

being a history of the family of Brackenbury

Great Britain, during a very important period, the

new light thrown upon public transactions, the

history of the family of Brackenbury, and the

history of the family of Brackenbury, and the

history of the family of Brackenbury, and the

history of the family of Brackenbury, and the

history of the family of Brackenbury, and the

history of the family of Brackenbury, and the

history of the family of Brackenbury, and the



---

## P R E F A C E.

**T**HE Papers of the Family of BRUNSWICK-LUNENBURGH, and those of the House of STUART, having been placed in the hands of the Author of the following volumes, he was encouraged to write the HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN, during a very important period. The new light thrown upon public transactions, the discoveries made in the secret views of parties, the certainty established with regard to the real characters of particular persons, and the undeviating justice rendered to all, will, he hopes, atone for his defects as a writer, and recommend his work to the public. Unwilling to advance any matter of fact, without proof, he has printed his materials; and, for their authenticity, he refers the reader to the papers themselves.

IN the dates of great events, in facts which fell under public discussion, in decisions of importance, in the state of debts, taxes, grants, and supplies, he has availed himself of the records and journals of the two houses of parliament. In the detail of battles he has followed the best military writers; in well-known events, the authors who wrote in the times. In describing the secret springs of action, the



private negotiations of parties, the intrigues of ministers, and the motives of sovereigns, he has followed unerring guides, original papers. In relating the affairs of Great Britain, he has frequently introduced a summary of the affairs of Europe. He has consulted, with the utmost attention, the best writers of foreign nations; and endeavoured to give a comprehensive view of the state of other countries, in order to throw a more complete light on our own.

WHERE the facts are important and but little known, the authorities have been carefully quoted. Where their truth is universally admitted, the author has been less anxious about the precision of his citations. To crowd a margin with the names of different writers, is an easy, and, perhaps, a harmless imposture. In the minds of the superficial, the expedient might establish an opinion of an Author's industry and knowledge; but it would have little effect on the judicious, from whose decision he has most to hope and to fear. To the latter it may be sufficient to observe, that he has consulted, on every point, a greater number of printed works, than he would chuse to cite at the bottom of any page. He has taken no fact, in all its circumstances, from any one writer. His narrative is the general result of an intense inquiry into what has been advanced on all sides.

IN recording events, every possible attention has been paid to the order of time. The dates have been carefully investigated;



investigated; and, where they are not interwoven with the work, are placed at the bottom of the page. In matters already known and admitted, a comprehensive brevity has been studied. No circumstance, however, has been neglected, no fact overlooked, that was thought either material in itself, or conducive to throw light on events of real importance. The intrigues of the cabinet have been more minutely recorded than the operations of the field. In the description of battles, sieges, and naval engagements, the Author has endeavoured to be concise. But he has marked the outlines of military operations with a precision that brings forward the whole figure distinctly to the view.

WHERE the transactions are most important, and least known, the greatest labour and time have been bestowed. The intrigues which preceded the Revolution, and were partly the cause of that event, are investigated at an early period, and traced through their whole progress. The circumstances of the Revolution itself have been examined with the utmost care, and the most undeviating attention to truth. The events that immediately followed the accession of William and Mary, particularly the affairs of Ireland, have employed a great deal of time, as they have hitherto been very imperfectly known. The negotiations of King James in France, his secret intrigues with his former subjects, have been carefully connected with the great line of history; and their effects on public affairs,



as well as on the conduct of particular persons, have been pointed out, as the circumstances themselves arose.

UPON the death of James, and the subsequent demise of King William, the whole system of secret intrigues for the throne suffered a material change. In the first years of Queen Anne, the adherents of the Pretender abroad, fixed their hopes on the supposed affection of that Princess for her brother and family. Those in England who were most attached to the hereditary descent of the crown, entertained the same views. The disturbances in Scotland, which terminated in the union of the two kingdoms, were succeeded by events, which are related with brevity, as they are in some measure already known. But the change of men and measures, which happened in the year 1710, introduced a period of history that has been hitherto very little understood. The four last years of Queen Anne, therefore, cost the Author much time and labour; and if he has not succeeded, his want of abilities must be blamed, and not his want of information.

THE reign of Charles the Second has been much investigated by other writers. The causes of many of the most important events are already sufficiently known. But the ample extracts from the life of King James the Second, which were placed here in the Author's hands, the access he had, in person, at Paris, to the papers of that Prince, together with some materials, equally unknown,



known, procured from other sources, have enabled him to throw a new, and, he hopes, a complete light on that period. He was advised to prefix only a review of that reign to his work. But he neither liked that imperfect mode of writing history, nor could he be persuaded, after he had examined the subject, that any of his predecessors had occupied the whole ground.

To decide on the execution of the work, is the province of the Public. To form some judgment of his own sentiments, may be fairly left to the Author. In his progress through his subject, he is not conscious of having once departed from the obvious line of evidence. He felt no predilection for any party. He has, surely, been biaffed by none. In his observations on the worst men, he has made allowances for human passions. In commending the best, he was forced to remember their frailties. He considered himself throughout in the light of a judge upon mankind and their actions; and, as he had no object but truth, he trusts he has attained his end.

To speak with more warmth of the work, would be incompatible with the modesty, which writers ought to observe when they treat of themselves. To say less in its favour, the Author hopes, would be deemed inconsistent with justice. Without vanity, he may affirm, that the history of the period he has chosen, has been hitherto very

IMPERFECTLY



IMPERFECTLY KNOWN: He is far from supposing, that the following volumes are wholly free from errors. He hopes, however, that they are neither great nor many, with regard to matters of fact.

---

*Just published,*

In Two large Volumes, Quarto,

**O R I G I N A L P A P E R S;**

CONTAINING

The **SECRET HISTORY** of GREAT BRITAIN,  
From the RESTORATION, to the Accession of the HOUSE of HANNOVER.

To which are prefixed,

**EXTRACTS** from the **LIFE** of JAMES II.

As written by himself.

The Whole arranged and published

By JAMES MACPHERSON, Esq;

Printed for W. STRAHAN; and T. CADELL, in the Strand.

CON-



---

C O N T E N T S  
OF THE  
FIRST VOLUME.

---

CHARLES THE SECOND.

CHAP. I.

*The Restoration.—State of the times.—Character of the King  
—Of the ministry.—Proceedings in Parliament.—Act of  
indemnity.—Confirmation of judicial proceedings.—Settle-  
ment of the revenue.—Marriage of the Duke of York.—  
Death of the Duke of Gloucester.—Trial of the Regicides.—  
Prelacy restored.—Dissolution of parliament.—Insurrection  
of Venner.—Conference at the Savoy.—Affairs of Scotland.  
Its government restored.—Proceedings in Parliament.—  
Execution of Argyle.—State of Ireland.—Difficulty—and  
settlement of Irish affairs.—Portugal-match.—King's coro-  
nation.—New parliament.—Their attachment to monarchy.  
—New act of indemnity.—Bad success before Algiers.—  
King's necessities.—Corporation-act.—Surmises of a plot.  
—Act of uniformity.—Militia settled.—King's mar-  
riage.—Execution of Regicides.—Trial of Vane and Lam-  
bert.—Two thousand ministers ejected.—Sale of Dunkirk.  
—Quarrels at court.—King dispenses with the act of uni-  
formity.—Proceedings in parliament.—Bristol's charge of  
treason.—A plot discovered.*

Page 1

VOL. I.

a

CHAP.



## C O N T E N T S.

## C H A P. II.

*Affairs of Portugal—of France—of Scotland—of Ireland.*  
*—Triennial act.—Address against the Dutch.—Character*  
*of the Duke of York.—Rise of the Dutch war.—Victory*  
*of the English.—Consternation of the Dutch.—Affair of*  
*Bergen.—Bishop of Munster joins Charles.—The plague in*  
*London.—Rupture with France and Denmark.—Battle of*  
*four days.—The Dutch defeated.—The fire of London.—*  
*Discontents in parliament.—The fleet laid up.—Disgrace at*  
*Chatham.—Peace concluded.—Discontents.—Fall of Cla-*  
*rendon.—New ministry.—Foreign affairs.—Character of*  
*Lewis XIV.—Triple league.—Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.*  
*—Peace between Spain and Portugal.—Affairs of Scotland*  
*—of Ireland.—Proceedings in parliament.—A general*  
*tranquillity.—Intrigues at court.—Duke of Ormonde dis-*  
*missed.—Violence of Buckingham.—Act against conventicles.*  
*—Death and character of Albemarle.—King changes his*  
*measures.—Secret negociations with France.—Conversion*  
*of the Duke of York.—Conference at Dover.—Treaty with*  
*France.—Death of the Dutchess of Orleans.* p. 61

## C H A P. III.

*Reflections.—Character of the cabal.—Buckingham in France.*  
*—Invasion of Lorrain.—A parliament.—Prince of*  
*Orange in England.—Attempt upon Ormonde.—Blood's*  
*attempt.—Coventry-act.—Scheme for a comprehension.—*  
*Death of the Dutchess of York.—Transactions at court.—*  
*Quarrel with the Dutch.—Imperious conduct of Charles.—*  
*Embassies.—Exchequer shut.—Preparations for war.—*  
*Smyrna fleet attacked.—Promotions.—War declared.—*  
*Declaration of indulgence.—Battle of Southwold Bay.—*  
*Death and character of Sandwich.—Invasion of Holland.—*  
*Consternation of the Dutch.—Character of the Prince of Orange.*  
*—He is declared Stadtholder.—Tumults in Holland.—*

Murden



*Murder of the De Wits. — Misfortunes of the Dutch. — Promotions. — Affairs of Scotland — of Ireland. — Reflections. — State of the nation. — A parliament. — Proceedings of the commons. — Indulgence recalled. — The test. — Designs to exclude the Duke of York. — Character of Monmouth. — Defection of Shaftesbury. — Battles at sea. — State of the war. — Congress at Cologne. — Duke of York and Clifford resign. — Osborne made treasurer. — His character. — A parliament. — Address against the Duke's marriage. — Proceedings. — Chancellor dismissed. — Duke of York's marriage. — A parliament. — Their proceedings. — Peace with Holland.*

p. 130

## C H A P. IV.

*Parliament prorogued. — Campaign of 1674. — The King gains London. — Negotiations with the Prince of Orange. — A session of Parliament. — Their proceedings. — Campaign of 1675. — A session of parliament. — They are prorogued. — New secret treaty with France. — Campaign of 1676. — Observations. — A profound tranquillity. — Affairs of Scotland. — Of Ireland. — France offers peace. — Parliament meets. — Proceedings. — Progress of the French. — The commons alarmed. — Reprimanded and adjourned. — Reflections. — Affairs of Europe. — State of France and of the allies. — Views of the King and Prince of Orange. — Marriage of the latter. — They settle terms of peace. — France required to agree. — Duplicity of Charles. — Treaty with the Dutch. — Parliament meets. — Ill humour of the commons. — Popular leaders intriguing with France. — Secret history of parties. — Proceedings of the commons. — Progress of the French. — Money treaty. — Alliance with Holland. — Peace of Nimeguen. — The King and Prince of Orange endeavour to break it. — Its effects on France. — State of England. — The Popish plot. — Otes's narrative. — Coleman's letters. — Death of Godfrey. — A general consternation.*

p. 196



## C H A P. V.

*Popish plot abetted by all.—A session of parliament.—Their violence and fears.—Attack on the Duke of York.—Intrigues of the Prince of Orange.—Bill to disable Papists.—Bedloe's evidence.—Queen accused.—Coleman and others condemned.—Accusation and impeachment of Danby.—Reflections.—Parliament prorogued.—Distracted state of the nation.—Parliament dissolved.—Duke of York withdraws.—Monmouth declared illegitimate.—Intrigue with France.—New parliament.—Difference concerning a speaker.—Violence of the commons.—Danby prosecuted.—A new council.—Proposal of limitations.—Bill of exclusion.—Resolution against Bishops.—Habeas-corpus act.—Condemnation of Jesuits.—Langhorn condemned.—Parliament dissolved.—Affairs of Scotland.—Murder of Sharpe.—Rout at Bothwell-Bridge.—Affairs of Ireland.—State of parties and opinions.—King's sickness.—Duke of York returns.—Monmouth disgraced.—The Duke of York in Scotland.—Monmouth returns, without leave.—Intrigues of the Prince of Orange.—The King's firmness.—Meal-tub plot.—Intrigues of the Prince of Orange.—A change in the ministry.—Some members of the council resign.—Secret views of the Prince of Orange.—Petitioners and abhorers.—Whigs and Tories.—Duke of York returns.—He is presented for recusancy.—Intrigues of the Prince of Orange.—Monmouth's progress.—Policy of the King.—The Duke retires.—A parliament.—Violence of the commons.—Prince of Orange's negotiations with the house of Lunenburgh.—Bill of exclusion.—Rejected by the lords.—Violent proceedings of the commons.—They animadvert on the abhorers.—Impeach the judges.—Trial and execution of Stafford.—Extraordinary votes.—Parliament prorogued.—Intrigues of the Prince of Orange.—Parliament dissolved.—Firmness and views of the King.—Negociation with France.—Fitz-Harris's*



*ris's libel.*—*A parliament at Oxford.*—*Violence of the commons.*—*A quarrel between the houses.*—*Bill of exclusion.*—*Parliament dissolved.*—*Consternation of the popular party.*

P. 256

#### C H A P. VI.

*Reflections on the conduct of parliament.*—*King's declaration.*—*Addresses from all quarters.*—*City of London reprimanded.*—*Intrigues of the Prince of Orange.*—*Fitz-Harris and Plunket executed.*—*Case and trial of Colledge.*—*Affairs of Scotland.*—*Succession recognised.*—*A new test.*—*Trial of Argyle.*—*Conduct of the Duke of York.*—*Foreign affairs.*—*Prince of Orange in England.*—*Conference with the King.*—*Shaftesbury acquitted.*—*Passive obedience.*—*State of the times.*—*Of foreign affairs.*—*Return of the Duke of York.*—*He narrowly escapes shipwreck.*—*The King possesses himself of London.*—*Affairs at court.*—*Monmouth's progress.*—*Legal severities.*—*Deaths and promotions.*—*Quo warranto.*—*City of London submits.*—*Corporations resign their charters.*—*Rise and progress of a conspiracy.*—*Rye-house plot.*—*Conspirators seized.*—*Trial, condemnation, death, and character of Russel.*—*Death of Essex.*—*Marriage of the Lady Anne.*—*Oxford declaration.*—*Trial, execution, and character of Sidney.*—*Monmouth's confession and disgrace.*—*Conduct and intrigues of the Prince of Orange.*—*Hampden fined.*—*Prosecutions and executions.*—*Duke of York lord admiral.*—*Affairs of Scotland.*—*Of Ireland.*—*State of foreign affairs.*—*Domestic affairs.*—*Death of the King.*—*His behaviour in his last moments.*—*Reflections on his private life and character.*

P. 349

### JAMES THE SECOND.

#### C H A P. VII.

*State of opinions.*—*King's popular declaration.*—*He continues the expired revenue.*—*His conduct at home, and towards foreign*

*reign.*



*reign powers.——Domestic affairs.——A parliament.——Their  
 submissive proceedings.——Settlement of the revenue——The  
 Prince of Orange encourages an invasion.——His conduct to Mon-  
 mouth.——Affairs of Scotland.——Rebellion, defeat, and execu-  
 tion of Argyle.——Monmouth's expedition.——His progress, de-  
 feat, and death.——Severities in the West.——Jefferys made  
 chancellor.——Execution of Cornish.——Great power of the  
 King.——A parliament.——Criminals of distinction pardoned.——  
 King's religious views.——Affairs of Ireland.——Character of  
 Sunderland.——A secret Popish cabinet.——Affairs of Scotland.  
 ——Hales's case.——Dispensing power.——King favours Pa-  
 pists.——Ecclesiastical commission.——Bishop of London suspend-  
 ed.——Encampment at Hounslow.——Imprudence of James.——  
 Affairs of Ireland.——Schemes of the Prince of Orange.——Fo-  
 reign affairs.——Reflections.——Papists promoted.——Indulgence  
 in Scotland.——The same in England.——Intrigues of the Prince  
 of Orange.——An attempt on Cambridge.——The affair of Mag-  
 dalen college.——Parliament dissolved.——King's progress.——  
 He courts the Dissenters.——Proceedings against Magdalen col-  
 lege.——Reflections.——Queen with child.——Surmises of an  
 imposture.——Intrigues of the Prince of Orange.——James in-  
 sulted by the Dutch.——Indulgence renewed.——Bishops peti-  
 tion.——They are committed to the Tower.——Birth of a Prince.  
 ——Bishops acquitted.*

P. 425

## C H A P. VIII.

*Unpopularity of the King.——Intrigues and preparations of the  
 Prince of Orange.——Security and imprudence of King James.  
 ——He is betrayed by Sunderland.——Convinced at length of  
 his error,—he endeavours to gain the people.——Charter of  
 London restored.——Sunderland disgraced.——Reflections.——  
 Prince of Orange takes leave of the States.—His declaration.—  
 He sails, and is driven back.——English fleet detained by the  
 winds.——Dutch land.——Distress of the Prince.——Many  
 join*



join him.—Petition of peers.—King joins the army.—  
 Officers desert.—Princess Anne flies.—A general confusion.  
 —A deputation to the Prince.—Queen and Prince of Wales  
 sent away.—Dictatorial answer of the Prince.—Reflec-  
 tions.—The King flies.—He is seized at Feversham.—  
 Confusion in London.—Conduct of the Prince.—A council of  
 peers.—King returns.—He is seized by the Dutch guards.  
 —He is sent to Rochester,—and escapes to France.—Ob-  
 servations.—Prince of Orange in London.—Assembly of  
 Peers.—Paper left at Rochester.—Peers and commons ad-  
 dress the Prince.—His secret intrigues for the crown.—  
 Intrigues of Halifax and Danby.—Convention meets.—Re-  
 flections.—They thank the Prince.—Arguments.—Grand  
 resolve.—Debates in the house of lords.—They amend the  
 vote of the commons.—Reject a letter from James.—Prince  
 of Orange declares himself.—Conference between the houses.  
 —Crown conferred on the Prince and Princess.—Decla-  
 ration of Rights.—Observations on the breach on the succe-  
 sion.—Reflections on the reign of James.—His character,  
 views, and situation.—Arguments for the Revolution. p. 503

## WILLIAM AND MARY.

## C H A P. IX.

Reflections.—Promotions.—King's first speech.—Convention  
 converted into a parliament.—Transactions in parliament.—  
 Commons refractory.—Coronation.—Affairs of Scotland.—  
 Administration conferred on the Prince of Orange.—Conven-  
 tion meets.—Letters from the two Kings.—A secession.—  
 Settlement of the crown.—Affairs of Ireland.—Strange ne-  
 glect of that country.—Commutations.—Rout at Drumore.—  
 James arrives in Dublin.—Wretched state of his army.—  
 Proceedings of the parliament of England.—War with France.  
 —State of Europe.—English fleet defeated.—Discontents.  
 —Parliament adjourned.—Affairs of Scotland.—Mili-  
 tary



*tary operations.——Battle of Killicranky.——Death and character of Dundee.——A violent opposition.——Irish affairs.——James before Derry.——He holds a parliament at Dublin.——Their proceedings and violence.——Coin debased.——Siege of Derry.——De Rozen's cruel order.——Siege raised.——Rout at Newton Butler.——Factions at court.——Distress of James.——Schomberg's invasion.——James offers battle in vain.——Both armies retire to winter-quarters.——Foreign affairs. p. 575*

## C H A P. X.

*State of the nation.——William confirmed on the throne.——Parliament meets.——Their proceedings.——Commons refractory. Parliament dissolved.——Whigs disgusted.——A Tory parliament.——Revenue settled.——Affairs of Scotland.——Affairs of Ireland.——William arrives in that kingdom.——Passage of the Boyne.——James defeated.——Reflections.——He retires to France.——Schemes of that kingdom in his favour.——He is treated with great coldness.——Military transactions.——Athlone besieged in vain.——William repulsed at Limerick.——He returns to England.——Mary's administration.——Battle of Beachy-head.——Foreign affairs.——Battle of Fleurus.——Campaign of 1690.——Proceedings of parliament.——Torrington acquitted.——Preston and Ashton seized and condemned.——Intrigues of Marlborough and Godolphin.——Princess of Denmark's correspondence with her father.——King William in Holland.——Conference at the Hague.——Campaign of 1691 in Flanders,——Germany,——Savoy,——Spain,——and Hungary.——Transactions at sea.——Affairs of Scotland.——Intrigues of King James.——Affairs of Ireland.——Miseries of that country.——Athlone taken.——Battle of Aghrim.——Siege of Limerick.——Pacification in Ireland.——Reflections.——English parliament meets.——Their proceedings.——Unpopularity of William.——Opposition in parliament.——Proceedings.——William in Holland.——Affairs of Scotland.——Massacre of Glenco. p. 642*



---

# CHARLES THE SECOND.

---

## C H A P. I.

*The Restoration.—State of the times.—Character of the King  
—Of the ministry.—Proceedings in Parliament.—Act of  
indemnity.—Confirmation of judicial proceedings.—Settle-  
ment of the revenue.—Marriage of the Duke of York.—  
Death of the Duke of Gloucester.—Trial of the Regicides.—  
Prelacy restored.—Dissolution of parliament.—Insurrection  
of Venner.—Conference at the Savoy.—Affairs of Scotland.  
Its government restored.—Proceedings in Parliament.—  
Execution of Argyle.—State of Ireland.—Difficulty—and  
settlement of Irish affairs.—Portugal-match.—King's coro-  
nation.—New parliament.—Their attachment to monarchy.  
—New act of indemnity.—Bad success before Algiers.—  
King's necessities.—Corporation-act.—Surmises of a plot.  
—Act of uniformity.—Militia settled.—King's mar-  
riage.—Execution of Regicides.—Trial of Vane and Lam-  
bert.—Two thousand ministers ejected.—Sale of Dunkirk.  
—Quarrels at court.—King dispenses with the act of uni-  
formity.—Proceedings in parliament.—Bristol's charge of  
treason.—A plot discovered.*

**C**HARLES the Second was proclaimed, at London, on the  
eighth of May, in the year one thousand six hundred and  
sixty. He entered that city, on the twenty-ninth of  
the month, amid the acclamations of an infinite concourse of

C H A P.

I.

1660.

The Restora-  
tion.

VOL. I.

B

spectators.



C H A P.

I.

1660.

spectators. The two houses of parliament attended the King, at Whitehall; and, by their speakers, congratulated him, in terms full of submission and loyalty. The populace, with their usual extravagance, expressed their satisfaction in riot and intemperance. The terrors of anarchy and confusion yielded to the hopes of a regular steadiness in government. The pomp of royalty pleased the bulk of mankind; its novelty all. The change was great, but not surprising, among a people, who had fallen, under an abject species of tyranny, after all their efforts to be free.

State of the  
nation.

THE joy, which the restoration of monarchy diffused over the kingdom, seemed to level all parties into a voluntary obedience to the King. The nation, however, was not to be settled, at once, from the convulsions which had overturned the throne. Jealousies, animosities, and high expectations prevailed, among the adherents of monarchy. The Independents were afraid of a retaliation of severities. The Presbyterians, in some measure despaired of establishing their favourite system of church-government. Silence and melancholy seized the republican party, at the disappearance of all their hopes. The army, though, at different times, purged by Monk, were rather passive to his measures, than fond of kingly government. Most of the old soldiers were fanatics. Even those, who had attended the General from Scotland, obeyed him more from an affection to his person, than any regard to his political views. The eagerness of the body of the people, to return to the ancient constitution, had formed the firmest foundation for its support. They regarded, in their elections, the political character of their representatives. A great majority of those, who were chosen to serve in the house of commons, were men known for their attachment to monarchy, or remarkable for their moderate principles. The declaration from Breda had left the settlement of the nation in the  
parliament;



parliament; and though the forms of their proceedings were productive of an inconvenient delay, that important business could not be placed in safer or more able hands.

CHAP.  
I.  
1660

THE disposition and character of Charles, as far as they were THEN known, were well suited to the times. Attached to no system of religion, he seemed favourable to all. In appearance destitute of political ambition, his sudden elevation was more an object of admiration, than of jealousy. Accommodating in his professions and easy in his manner, he pleased even those whom he could not gratify. Men, from principle, enemies to monarchy, were prejudiced in favour of the person of the Prince. Those in whom fear might excite aversion, lost their hatred, in his apparent forgetfulness of past injuries. Though a lover of dissipation and pleasure, he could bear confinement, and had a talent for business. Though naturally unsteady, he could assume the appearance of firmness; and his quickness of apprehension was mistaken, by the superficial, for uncommon abilities of mind. Adhering strictly to no principle himself, he was not much offended at the want of it in others. He gained the profligate by indulgence; by his good-nature and attention, he flattered the pride of the virtuous. Insinuating, dissembling, but frequently judicious, he came upon mankind, through the channel of their ruling passions; and till his professions of regard to men of opposite principles became too common to be thought sincere, he gained the affection, if not the esteem, of his subjects.

Character of  
the King.

His accommodating character was the chief support of Charles throughout his reign. The carelessness of his measures raised him many opponents; but the easiness of his temper prevented him from having personal enemies. His defects, however, were not perceived when he mounted the throne. A penetrating judge of



C H A P.  
I.

1660.

the character of others, he was no stranger to his own; and he resolved to turn its fairest side to the world. With too much good sense, to throw away, by wantonness and folly, what fortune had unexpectedly bestowed, he was cautious in his first measures; and, by the appearance of a strict impartiality in the distribution of his favours, he disarmed the most inveterate among the parties, which still divided the nation.

The mini-  
stry;

A PRUDENT choice of his principal servants promised better measures, than those which Charles afterwards produced through his reign. He filled his council, indiscriminately, from all parties. Ability was more regarded, than political principle, or previous conduct. Many, who had opposed his father, were admitted into stations near his own person. Several, who had supported the late republic, were now employed in the service of monarchy. The principal departments of the state were trusted to friends. Sir Edward Hyde, distinguished for his fidelity, as well as for his talents in business, was made chancellor. The Marquis of Ormonde, more remarkable for his honour and integrity, than for great abilities, was constituted steward of the household. The treasury, after having been for near nine months in commission, was delivered over to the sole management of the Earl of Southampton<sup>a</sup>, a man of unshaken firmness and unblemished reputation. The Duke of York was invested with the office of lord high admiral of England. Monk, created master of the horse to the King, was continued captain-general of all the forces in the three kingdoms. Nicholas, a man of unbiaſſed integrity and experience in the service of the crown, and Morrice, who owed his elevation to the patronage of Monk, were secretaries of state.

<sup>a</sup> Feb. 1661.



To restore justice to its ancient course, employed the first care of the King and his servants. The courts in Westminster-hall were filled with judges of known abilities in their profession; of professed affection to monarchy, and the re-established laws. The servants of the crown opened a free and friendly intercourse with the leading members of both houses<sup>b</sup>. They concerted the best measures for carrying on the business with expedition and success. The King himself seemed inclined to manage the great affairs of the nation, through the medium of an assembly to whom he owed his throne. An enemy to trouble, and fond of pleasure, he threw early the weight of the state on his ministers. Hyde possessed the most credit and the greatest power. Indefatigable in his nature, and placing even his amusement in business, he was the most experienced, and, perhaps, the most able of the servants of the crown. Southampton, though a man of abilities, was indolent; Monk, more versant in the labours of the field, than the intrigues of the cabinet. Nicholas, unambitious in his character, sacrificed the importance of his office to his high opinion of the chancellor's talents; Morrice, though a man of integrity, lost his consequence, in his ignorance of foreign affairs. Ormonde, in the warmth of a sincere friendship, adhered in every thing to Hyde. The Duke of York, by the express orders of the King, lived on the best terms with the ministry<sup>c</sup>. Every thing fell, sooner than could have been expected, into regularity and form. A general settlement in the civil justice of the kingdom prevailed. No injury was without its remedy; and complaints, more frequent even in the worst governments than injustice, were scarce ever heard<sup>d</sup>.

CHAP.  
I.  
1660.  
their character.

THE two houses of parliament proceeded to the settlement of the nation. The lords, lately restored to their function in the

Proceedings  
of parliament.

<sup>b</sup> James II. 1660.

<sup>c</sup> James II. 1660.

<sup>d</sup> Clarendon's life.

state,



C H A P.  
I.  
1660.

state, seemed sensible of the injuries, which had deprived them so long of their right. They, however, had not arrived at their former weight and consequence. The Commons, who had given such recent proofs of their importance, still retained their superiority. In terms of the King's declaration from Breda, they brought into their house a bill of general indemnity, before he took possession of the throne. They resolved, on the fourteenth of May, to except seven of those, who sat in judgment on the late King, out of the act of oblivion. In their zeal to animadvert upon past offences, they even extended punishment beyond the grave. Serjeant Bradshaw, president of the high court of justice, though dead, was attainted for treason. On the eighth of June they resolved, that the number of twenty, and no more, besides the King's judges, should be excepted, not extending to life. Hutchinson, for his signal repentance, was left out of the clause of exception<sup>e</sup>. Colonel Ingoldsbey, for his late services, was forgiven and rewarded. The debates, which arose upon naming the persons, rendered tedious the progress of the bill; and, though the King, in several messages, expressed his impatience, the act took some months in passing through both houses<sup>f</sup>.

Act of indemnity.

THE debates in the house of commons were not the only cause of the delay which attended the act of indemnity. The lords, in their zeal for monarchy, and exasperated by former injuries, seemed resolved to except every person who had sat in judgment on the royal party. The earl of Bristol, who had declared himself a Catholic, some months before the Restoration<sup>g</sup>, was the most violent. Though excluded, on account of his religion, from holding a place in the privy-council, he was still trusted with the secret of affairs<sup>h</sup>. Haughty and arrogant, impetuous in his

<sup>e</sup> Journals of the house of commons.

<sup>h</sup> James II. 1663.

<sup>f</sup> Journals.

<sup>g</sup> James II. 1660.

manner,



manner, and ambitious in his disposition, he was determined to direct councils, of which he was not permitted to partake<sup>1</sup>. To secure his interest with the King, he pretended zeal in the royal cause. He moved in the house, that no pardon should be granted to those who had any way contributed to the death of the late King. Bristol's influence at court was no secret. The nation was alarmed at so wide an exception. They began to think that the King, by an artifice, intended to elude his declaration. Charles came to the house, and put an end to their fears. He requested the lords to extinguish the terrors of the people, to remove their apprehensions of safety. He desired them to consider his promise, and to exclude none but the regicides from the benefit of the act of oblivion. He pressed them to forget their animosities, to lay aside revenge, to drop even the memory of the past. He plainly told them, that the peace of the kingdom, if not the very existence of monarchy, depended upon expedition in passing the bill<sup>2</sup>.

C H A P.  
I.  
1660.

THOUGH the bill of indemnity engaged almost the whole attention of both houses, some other matters of great public concern came necessarily under their consideration. To quiet the possession of the subject, by confirming the judicial proceedings which had passed since the beginning of the late disturbances, was an object nearly as important as the act of oblivion. All sentences in law and equity, since the first of May, 1642, were confirmed by an act of the legislature. Some few restrictions were made, with regard to crown and church lands. The two houses filled their debates with declarations against the legality of the proceedings of the long parliament, after it had been mutilated by the army. Their zeal might even have led them to rescind all the acts of the parliament, which met in the Novem-

Confirmation  
of judicial  
proceedings.

<sup>1</sup> James II. 1660.

<sup>2</sup> Journals of the lords.



C H A P.  
I.  
1660.

ber of the year 1640; but the chancellor shewed no inclination to look back so far. James the Second, in his Memoirs, blames this negligence in Hyde, in terms expressive of his resentment against a body of men who had so much injured his family<sup>1</sup>.

Settlement of  
the revenue.

IN the settlement of the revenue, the house of commons shewed as much regard for the liberties of the subject as they had done in their other resolutions for the royal prerogative. It was resolved, before the King's arrival, to abolish the courts of wards and liveries<sup>m</sup>, as a public grievance; and to make, for that revenue, a compensation to the crown<sup>n</sup>. One hundred thousand pounds was proposed by the parliament. Double the sum had been offered, and, in the reign of James, refused for those branches of the prerogative, together with that of purveyance. This composition was charged upon the excise; one half of which was settled, in perpetuity, on the crown. The other half of the excise, and the revenue arising from tonnage and poundage, were granted to the King during his life. A committee reported to the house on the fourth of September, that, by an estimate, the King's revenue might be computed at little more than eight hundred thousand pounds. The commons came to a resolution to increase it to twelve hundred thousand pounds. The charging of this revenue upon adequate funds was a matter of difficulty, and was therefore adjourned to the next meeting of parliament<sup>o</sup>. An act was, however, passed for raising one hundred thousand pounds for the King's present supply; which sum was to be levied, by way of land-rate, within the space of one month, to begin on the twenty-ninth of September<sup>p</sup>.

Provision for  
disbanding  
the army.

To disband an army accustomed to revolution and change, was necessary for the safety of the nation, and employed the principal

<sup>1</sup> James II. 1660.

<sup>m</sup> Journals, May 25.

<sup>n</sup> Journals, August 4.

<sup>o</sup> Speaker's speech, Sept. 4.

<sup>p</sup> Journals, Sept. 4.

attention



attention of parliament. An assessment of seventy thousand pounds, to continue for three months, at first voted, was unequal to the purpose of paying their arrears<sup>q</sup>. Another act was passed, a few days before the adjournment, for an additional assessment, to begin on the first of November, and to continue for two months. The parsimony of the commons, notwithstanding their professions of unlimited loyalty, was evidently intended to keep the King in a state of dependence on his parliament. The next house of commons, according to James the Second<sup>r</sup>, were less attentive to the liberties of their constituents. He ascribes their frugality more to, what he calls, the prejudices of Sir Edward Hyde, than to their own patriotism. In the warmth of their zeal for restored monarchy, they could deny nothing to their prince. It was proposed by some leading members to settle a very large revenue on the crown<sup>s</sup>. The chancellor prevented the motion from being made in the house. He was afraid that the King would stand no longer in need of parliament; or, what was still more contrary to his principles, that the Popish religion might be introduced, as favourable to the authority of the crown. "This oversight, or rather terror in Hyde," continues James, "was the source of the dangers which monarchy has since undergone. In every other particular, he supported, to the height, the power of the crown<sup>t</sup>." The two houses having thus far brought forward the public business, on the thirteenth of September<sup>u</sup> adjourned themselves, by the King's permission, to the sixth of November<sup>x</sup>.

C H A P.  
I.  
1660.

WHILST parliament was preparing punishments for the late King's enemies, Charles was busy in rewarding his own friends. Those who had adhered the best to his family, contributed, from that circumstance, the least to his restoration; and, therefore,

Honours  
conferred.

<sup>q</sup> Journals.

<sup>r</sup> James II. 1660.

VOL. I.

<sup>s</sup> James II. 1660.

<sup>t</sup> Journals.

C

<sup>u</sup> 2,000,000 l.

<sup>x</sup> Journals, Sept. 13.

their



C H A P.  
I.

1660.

their fidelity was forgot, in their want of power to be of service. Besides, their number was a kind of excuse for an appearance of ingratitude. Though the King was not destitute of generosity, he was not possessed of the means of exercising it, in an extensive degree. The hereditary property of the crown had been dissipated in the late troubles; and had even the revenue promised by parliament been settled, it was unequal, without the most rigid œconomy, to carry on the necessary service of the state. Hereditary honours were the only rewards which Charles could bestow with ease. Monk, by the title of Duke of Albemarle, took his seat in the house of lords\*, on the thirteenth of July. Admiral Montague was introduced, on the twenty-sixth of the same month, by the name of Earl of Sandwich. The Marquis of Hertford, for his uncommon fidelity, attachment, and services to the royal family, was restored to the dukedom of Somerset by an act of parliament†.

Marriage of  
the Duke of  
York.

THE joy, which the natural gaiety of Charles derived from his unexpected restoration to the throne of his ancestors, was considerably checked by accidents and misfortunes in his own family. During a visit, which the Princess of Orange paid to the Queen-mother at Paris, in the year 1657, the Duke of York fell in love with Mrs. Anne Hyde, one of her maids of honour, and daughter to Sir Edward Hyde. The Duke's affection for the daughter began when he was on bad terms with the father; and the latter remained in absolute ignorance of a circumstance which was scarce a secret in his family‡. In the violence of his passion, the Duke promised her marriage. "Besides her person," says he, "she possessed all the qualities proper to inflame a heart less susceptible than his, of the fire of love." By managing well her advantages, she kept alive his passion. In the winter before the

\* Journals of the lords. † Ibid. ‡ James II. 1662. Clarendon's life, vol. ii



Restoration, he resolved to give to none, but to her, his hand. He again sealed his vows of affection with an absolute promise of making her his wife. He asked the King for his leave, but he refused; yet, at last, he ceased to oppose a resolution which the Duke seemed determined to follow<sup>a</sup>. Under the faith of a promise so solemn, she had admitted him to her bed, and became pregnant. On the third of September, they were privately married at Worcester-house, where her father, at the time, resided; and on the twenty-second of October, she was brought to bed of a son. Though the friends and servants of the Duke opposed a match, which they deemed unequal, he soon publicly owned the marriage; "and," to use his own words, "her want of birth was made up with endowments, and her carriage, in every respect, became her acquired dignity<sup>b</sup>."

C H A P.

I.

1660.

In the evening of the thirteenth of September, died of the small-pox Henry Duke of Gloucester, third brother to the King<sup>c</sup>. Though mankind are apt to exaggerate the virtues of princes who happen to die in early youth, their praises seem to have done no more than justice to the character of Gloucester. He joined in himself the best qualities of both his brothers: the understanding and good-nature of Charles, to the industry and application of James. The facility of the first was, in him, a judicious moderation. The obstinacy of the latter was, in Gloucester, a manly firmness of mind. Attached to the religion, and a friend to the constitution of his country<sup>d</sup>, he was most regretted, when his family regarded these the least. The vulgar, who crowd with eminent virtues and great actions the years which fate denies to their favourites, foresaw future misfortunes in his death; and even the judicious supposed, that the measures of Charles might have derived solidity from his judgment and pro-

Death and  
character of  
Gloucester.

<sup>a</sup> James II. 1660.

<sup>b</sup> James II. 1660.

<sup>c</sup> Public Intelligence.

<sup>d</sup> Burnet. Echard.



C H A P.  
I.

1660.

mising parts. The King lamented his death with all the vehemence of an affectionate sorrow. The Duke of York was much affected with the loss of a brother, whose high merit he much admired. "He was a prince," says James, "of the greatest hopes, undaunted courage, admirable parts, and a clear understanding. He had a particular talent at languages. Besides the Latin, he was master of the French, the Spanish, the Italian, and Low Dutch. He was, in short, possessed of all the natural qualities, as well as acquired accomplishments, necessary to make a great prince<sup>f</sup>."

Trial of the  
Regicides.

WHEN Charles was indulging his sorrow for the loss of a brother whom he loved, the attention of the nation was engaged with the trial of the Regicides, excepted from pardon in the act of indemnity. The King issued a commission to thirty-four of the most eminent and able nobility, judges, lawyers, and gentlemen, to sit at the Old-Bailey, in trial upon those who should be indicted for the murder of the late King<sup>g</sup>. General Harrison, the son of a butcher at Newcastle, and originally an attorney's clerk<sup>h</sup>, was the first person brought before the commissioners. To an elevation of mind, which sprung from his natural courage, Harrison added an ignorance suitable to the meanness of his original station. He defended the deed, of which he was accused, with boldness; and, with an enthusiasm peculiar to the extraordinary times in which he had figured, he made Heaven itself the author of an action deemed, by the generality of mankind, one of the worst of crimes. Cook, a lawyer, argued for himself with all the subtlety of his profession. Scot, a republican from principle, gloried in being instrumental in the death of a King. Carew and Scroope were the only persons among the Regicides born gentlemen. The first was an enthusiastic Millenarian. The

<sup>f</sup> James II. 1660.<sup>g</sup> Public Intelligence.<sup>h</sup> Regicides no Martyrs.

latter,



latter, by an ill-timed farcaſm on ſome of his judges, enſured his own fate. Peters, a fanatical preacher, who had roused the army to regicide, was condemned. Axtel, who guarded the court of justice, and Hacker, who commanded at the King's execution, received sentence of death. Of twenty-eight persons, who were brought to the bar, ten only suffered; and they met their fate with unexampled spirit, amid the clamours of an insulting mob. Enthusiasm had armed their minds with that fortitude which men of abilities derive, in the last extreme, from philosophy<sup>1</sup>.

C H A P.

I.

1660.

DURING the trial and execution of the Regicides, the King and his ministers were employed in giving satisfaction to men of different religious persuasions. The parliament, in their attention to the civil concerns of the state, had left the difficult business of religion to be settled by the crown. Though the sufferings of the church of England, during the late troubles, seemed to ensure the recovery of her ancient rights and splendour with the restoration of monarchy, the King was obstructed in his designs in favour of the hierarchy, by the declaration of Breda. The Presbyterians had claims upon his gratitude; and other dissenters derived great hopes of kind usage, from his known indifference to all religious forms. Charles wished to gain all, by disobliging none. On the twenty-fifth of October, he issued a healing declaration, consisting of eight articles<sup>k</sup>. The first six prescribed rules to bishops, in the exercise of their spiritual jurisdictions: the two last related to a proposed amendment of the liturgy; and some ceremonies, to the observance of which no person was enjoined. Episcopacy was gradually revived. The bishops themselves, in consequence of the act in 1641, remained still excluded from their seats in parliament. Nine only had

Prelacy restored.

<sup>1</sup> James II.

<sup>k</sup> Kennet's Register, p. 289.

survived.



E H A P.

I.

1660.

Dissolution  
of parlia-  
ment.

survived the late distractions and confusions. To these, seven were added, in the course of the present year; and, except in the article of voting in the house of peers, they were restored to their former rights. The King's declaration, though conciliating in its design, was by no means pleasing to the Presbyterians, as it did not alter the species of prelacy<sup>m</sup>.

THE parliament, after a recess of near two months, met on the sixth of November<sup>n</sup>. They brought back to both houses the good-humour with which they had adjourned, and applied themselves with great unanimity to the bills which they had left unfinished. On the first day of their meeting, they voted an address to the Queen-mother and the Princess Henrietta<sup>o</sup>, who had lately returned from France, to felicitate their family on the restoration of monarchy. The Princess of Orange had arrived, for the same purpose, in September. To compliments of ceremony, the commons added more solid proofs of their favour. They voted ten thousand pounds to each of the princesses; and, soon after, the like sum to the Queen of Bohemia. The latter and the Princess of Orange did not long enjoy this mark of parliamentary attention. The Princess died in December of the small-pox, and the Queen of Bohemia survived her little more than a year<sup>p</sup>. The parliament made provision for disbanding the army, whose continuance was attended with danger, as well as expence. To shew their affection for monarchy, both houses proceeded to an instance of puerile barbarity against its enemies. They ordered the carcasses of Cromwell, Ireton, Bradshaw, and Pride, to be drawn upon hurdles to Tyburn, to be there hanged up in their coffins, and afterwards buried under the gallows<sup>q</sup>. They settled the proposed revenue of twelve hundred thousand pounds on the King; and having, by an act for six months

<sup>m</sup> Love's Hist. of Popish and fanatical Plots.<sup>n</sup> Journals.<sup>o</sup> Ibid.<sup>p</sup> Feb. 13, 1661.<sup>q</sup> Journals, Dec. 4.



assessment, at seventy thousand pounds a-month, provided for the debts of the navy, and the extraordinary expence of the summer-fleet, they were dissolved on the twenty-ninth of December<sup>1</sup>.

CHAP.  
I.  
1660.

THUS ended the convention parliament, who, in the space of eight months, restored to the nation, in a great measure, that regularity of government, which the disturbances and revolutions of twenty years had completely destroyed. The people, rendered cautious by a succession of public miseries, had extended their views to a settlement in their election of representatives; and party-spirit being greatly checked, by their fears of a renewal of violence, moderation and prudence became the only recommendations to their choice. The Presbyterians, who held the chief influence, had lost their objections to a limited monarchy, in the injustice and tyranny of the Independents. The lower house consisted chiefly of that sect; and even many of the lords were prejudiced in favour of principles of ecclesiastical government so suitable to civil liberty. The commons carried the moderate views of their constituents into their public deliberations. Though they cherished the legal rights of the crown, as being yet in their infancy, they never lost sight of the freedom of the subject. They steered between the limits of prerogative and the borders of popular liberty; rebuilding the breaches of both, as they moved forward through public affairs. Though the King had discovered no symptoms of a love of arbitrary power, they were willing to keep him, by a limited revenue, in a kind of dependence on parliament; wisely judging, that they were no longer necessary than they had favours to bestow. The convention-parliament, in short, was the happy medium, between the stern violence of their predecessors, and the implicit complaisance of their successors, in the choice of the nation.

Character of  
the conven-  
tion-parlia-  
ment.

<sup>1</sup> Journals, Dec. 29.



C H A P.  
I.  
1661.  
Insurrection  
of

THE tranquillity in which the parliament, at their rising, left the nation, was disturbed, in the capital, by an insurrection, more singular in its folly than dangerous in its consequences. Among the extravagancies which the late confusions had produced, there arose a sect of enthusiasts, who derived, from their extraordinary opinions, the name of Fifth-monarchy-men. They believed that the time was come for the establishment of that kingdom, which, according to the prophet Daniel, was to succeed the four great monarchies that are said to have already appeared in the world. These fanatics supposed that they themselves were to be the instruments of beginning the reign of the saints upon earth. Utter enemies to all authority, from this wild expectation, they had formerly made an attempt against the government of Cromwell; but the vigilance of that able despot soon convinced them, that the time for commencing their ideal empire was not yet arrived. The head of the sect was one Thomas Venner, who joined in his person the double vocation of a wine-cooper and preacher. In the indifference of Charles concerning opinions in religion, Venner was indulged with keeping a conventicle in Coleman-street. He chose to descant upon those parts of scripture which are least capable of being understood, on the prophecies of Daniel and book of Revelations. He believed himself, and he persuaded his audience, that the time of Christ's visible reign was come; and that it was their duty to take up arms for King Jesus against the powers of the world.

Fifth-mon-  
archy men.

THE extravagance and absurdity of this opinion ensured its credit with men, whose minds were warped from reason by enthusiasm. Fewer than sixty persons applied themselves seriously to the conquest of the world. They printed a declaration, entitled, "A door of hope opened;" wherein they denounced war against all monarchies. They affirmed, that, after having "led captivity captive" in England, they would pass to the continent, and



and spread far and wide their victories, till they should "possess themselves of the gates of the world." Venner, on Sunday the sixth of January, having preached to his congregation, and fasted all day, issued forth, at eleven o'clock at night, from his meeting-house, with a party of saints well armed. They consisted of thirty persons, and advanced to St. Paul's church-yard, crying aloud, "Live King Jesus," and commanding all for them to join them, and those who were not, to keep their houses. A poor man, who, being questioned, made answer, he was for God and King Charles, was killed. The city was alarmed. The constables and watch durst not attack them; and Venner, not being joined, forced his way through the train-bands, who had assembled to suppress the insurrection, passed through Aldersgate, possessed himself of Canewood, between Hampstead and Highgate, where he and his party spent the night<sup>t</sup>.

CHAP.  
I.  
1661.

INTELLIGENCE of the insurrection being brought to the Cock-pit to Albemarle, he communicated it to the Duke of York, who was then indisposed, and resided with his Dutchess at Whitehall<sup>u</sup>. The King was absent at Portsmouth, whither he had gone to attend the Queen-mother and the Princess Henrietta, who were to embark at that place for France. Albemarle dispatched his own troop, commanded by Sir Philip Howard, and the horse-guards, in pursuit of the insurgents. Venner kept the woods for two days. About seven in the morning of the ninth of January, with twenty-nine of his adherents, he entered the city through Aldgate, proclaiming King Jesus. He advanced to Leadenhall, to the Exchange, to Woodstreet, where he was opposed by twenty of the horse-guards. The street being narrow, Venner and his party defended themselves with the utmost spirit. The train-bands at length arriving, the insurgents forced their

Quashed.

<sup>t</sup> James II. 1661.

<sup>u</sup> Ibid.



C H A P.

I.

1661.

Execution.

way into an ale-house, and there obstinately maintained their post<sup>x</sup>.

THE Duke of York, accompanied by Albemarle, took horse upon the news of Venner's arrival. With twenty troopers, no more being left on guard, they marched into the city. The nobility and gentry flocked from all quarters to join them; so that, before they reached St. Paul's, they found themselves attended by fifteen hundred horse. The lord-mayor met the Duke at St. Paul's. He told him, that Venner and his party were all either killed or taken. These enthusiasts defended the house in which they had taken shelter with such obstinacy, that it was impossible to dislodge them, without setting it on fire; which could not be done, without endangering the whole street. Lambert, a seaman, accompanied by a few others, untiled the roof, and forced an entry from above. All Venner's party were either killed or wounded. One only asked for quarter. A comrade, lying wounded in the room, attempted to kill this spiritless friend with his sword; reviling him, at the same time, with his meanness. Venner himself had nineteen wounds. The surgeons with difficulty kept him alive till he was condemned and executed. His surviving friends, except two reserved as witnesses, and two more respited by the King, shared the same fate<sup>y</sup>.

Troops raised.

THE chancellor, who had been advanced to a peerage, in the month of November, by the title of Lord Hindon, terrified either at Venner's insurrection, or from an aversion to all sectaries, wrote an alarming account of the whole affair to the King<sup>z</sup>. He conjured him to stop the disbanding of Albemarle's troop of horse-guards and his regiment of foot, who, by a particular indulgence, were the last to be paid off, and were to be dismissed that very day. He entreated his Majesty to raise more men, for the security of

<sup>x</sup> James II. 1661.<sup>y</sup> Ibid.<sup>z</sup> Ibid.



his person and government. There was little difficulty in persuading Charles to adopt the measure. Orders were immediately issued for raising a new regiment of guards, consisting of twelve companies, under Colonel Ruffel, a regiment of horse of eight troops, commanded by the Earl of Oxford, and a troop under Lord Gerard. The Duke of York's troop of guards were ordered from Dunkirk. Commissions were issued to the Earls of Cleveland, Southampton, and two other noblemen, to enlist men, in several companies, not admitted to immediate pay, but to be ready on an emergency\*. On the fourteenth of February, the Duke of Albemarle's regiment of foot, after laying down their arms as disbanded, took them up as an extraordinary guard for his Majesty's person. Their attachment to their general seemed to entitle him to this distinction from a prince who owed to him his throne.

CHAP.  
I.

1661.  
February.

CHARLES, wishing to continue the tranquillity which the nation enjoyed, endeavoured to reconcile the differences between the church of England and the Presbyterians. The attachment of his father to the former had contributed more to his misfortunes, than his high exertions of the prerogative; and he was extremely unwilling to permit a renewal of religious contests, whose fatal effects had deprived his family of the throne. He hoped that the felicity of the present times, and the remembrance of past miseries, might dispose men to a healing temper. He was bound to the church, by her invariable adherence to the royal cause. Recent favours demanded his gratitude to the followers of the Presbyterian system. His indifference as to modes of worship rendered him impartial; but he was a stranger to the subject, when he hoped it could be settled by argument. A commission, however, was issued, on the twenty-fifth of March, to twelve bishops and nine episcopal divines, on the one side; and, on the

Conference  
at the Savoy.  
March.

\* James II. 1661.



C H A P.

I.

1661.

other, to twelve Presbyterian divines and nine assistants. They were empowered to review the book of Common-prayer, to compare it with the liturgies used in the primitive and purest times, to consider the directions, the rules, the forms of prayer; to weigh all objections, to make all necessary amendments and alterations, and to restore and continue, by these means, the peace and unanimity of the churches under his Majesty's government and protection. The conference was held at the lodgings of the Bishop of London, in the Savoy. Argument soon degenerated into altercation. All temper was lost. Distrust prevailed. At the end of two months they separated, having added personal resentments to polemical differences.

Affairs of  
Scotland.

THE storm which had discomposed the ancient constitution of England, had fallen with still greater violence on Scotland. The indignity of a foreign yoke had been added to the other misfortunes of the Scottish nation; and their spirit seemed to have vanished with their independence. The flattering circumstance of giving a king to their ancient enemies had greatly diminished the martial ardour, which their ancestors derived from a state of almost continual hostilities; whilst the weight which England threw in the scale of the crown enabled the sovereign to extend to a kind of tyranny, what formerly was a very limited power. The enthusiasm, which Calvinism introduced among the vulgar, raised their confidence, without preserving their intrepidity. They lost their reverence for authority, in their spiritual pride; and the nobles, finding themselves no longer followed or obeyed, sunk into the superstition of the mean and low, to retrieve a part of their power. In the beginning of the troubles, which terminated in the subversion of monarchy, the enthusiastic zeal of the Scots against the liturgy gave time to the discontents, which lay concealed among the English, to kindle into a flame. During the civil war, they seemed, in some measure, the umpires of the contest.



contest. Their attachment to the covenant prevailed at last over loyalty to their native prince. The Presbyterians of England obtained a complete triumph over monarchy, partly by their means; and there is scarce any doubt to be entertained against the gratitude of the former to the Scots, had the fabric which they reared continued to stand.

C H A P.  
I.  
1661.

THE fall of the Presbyterians in England, under the violence of the Independents, ruined, in its consequences, their brethren of Scotland. Subdued by their own folly, as well as the abilities of Cromwell, the Scots found themselves under the mortifying necessity of submitting to the indignities attending upon conquest. The whole frame of their ancient government was dissolved. The power of the nobility was extinguished. Presbytery itself became a reproach. The pride and activity of their divines were subdued. Religion was remitted to the sole order and direction of a commander in chief of the forces. All criminal cases, where the general chose not to proceed by martial law, were tried by judges sent from England, and by English laws. Property and matters of civil interest were decided by the rules and customs observed in England; and the only mark of liberty left to the nation, was the permission of sending a few members to parliament<sup>b</sup>. Their strong holds remained in the hands of the forces, by whom they had been subdued. The tranquillity of a military despotism succeeded the turbulence of a freedom that was ill understood; and men began at length to construe the lenity of a commander in chief into public happiness. Monk, by his moderation and integrity, had attached the Scots to his person, and even reconciled the majority of the nation to the established system. The feuds of families and the animosities of parties were extinguished by his authority. Justice was ad-

Its state under  
Cromwell.

<sup>b</sup> Clarendon's life, p. 49, 50.

ministered



C. H. A. P.

I.

1651.

New ministry.

ministered with impartiality and precision; and the chief objection to the government in general, was the novelty of its form.

THE affairs of Scotland received no alteration for three months after the restoration of monarchy in England. It was even a subject of debate, whether the Scots should be restored to their independence, or retained under the yoke imposed upon them by Cromwell. The commissioners sent from Scotland to negotiate the re-establishment of her affairs, argued for the freedom of their country; and Charles himself was inclined to the ancient constitution of government. Middleton, created an Earl, a man of abilities, and attached to monarchy, was declared commissioner for holding a parliament. The Earl of Glencairn, distinguished for his parts and good-breeding, was made chancellor. The Earl of Lauderdale, who, from the battle of Worcester, had been confined in England in different prisons, rose, by his address, to the office of secretary of state. Rothes, a man of dexterity in business, was made president of the council: and the Earl of Crawford was restored to his former office of lord-treasurer\*.

Proceedings in parliament.

THE chancellor, having arrived in Scotland in the beginning of August 1660, summoned a committee of estates to meet on the fourteenth of the month, at Edinburgh. Their first care was to secure the public peace, by restraining some of the heads of the Presbyterian clergy, who had met to remonstrate against grievances. The commissioner opened the parliament, in the end of the year, with a speech, recommending a condemnation of the invasions on the regal authority, and a restoration of all the ancient prerogatives of the crown. To prevent the return of such calamities as had lately covered the nation, he desired them to make provision for a force to secure the public peace. The an-

\* Clarendon's life, p. 50.



swer of the parliament to the King was full of loyalty and unlimited submission. They had felt severely the miseries of the late times, and they ascribed them to the opposition of the nation to monarchy. The authority of the crown was restored, in its utmost extent. The power of framing the bills was again invested in the lords of the articles. An additional revenue of forty thousand pounds a-year was granted to the King for life. All the acts that limited the prerogative were repealed<sup>d</sup>. All leagues with foreign nations, not made by the King's authority, were declared treasonable; by which the famous covenant was rendered null and void. To extinguish, if possible, the memory of the late troubles, all parliaments held since the year 1633 were rescinded<sup>e</sup>. The Presbyterian system of church-government was virtually dissolved by this act; and all the restrictions laid upon the too extensive power of the crown were at once removed. The measure was violent and impolitic. In removing a few of the past evils, it established a dangerous precedent for future times. It was concerted at a feast, by the officers of state; and it partook of all the extravagance of a debauch.

THOUGH Charles had made no promise of indemnity to the Scots, it was neither his temper, nor consistent with prudence, to carry his animadversions on past offences into extravagant severity. To make a few examples of punishment, after violences that had destroyed the ancient constitution, seemed as necessary in Scotland, as it had been judged in England. The Marquis of Argyle, from his delinquency as well as his rank, seemed a proper sacrifice for the crimes of the nobility; and one Guthry, a violent and seditious preacher, was pointed out as a suitable atonement for the political sins of the clergy. Argyle was no sooner informed of the King's arrival, than he hastened to London.

Execution of  
Argyle.

<sup>d</sup> Burnet, vol. i. p. 160.

<sup>e</sup> Ibid. p. 162.



C H A P.

I.

1661.

Artful in his conversation, and full of conciliating address<sup>f</sup>, he might have gained the easy temper of Charles, into an oblivion of the indignities which he had thrown on himself, as well as the late King. But he was denied the advantage of his insinuating talents, by a warrant which confined him, upon his arrival, to the Tower. Before the meeting of the parliament, he was sent to Scotland to be tried. The informality of the proceedings against him could scarce be justified by his crimes. He was condemned and executed. His misfortunes were the less regretted, for his barbarity and insolence to Montrose. The rudeness<sup>g</sup> of the Lord Lorne to the King, when in Scotland, was forgot in the punishment of his father; and he obtained a gift of the estate of his family, which had been forfeited to the crown. Guthry suffered, without being regretted; having added wanton acts of insolence towards the King, to a conduct subversive of all legal authority.

Reflections  
on

THE Irish nation came down from antiquity, marked with an uncommon singularity of political misfortunes. Distracted by domestic feuds, and labouring under all the miseries of anarchy, they became, in part, subjected to England, before either time or accident had polished her own government into precision and form. The natural aversion entertained by natives against all foreign intruders, combining with the violence and injustice inseparable from conquerors, established an enmity between them, which was augmented by various unfortunate incidents, in the progress of time. The opinions of the two nations were as different as their manners and interests; and they invariably affected, in every thing, to run into the opposite extremes. The conversion of the English to the Reformed religion was sufficient to induce the Irish to adhere to the old superstition. A spiritual enmity added its rage to temporal

<sup>f</sup> Clarendon's life, p. 53.

<sup>g</sup> Clarendon.



animosity; and if at any time an appearance of tranquillity prevailed, it proceeded from the preparations made to ensure revenge. As long as the government in England retained its force, a kind of a cold and unwilling obedience was paid by Ireland to its laws. But when the reins became relaxed, in the hands of Charles the First, the Irish Catholics carried their aversion to the English race into acts of unprecedented barbarity.

C H A P.  
I.  
1661.

IN the course of the troubles which followed the massacre of the Protestants in Ireland, the inhumanity of the Catholics was severely retaliated upon themselves. Under the specious pretence of revenging the cruelties committed on the English, Cromwell made large strides toward the extirpation of the natives. The difficulty of destroying a whole nation, more than motives of pity, induced the conqueror to confine to the half of the province of Connaught and the county of Clare the remnant that had escaped his sword. All the Irish, under pain of death, were ordered to retire within the allotted pale, on a certain day. Disease and famine accompanied them to their wretched retreat. But the enemy hovered on their frontier, and prevented their escape from misery. The rest of the island was left to the English. Some of the old lords and just proprietors, being Protestants, were permitted to retain their possessions. The lands of the Catholics, now banished into Connaught and Clare, were parcelled out among the adventurers and soldiers. The spirits of the Irish were so entirely broken, that this summary division of their property was made without exciting a murmur. Misery had arrived at a pitch beyond complaint, and the sense of injuries seemed to have vanished with the power of revenge. Ireland remained quiet under the dominion of Cromwell. The enemies of his authority lay subdued by his violence; and those whom he had gratified with the spoils of the vanquished, being from principle, as well as fear, averse from monarchy, were determined to adhere to any system

the state of  
Ireland.



C H A P.  
I.  
1661.

that might prevent the restoration of the royal family to the throne.

Its state

RICHARD CROMWELL, upon the death of his father, raised his brother Henry to the government of Ireland. Soon after Richard had yielded the protectorship to the violence of the army, the remains of the long parliament resumed their power, and appointed commissioners for the management of Irish affairs. Ludlow, with the other commissioners, arrived at Dublin in May 1659, and continued in the government till the parliament was expelled, on the thirteenth of October, by Lambert. They changed their obedience with the times, and submitted<sup>1</sup> themselves to the junto, who, under the name of a committee of safety, assumed the government of the three kingdoms. To reform the army, they broke, without any trial, above two hundred officers, who had deserved well in the service. The Lord Broghill, Sir Charles Coote, Sir Theophilus Jones, and other considerable persons, displeased with the conduct of the commissioners, formed a design to seize the castle of Dublin, which they effected on the thirteenth of December<sup>2</sup>. To justify their enterprise, they declared for the parliament; and, by a committee of the principal officers, managed the affairs of Ireland<sup>3</sup>.

at the Restoration,

A CONVENTION of estates, summoned by the committee, met on the seventh of February 1660, at Dublin, and chose Sir James Barry, afterwards Lord Santry, for their chairman<sup>m</sup>. In contempt of orders from the council of state, they proceeded to business, asserting their independence on England<sup>n</sup>. The convention was filled with members who favoured monarchy. They expressed their detestation of the late King's murder. They prepared every step necessary for restoring his son. The whole na-

<sup>1</sup> 1659.

<sup>2</sup> 1659.

<sup>3</sup> Carte's Ormonde.

<sup>m</sup> Ibid.

<sup>n</sup> Pub. Intel.



tion ran with violence into the measure; and the King was proclaimed, on the fourteenth of May, at Dublin. Their expressions of loyalty were followed by marks of their bounty. They voted considerable sums for the King and his two brothers<sup>a</sup>. On the twenty-fifth of May, they appointed the Lord Broghill, Sir Charles Coote, and other commissioners, to attend the King, to present to him the desires of the Irish nation<sup>b</sup>. They besought his Majesty to call a parliament, consisting of Protestants, to appoint a chief governor and council, to grant a general pardon and indemnity, with such exceptions as should be settled in parliament, a confirmation of judicial proceedings, and, above all, an act for settling the estates of the adventurers, soldiers, and the Irish transplanted into Connaught and Clare<sup>c</sup>.

THOUGH the loyalty of the convention restored monarchy in Ireland, the affairs of the kingdom still wore a difficult and gloomy aspect. The native Irish, expelled by the violence of Cromwell, entertained hopes of being restored to their lands. The adventurers and soldiers added the pretensions of law and possession to their demands upon the gratitude of the King for their recent services. It was difficult to do justice to any, to satisfy all impossible. The affairs of England furnished the King with an excuse for not entering upon the intricate business of Ireland, till the recess of parliament, on the thirteenth of September. He<sup>d</sup> was perplexed beyond measure when he took the first view of a subject, which furnished no light to direct his way. He wished to throw the weight of the whole upon an able lord-lieutenant; but the Duke of Albemarle was unwilling to resign the government of a kingdom, where he possessed a great estate, upon a precarious tenure<sup>e</sup>. To find a deputy of high rank was difficult. Lords justices, from their number, might be swayed by

Settlement

<sup>a</sup> Carte's Ormonde.

<sup>b</sup> Clarendon.

<sup>c</sup> Vid. Instructions.

<sup>d</sup> Clarendon. Carte.

<sup>e</sup> Clarendon's life.



C H A P.  
I.  
1661.

either prejudice or party. Sir Maurice Eustace, recommended by the Marquis of Ormonde,<sup>s</sup> was, on the twenty-fourth of October, sworn into the office of chancellor. The Lord Broghill and Sir Charles Coote, raised to the peerage as Earls of Orrery and Mountrath, were constituted, together with Eustace, lords justices of Ireland<sup>t</sup>.

of its affairs.

THE uncertainty and disorder which prevailed in Irish affairs were not abated by the appointment of lords justices. The whole property of the kingdom had changed hands, under the tyranny of Cromwell. To restore things to their ancient state, would be as unjust as to permit them to remain in their present form. The despair of the parties finished happily a business, wherein the utmost efforts of government had failed<sup>u</sup>. The adventurers and foldiers judged that any settlement would be better than none. They met together. They found that each, by relinquishing some part of what he either claimed or possessed, might in some degree gratify all. They unanimously proposed, "that all persons who were to receive benefit by the act of settlement, were to give up a fourth part of their claims, to raise a stock to satisfy such of the old Irish as the King should be pleased to restore to their estates<sup>v</sup>." Charles received the proposition with joy. Two unavailing acts of settlement had been made; a third, but after a long interval, was passed, which contributed to quiet all. A kind of silence, rather, than tranquillity, succeeded to perplexity, clamour, and disorder. In this settlement the King neglected not his best friends. He gave a grant to the Marquis of Ormonde of all the lands of his ancestors; a deed of gratitude to a noble person, who had served him and his father with unexampled fidelity, honour, and attachment<sup>w</sup>. If the crimes of the Irish nation were great, they were sufficiently punished by their misfortunes. Dis-

<sup>s</sup> Carte's Ormonde, 1660.

<sup>t</sup> Ibid.

<sup>u</sup> Clarendon's life, p. 134.

<sup>v</sup> Ibid.

<sup>w</sup> Carte's Ormonde, 1660.

order,



order, confusion, and tyranny, had prevailed in the two British kingdoms. In Ireland, massacre, famine, and pestilence, had been added to all the miseries of war and conquest.

C H A P.  
I.  
1661.

THE attention of Europe followed the good fortune which had established Charles on the throne of his ancestors. Though the treaty of the Pyrenees had put an end to open acts of hostility between the two rival monarchies of France and Spain, their ancient animosities were rather suspended than extinguished. The contest was removed from the field, but it still subsisted in the cabinet. Each retained the memory of past injuries, under a veil of present amity; each wished to gain the friendship of a prince whom both had treated with a coldness that bordered on disdain. France jealous of an ancient enemy, envied to Spain the prospect of reconquering Portugal. Lewis, unwilling to recompense hostilities against Philip, hoped to stop the progress of his arms, by rendering Charles a party for the house of Braganza. The Portuguese themselves perceived no means of safety, but in the power of the English nation. Swayed by her perilous situation, and, perhaps, instigated by France, the Queen-regent of Portugal ordered her ambassador at London to propose a marriage between her daughter and Charles. She offered terms that were likely to gain a prince, in whom his necessities, and a desire of possessing the means of prosecuting his pleasures, had created a love of money that approached to avarice. The proffered portion was five hundred thousand pounds in money, the cession of Tangier and Bombay, with a free trade to the Brazils, and the possessions of Portugal in the East-Indies.<sup>2</sup>

Portugal-  
match.

THOUGH Charles, from his violent love of pleasure, was averse from the restraints of marriage, he listened with attention to proposals of such manifest advantage to himself and the kingdom.

Promoted by  
Clarendon.

<sup>2</sup> Clarendon's life.

During



C H A P.  
I.  
1661.

During his exile, he had paid his addresses to the sister of William the Second, Prince of Orange; and some of his friends had made overtures in his name to Cardinal Mazarin for his niece, Hortensia Mancini, whom James the Second calls "the most beautiful woman in the world". In the cloud which was settled on his fortunes, he was rejected by the friends of both, with circumstances that bordered on scorn. Their opinions changed with his prosperity. Mazarin, in particular, offered his niece, with a vast sum of money; but both were, with a compliment, refused<sup>b</sup>. The King's affections were now too much dissipated to fix upon one object; and he valued less the beauty than the convenience of a wife. Catharine of Portugal derived to him a recommendation from her very imperfections. The reported narrowness of her understanding would prevent her from interfering in matters of state<sup>c</sup>; and the homeliness of her person might furnish an excuse for a breach of fidelity to her bed. Clarendon, if ever averse from the match, promoted it afterwards with all his credit; either gained by the arts of France, or in opposition to others, who hoped to govern Charles through a queen of their own recommendation<sup>d</sup>. He removed, it is certain, every obstacle which arose in the course of the treaty; and though he, probably, had no sinister designs in the measure, he by it furnished his enemies with the means of his ruin<sup>e</sup>.

Obstructed by  
Spain.

THE treaty with Portugal, though kept a profound secret, escaped not the vigilance of the Earl of Bristol. Affecting great predilection for Spain, he conveyed this important intelligence to her ambassador at London<sup>f</sup>. Alarmed at the new enemy, which seemed to threaten his master, this minister broke out with a violence more suitable to his temper than to his office. He wrote to Philip. He remonstrated to Charles<sup>g</sup>. He mixed threats with

<sup>a</sup> James II. 1662.

<sup>d</sup> James I. 1662.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. 1661.

<sup>e</sup> Ibid.

<sup>f</sup> Clarendon.

<sup>c</sup> Clarendon's life.

<sup>g</sup> March 28, 1661.

advantageous



advantageous proposals<sup>b</sup>. He conveyed to the King disadvantageous accounts of the person of his proposed consort. He informed him of her supposed sterility, an opinion even then generally received. The undermining policy of France defeated the open vehemence of Spain. The offer of a large portion made by the latter was rejected for the secret promise of a considerable sum of money by the former. The King himself was more inclined to an union with the French, than with the court of Spain. The memory of former flights died with their author, Cardinal Mazarin, who had expired on the ninth of March<sup>i</sup>, after a lingering illness. Impressed with the dread and jealousy of the power of an English parliament, Charles hoped to derive security to his own authority from the friendship of France<sup>k</sup>. This maxim he carried down through his reign; and to that circumstance ought chiefly to be ascribed the servile attention to a French alliance, which has branded his name with political meanness.

C H A P.  
I.  
1661.

FRANCE joined promises of present benefit to the King's hopes of future aid. Fouquet, who had succeeded, after the death of the Cardinal, to the most credit with Lewis, dispatched an agent to England, to confirm Charles in his resolution of marrying the Infanta of Portugal. The business was too important to be trusted to the common line of embassy. The messenger was la Bastide. He brought a credential letter to the chancellor, and communicated to that minister his instructions. To encourage Charles to aid the Portuguese, Lewis " offered an immediate payment of three hundred thousand pistoles, with a promise of a future provision proportionable to the charge. He complained of the pride of the Dutch. He reminded Charles of their insolence to himself in his adversity. He proposed a communication of councils between the two crowns; he expressed the propriety of reducing

Forwarded by  
France.

<sup>b</sup> Clarendon's life, p. 87, 88.

<sup>i</sup> Histoire de France, tom. iii. 1661.

<sup>k</sup> Carte's Ormonde, vol. ii. p. 252.

these



C H A P.  
I.

1661.

these haughty republicans to a just sense of the deference which they owed to crowned heads." To these proposals to the King, la Bastide added the offer of a present to the chancellor. Clarendon rejected with a degree of indignation what respected to himself of the propositions of France<sup>1</sup>. He was not, however, so delicate with regard to his master's honour. In the course of a correspondence with Fouquet, he asked for Charles the loan of fifty thousand pounds. When the fall of that minister happened, in the month of September<sup>m</sup>, Lewis returned all his letters to Clarendon; but he, at the same time, wrote to him, "from that time to communicate with all freedom with D'Estrades, who resided at London, in quality of his ambassador." In the course of the chancellor's correspondence with Fouquet, the loan of fifty thousand pounds was superseded, by the demand of a larger sum, which was granted in the beginning of the ensuing year<sup>n</sup>.

King's coro-  
nation.  
April.

THESE transactions happened between the dissolution of the convention in December, and the assembling of the new parliament in May. On the twenty-third of April, the King was crowned at Westminster with uncommon splendour. In the joy which attended the ceremony, party distinctions were forgot. The former enemies of monarchy mixed in the procession with its fastest friends. Denzil Hollis, one of the five members whom the late King attempted to seize in the house of commons, was created a baron upon this occasion. Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, whose parts and versatility were, even then, well known, was raised to the peerage, by the title of Lord Ashley. Annesly, president of the late council of state, a man of accommodating principles, was created Earl of Anglesey. The royalists themselves were not neglected in the article of honours. Sir John Grenville was made Earl of Bath, and Sir George Booth Lord Delamere. Ingoldsbby,

<sup>1</sup> Clarendon's life, p. 92.<sup>m</sup> Hist. de France, tom. iii. 1661.<sup>n</sup> D'Estrades.

whose



whose hand appeared at the warrant for the execution of the late King, walked, as a Knight of the Bath, at the coronation of his son. Recent services had atoned for his former demerits. He had contributed, with his courage and activity, to the Restoration; yet disdained to make any conditions for himself. He affirmed, that he had been constrained by force to sign the warrant; and his late zeal in the cause of monarchy added credit to his assertion<sup>a</sup>.

C H A P.  
I.  
1661.

THE new parliament met on the eighth of May, the anniversary of the day on which his Majesty had been proclaimed in the preceding year. The prudent management of Charles, and the public joy which naturally attended a legal settlement, after so many troubles and disasters, diffused an affection for monarchy through the nation. The loyalty of the people appeared manifest in their choice of representatives. The popularity of the court prevailed more with the electors, than its influence. The nation had not yet, by an exorbitant revenue, furnished the crown with the means of swaying, with motives of advantage, their own votes. The principles of the house of commons were known before they met. The most of the members were men at once well affected to the church of England and to monarchy, whose interests appeared inseparable, since they fell by the same hands. Charles made a short speech to both houses; leaving to the chancellor, lately created Earl of Clarendon, to enlarge upon particular affairs. To expressions of the greatest affection for the prosperity of the nation, the King added "that he had prepared two bills to confirm the act of indemnity. He derived from that act," he said, "his own happiness and the security of his people; and he declared, that he could not think HIM either a wise man or his friend, who should persuade him to infringe engagements

New parliament.

<sup>a</sup> Kennet's Register.



C H A P.

I.

1661.

into which he had so solemnly entered, before his restoration to the throne." He concluded with communicating to them his intended marriage with the Infanta of Portugal, which had been resolved upon, with the unanimous approbation of his council<sup>o</sup>.

Their attachment to monarchy.

THE commons chose Sir Edward Turner their speaker<sup>p</sup>; and both houses, after addressing the King, proceeded to business with great unanimity and zeal. The affection of the commons for the church appeared in their first vote. They ordered all the members to receive the sacrament, according to the liturgy, within a limited time, upon pain of being prohibited the house. Their zeal for monarchy went hand in hand with their love for the church. The solemn league and covenant<sup>q</sup>, the act for erecting a high court of justice for the trial of the late King, that for constituting the people of England a commonwealth, for renouncing the title of Charles Stuart, and for the security of the person of the protector, were, by the authority of both houses, burnt by the hands of the common hangman<sup>r</sup>. The commons added solid marks of their bounty to the King, to these proofs of their attachment to monarchy. They resolved to provide a present and plentiful supply for his Majesty, as well as to settle a full, constant, and standing revenue for the time to come<sup>s</sup>. Both houses entered with alacrity upon every measure which tended to the safety of the prince, and to the honour of the crown<sup>t</sup>. They declared in various acts, "That the making any distinction between the King's person and his office should be treason: That he could not be divested of his negative voice: That no order or ordinance of either house could be binding on the subject, without his assent: That the militia was inseparably vested in him alone; and that it was high treason to levy soldiers, without his express

<sup>o</sup> Clarendon's life, p. 95. Journals, 11th May 1661.

<sup>p</sup> Journals, 11th May.

<sup>r</sup> Ibid. May 30.

<sup>q</sup> Ibid. May 21.

<sup>s</sup> Ibid. May 27.

<sup>t</sup> Clarendon's life, p. 137.



commission." They also declared, that the saying "the king is a papist, or popishly affected, should be felony." The parliament were more than complaisant to Charles; they were zealous for monarchy. The royal prerogative was vindicated, if not augmented. A revenue was settled suitable to the necessary expences, if not to the dignity of the crown, had it fallen into hands less lavish than those of the King<sup>u</sup>.

C H A P.  
I.  
1661.

IN their ardour for the rights of the crown, the parliament seemed to have forgot the safety and liberty of the subject. Though the King, in his speech, had recommended a confirmation of the act of indemnity, they proceeded with languor and an apparent unwillingness in that important affair<sup>x</sup>. His frequent messages on that head were attended with little effect. Terror seized the obnoxious and guilty. Many, who thought they had done away their former demerits by recent services, were not free from fears. They dreaded that the shelter of the late act of indemnity might be removed, under pretence of an illegality in the convention<sup>y</sup>. They solicited the King for a confirmation of the act of oblivion by the present parliament. On the twentieth of June, Charles wrote to the commons<sup>z</sup>; and, his letter having little effect, he went in person, on the eighth of July, to the house of lords<sup>a</sup>. He sent for the commons. He reminded them of his own declaration from Breda. He recalled to their memory a declaration of oblivion published by the most eminent of themselves. He could not solicit a favour in vain, from an assembly so much devoted to his service. They soon dispatched the bill, and he as soon gave his assent. But though Charles favoured the act of indemnity, his parliament forgot not the injuries done to his father. They confiscated the estates of twenty-one Regi-

New act of indemnity.

<sup>u</sup> Journals, passim.

<sup>x</sup> Clarendon's life, p. 138.

<sup>y</sup> Continuation of Baker, p. 625.

<sup>z</sup> Journals of the commons.

<sup>a</sup> Journals of the lords.



C H A P.  
I.  
1661.

cides deceased<sup>b</sup>. The Lord Monson, Sir Harry Mildmay, and Sir James Harrington, were by a bill deprived of their honours and estates. They were ordered to be drawn upon sledges, with ropes about their necks, to the gallows at Tyburn, on the anniversary of the late King's death; and thence to be conveyed, in the same ignominious manner, to the Tower, and there to remain prisoners during their lives. With the power of the crown, they restored the dignity of the church. The act which excluded the bishops from their seats was repealed. This was the last business of the session. On the thirtieth of July, the parliament was prorogued to the month of November<sup>c</sup>.

Bad success  
before Al-  
gier.

DURING the recess of parliament, an untoward incident furnished an opportunity to the disaffected to compare with disadvantage the present times to those of the late commonwealth. The insolence of the petty states of Barbary, particularly the depredations of the Algerines, induced the King to send the Earl of Sandwich with a fleet to the Mediterranean. He arrived on the twenty-ninth of July in the port of Algier. He summoned the Dey to come out and confirm the league made with England. A treaty was begun; but the terms offered by those pirates were so insolent and exorbitant, that the admiral weighed and stood in to the harbour. He was so warmly received by the batteries ashore, that, having set some ships on fire, he thought it prudent to withdraw the fleet. Sir John Lawson was left to block up the port. Sandwich himself retired to Lisbon<sup>d</sup>. The domestic affairs of England were carried on with the utmost success and tranquillity. Some idle bickerings between the different sects still subsisted, but their speculative disputes disturbed not the repose of the nation. The contest was for power and influence, and the leaders quarrelled upon trifles. The enthusiasm of the people

<sup>b</sup> Journals.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid. 30th July.

<sup>d</sup> Sandwich's Journal.

equalled



equalled not the vehemence of the clergy; otherwise a system of religion, which recommends peace and unanimity, might again be converted into an instrument to promote confusion and war.

C H A P.  
I.

1661.

THE parliament met on the twentieth of November\*. They brought back their former zeal for monarchy into both houses†. The upper house was now full, by the addition of the bench of bishops. The King's speech was artful and conciliating. "He felicitated himself upon meeting a complete parliament. He asked money in the softest and most insinuating manner. He represented the necessity of settling a constant revenue on the crown. He laid before them the pressing urgency of his debts, and the unavoidable anticipation of the revenue. To convince them that his wants were real, and not imaginary, he shewed his willingness to submit his disbursements and receipts to their inspection." To hasten their granting his demands of a supply, he endeavoured to awaken their fears. "He affirmed, that the nation was not yet well composed: That many wicked instruments were still active to destroy the public peace: That late disorders were not removed: That new diseases required new remedies. He explained the necessity of a good correspondence between the King and his parliament, to render the nation happy at home and respected abroad."

King's necessities.

THOUGH Charles wanted œconomy, other causes, more than his own profusion, contributed to the debts of which he so much complained. The considerable sums raised upon the people since his restoration, had been applied to the payment of the navy and land-forces; yet, when all the money collected for those necessary purposes was disbursed, much still remained due to the seamen and soldiers‡. Another great expence was incurred by the King,

The King in want of money.

\* Journals.

† Clarendon's life.

‡ Ibid. p. 145.

which,



C H A P.

I.

1661.

which, till it provided against the mischief, could not in prudence be discovered. In the confusion which succeeded the death of Cromwell, to supply the military stores employed no part of the care of the juntas who successively governed the nation. The expedition of Lambert against Sir George Booth, his preparations against Monk in the North, the embezzlements which are common in times of confusion, had totally drained the magazines for the use of the army; and the fitting out of the fleet, which had attended the King on his return, exhausted the naval stores. Though the army consisted, at the Restoration, of sixty thousand men, there were not three thousand stands of fire-arms in the public arsenals; and, at a time that a hundred ships were at sea, there scarce remained stores in the ports sufficient to equip five<sup>h</sup>. The bounty of parliament had not hitherto kept pace with their professions of loyalty. Though they restored the prerogatives of the crown, they kept the King in dependence upon themselves for the means of exerting them with effect. Charles was obliged to pledge his own credit to purchase stores necessary for the defence of his people; and from that source arose the most of those "crying debts" which he mentioned in his speech to the parliament.

The commons vote a supply.

THE commons, on the twenty-first of November, voted a supply of twelve hundred thousand pounds, to be levied in eighteen months, by assessment<sup>i</sup>. On the twenty-fifth, the lords resumed the consideration of the business of the Regicides. The convention-parliament had respited the punishments of several persons concerned in the death of the late King, as well those that lay under condemnation, as others not so flagrantly guilty of that crime. Those who had surrendered upon the proclamation were brought to the bar of the upper house. They claimed the benefit

<sup>h</sup> Clarendon's life, p. 146. James II.

<sup>i</sup> Journals, Nov. 21.



of the King's declaration, and of the votes of the preceding parliament<sup>k</sup>. They solicited the mercy of both houses, and their mediation for the mercy of the King. New debates arose on the subject. A bill was brought in for their execution, but it was dropt, after having been twice read. They were remanded to their several prisons, and owed their lives to the solicitations of the King, more than to the mercy of parliament<sup>l</sup>. Charles retained no animosity against past offences; and the violence of the people against those who had been accessory to the death of his father, had abated in the progress of time.

C H A P.  
I.  
1661.

THE act for regulating corporations furnished a new proof of the zeal of parliament for monarchy. During the late confusions, all magistrates liable to suspicion of disaffection to the prevailing powers were expelled their respective corporations. Proofs of affection to the ruling junto, and a subscription of the covenant, were qualifications necessary for holding an office in a corporate body. To remove such dangerous persons from all authority, bore at least the appearance of political prudence; and the parliament empowered the King to appoint commissioners to examine into the state of the magistracy in the different corporations, to expel those of doubtful principles, and such as had intruded themselves by violence<sup>m</sup>. It was provided in the act, that "no person should be capable of being elected to any office in any city or corporation, unless within a twelvemonth, before, he had received the sacrament of the Lord's supper, according to the rites of the church of England. He was also enjoined to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, at the same time that he took the oath of office. In default of either of these requisites, such election was declared to be void<sup>n</sup>." The oath tendered upon this occasion conveyed a strain of loyalty, which bordered on absolute

Corporation-  
act.

<sup>k</sup> Kennet's Register, Nov. 25, 1661.

<sup>l</sup> Rapin, vol. ii. p. 628.

<sup>m</sup> Hume, vol. vii.

<sup>n</sup> Statute 13 Car.

slavery.



C H A P.

I.

1661.

flavery. The person elected was to swear, that, "it was not lawful, upon any pretence whatsoever, to take up arms against the King." The provision was nugatory, on account of its absurdity. As no rights can subsist without a remedy against invasions, the last appeal must be to necessity, which supercedes all law. This act, however, produced consequences which were not then foreseen. It gave birth to the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance; and, having endangered religious and political freedom, ruined at length the family of the sovereign.

Surmises of a  
plot.

THE King, having given his assent to the money-bill, and the act for regulating corporations, on the twentieth of December<sup>o</sup>, the parliament was adjourned to the seventh of the following January. Clarendon, having carried a message from the King to the house of lords, concerning the projects laid and meetings said to be held by the republican party, a select committee of lords and commons was appointed to examine into the conspiracies, which were either forming or feared. The report of the committee was to have been received at the meeting of both houses; but the chancellor acquainted the lords, that, on account of some imaginary jealousies entertained by the people without doors, they had thought fit to leave the business to the wisdom of parliament at large<sup>p</sup>. He descended from a general information of a plot, to an accusation of particular men. The house of commons, alarmed at the supposed danger, resumed their former order of proceeding against Vane, Lambert, and Waller. Among the persons accused by Clarendon was the noted Praise-God Barebone; a name which added ridicule to sedition and political noise. To strengthen the crown and to establish the church, whose interests were deemed inseparable, the commons applied themselves with activity to the militia and uniformity bills<sup>q</sup>. The convocation

<sup>o</sup> Journals, Dec. 20.

<sup>p</sup> Journals of the lords, Jan. 10, 1662.

<sup>q</sup> Journals, passim.

were



were in the mean time employed in preparing the book-office, for the baptism of those of riper years; and they added the declaration at the end of the communion-service, with the prayer, which called Charles "a religious King."

C H A P.  
I.  
1662.

THE bill of uniformity, which took its rise in the house of lords, received various amendments when it was sent down to the commons<sup>r</sup>. The nation, though returned to its ancient political principles, was not yet become sufficiently cool from the fervour of religious zeal. Without philosophy to separate spiritual opinions from their temporal concerns, men carried resentment and animosity into debates, which, by a strange perversion of their subject, have seldom been managed with common decency. The friends of the episcopal hierarchy, though very warm in promoting the bill, were not its only supporters in its progress through both the houses. The Presbyterians, destined to disappointments in their views, were opposed, by the joint concurrence of other sectaries. The Independents were their ancient enemies. They had offended the republicans, by contributing to the restoration of monarchy. The high-flying Royalists, in whom a zeal for the crown was a kind of religion, forgot not former demerits in their recent services. The first they considered as flowing from principle; the latter they attributed more to a change occasioned by the temper of the times, than to an alteration in their political sentiments. The Roman Catholics, to a dread of an union between the Protestants, added their abhorrence of a system of church-government so opposite to their own. All parties seemed to concur in ruining the Presbyterians, by a law which the dispassionate must have deemed severe. The King, in his indifference for religious forms, looked upon the debates in both houses with seeming unconcern. But his atten-

Act of uniformity.

<sup>r</sup> Journals of the lords.

<sup>s</sup> Journals of the commons.



C H A P.  
I.  
1662.

tion and easy access to the Presbyterians had raised their hopes of an indulgence to a pitch, which a man of more scrupulous morals than Charles could scarce reconcile to his tacit acquiescence in such harsh measures in his parliament.

Its severity.

THOUGH the scheme of a comprehension, adopted by the King in the preceding year, promised no success, it ought, perhaps, to have suggested to the church-party a greater latitude in the terms of their communion. Instead of shewing any inclination to comprehend the Presbyterians, they turned the whole force of the act against the favourite tenets of that sect. The interest of individuals seemed, in this instance, to combine with a zeal for the ancient rites of the church. Several of the followers of the Presbyterian system were possessed of livings considerable in their value; whilst many of the episcopal clergy remained in want, for their adherence to their religious principles. The bill of uniformity left no room for evasion, to the least tender consciences, without the danger of sacrificing the character of consistency to motives of interest. The act required, that every clergyman, to render him capable of holding a benefice, should possess episcopal ordination; should assent to every thing contained in the book of Common-prayer; should take the oath of canonical obedience, abjure the covenant, and renounce the taking arms, on any pretence whatsoever, against the King. These conditions were more apt to confirm men in their former opinions, than to bring them within the pale of the church. The political prejudices entertained by Clarendon against the Presbyterians added force, upon this occasion, to his attachment to the church. Though Charles had been treated with indignity in Scotland by the followers of presbytery, he was as forgetful of injuries as he was of favours; and he seems to have been swayed entirely by his minister, in agreeing to an act which infringed his declaration from Breda. The subterfuge of regulating the promised indulgence by the advice



advice and authority of parliament, suited more with the nice distinctions of a lawyer, than the comprehensive ideas of a great statesman.

CHAP.  
I.  
1662.

The same spirit which reinstated the church in her ancient splendour, guided parliament in their measures in favour of monarchy. The command and disposition of the militia, which had been separated from the crown in the late reign, was restored, in the most ample manner, to the King. But though they placed the sword in his hands, they were frugal in bestowing the means of using it with effect. Debates on the act of uniformity, and even tedious altercations on private bills<sup>x</sup>, diverted long the attention of the commons from all consideration of any other business. The impatience of Charles for the settlement of the revenue was equal to the pressure of his debts. To recall the attention of the commons to this necessary business, he sent for them, on the first of March, to Whitehall<sup>y</sup>, and, in a most obliging speech, laid before them his necessities, and pressed them for a present supply. A bill immediately passed the house, to enable the King to raise seventy thousand pounds a-month, for the three ensuing years. Two shillings a-year on every fire-hearth in the kingdom were added, during the life of the King, to this tax. A constant revenue of twelve hundred thousand pounds was settled on the crown; with a declaration, that if the funds upon which this sum was charged should appear inadequate, the commons would at another meeting make up the deficiency. Charles was at the time satisfied; but succeeding emergencies, deficiencies in the funds, and his own want of œconomy, convinced him that the sum was too small. To these supplies to the King the commons added an act of gratitude to his friends. They appointed sixty

Militia and  
revenue settled.

<sup>x</sup> Clarendon's life.

<sup>y</sup> Journals of the commons, March 1.



C H A P.

I.

1662.

thousand pounds to be distributed among the poor cavaliers<sup>z</sup>; a sum insufficient to remove their wants; but as little expected from the gratitude, as it was from the power of the crown<sup>a</sup>.

Parliament  
prorogued,  
May 19.

THE King having, on the nineteenth of May, given his assent to all the bills that had passed the houses, prorogued the parliament to the eighteenth of the following February. He found fault in his speech with "the number of private bills, as a dangerous precedent of unsettling estates and property, which were most secure under the good old rules of the law." He complained of the luxury and dissipation of the times. He owned his own errors in that way, but he said he would reform<sup>b</sup>. He conveyed agreeable things, in a pleasing manner. He promised good husbandry; but he was by nature profuse. Clarendon enlarged, by the King's command, upon "the general murmurs against the public expence." He affirmed, that two thirds of the sums levied on the people had been issued for the disbanding of armies and the payment of fleets, neither raised nor employed by the King. He put them in mind of the disproportion between the necessary expence of the present and past times; and he derived an argument for an increase of revenue to the crown, from the growth of the prosperity of the subject. "The sums expended by the King by sea and land," he assured them, "amounted to no less than eight hundred thousand pounds in the year." He magnified "the advantages which would arise to commerce from the new acquisitions of Dunkirk, Tangier, Jamaica, and Bombay; and he deduced a certainty of peace from his Majesty's resources against a war<sup>c</sup>."

King's marriage

ON the nineteenth of May, Catherine of Portugal, the intended Queen, landed in England<sup>d</sup>. She was the first princess

<sup>z</sup> Journals of the commons, March 1.

<sup>b</sup> Journals of the lords.

<sup>a</sup> Journals, passim.

<sup>c</sup> Journals.

<sup>d</sup> Ibid.



ever permitted to leave her native country without being married by proxy<sup>e</sup>; a ceremony to which the Portuguese would by no means agree, as the ambassador was a Protestant<sup>f</sup>. The Earl of Sandwich, who with a squadron of twenty ships of war had been sent to chastise the states of Barbary in the preceding year, was instructed to take possession of Tangier, in terms of the treaty of marriage; and then to repair to Lisbon, to receive the Princess on board. His arrival on the coast of Portugal served that kingdom effectually, by striking a panic into the Spaniards, who had invaded it with a powerful army. When he came to Lisbon, he was disturbed beyond measure with an untoward accident. The alarm of the Spanish invasion had forced the Queen-regent to dissipate, in levying troops, the money set apart for the marriage-portion. The common report among the English merchants, of the incapacity of the Princess to bear children, had added to his perplexity<sup>g</sup>. His instructions, however, must be obeyed. He received the remains of the money. He was forced to receive on board his ships some articles of commerce, under the inspection of a Jew, to make up by their sale the rest of the sum. On the thirteenth of April he fell down the Tagus. Having been kept hovering on the coast for several days by contrary winds, the Infanta landed at length at Portsmouth, indisposed through the fatigues of a tedious voyage<sup>h</sup>.

C H A P.  
I.  
1662.

THE King arriving from London, was privately married to Catherine by the Earl of St. Albans, a secular priest<sup>i</sup>, and almoner to the Queen-dowager, according to the rites of the Romish church. This ceremony was performed, probably, through the impatience of Charles; but the Queen, notwithstanding, would not admit him to her bed till they were pronounced married by

with Catherine of Portugal.

<sup>e</sup> James II. 1662.

<sup>f</sup> Ibid.

<sup>g</sup> Colbatch's Portugal.

<sup>h</sup> Charles II.'s letter to Clarendon..

<sup>i</sup> James II. 1662.

Sheldon,



## HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

46

C H A P.

I.

1662.

Sheldon, Bishop of London<sup>k</sup>. None but some of her Portuguese attendants were privy to the first marriage<sup>l</sup>. The Duke of York, who is said to have been present, was not then arrived from Plymouth, whither he had gone with the Duke of Ormonde, under the supposition that the Infanta was to land at that port<sup>m</sup>. Charles, in a ludicrous letter to Clarendon, seems not to have been displeased either with Catherine's person or her manner. Though no beauty, she was agreeable; and, in the absence of vivacity, she seemed to be possessed of good-nature<sup>n</sup>. These favourable prognostics were not fulfilled by the event. Her person was not calculated to retain long the affections even of a husband more constant than Charles; and her disposition, though in appearance accommodating, was tinged with that peevish melancholy, which offends more than violence of passion. She answered not either the expectations of the King, or the hopes of the kingdom. The minister himself derived no advantage from a match, which the flattery of France, and his determined opposition to Bristol, seem to have accomplished. "The chancellor," says James the Second, in his Memoirs, "brought a Queen to England of his own chusing; but she proved his ruin. If Tangier, as was then thought, could be made a safe harbour for ships, if Catherine had proved fruitful, the marriage might have been advantageous to the people, and fortunate to the Prince<sup>o</sup>."

Execution of  
Regicides.

WHILE the parliament was yet sitting, three Regicides, Corbet, Okey, and Barkstead, were seized in Holland by the vigilance of Sir George Downing, the King's resident at the Hague, and transported from Delft to the Tower of London. Corbet was of a good family, and bred to the law. Oakey, from being first a drayman, and afterwards a chandler, became an officer of rank, abilities, and character. But Barkstead, though raised to some

<sup>k</sup> James II. 1662.

<sup>l</sup> Ibid.

<sup>m</sup> Carte's Ormonde, vol. ii. p. 256.

<sup>n</sup> Charles II.'s letter.

<sup>o</sup> James II. 1662.

consequence



consequence by his talents at leading mobs, carried through all his actions the vulgarity of his original profession of a thimble-maker. Being brought to the bar of the King's Bench, and their identity being proved, they were condemned on the act of attainder; and executed, on the nineteenth of April, at Tyburn. Being all men of courage, they behaved with decency and firmness in their last moments; and, though they suffered for public crimes, they justified themselves from acts of private injustice and oppression. Downing, who was formerly a preacher in Okey's regiment, derived no reputation from his activity<sup>p</sup>. Men even wondered how the States should consent to send public criminals to England, contrary to the uninterrupted practice of the commonwealth. The people, whose thirst for revenge was now abated, shewed some signs of pity at the execution of persons whose crimes seemed diminished by the distance of the punishment.

C H A P.  
I.  
1662.

SIR Henry Vane and Colonel Lambert, in pursuance of an address of the house of commons, were, on the fourth of June, arraigned for high treason at the bar of the King's Bench<sup>q</sup>. The carriage of the prisoners differed not more from each other, than it was opposite to their own known characters. Vane, though naturally timid, behaved with a confidence and boldness which bordered on insolence. Lambert, formerly renowned for his courage, was full of a submission, which might have been construed into fear. Vane, though an enthusiast in religion, was a man of abilities in civil affairs. He offered several matters in arrest of judgment. He defended himself with arguments more decisive in theory, than suitable to the ideas of the prevailing powers. The indictment against him comprehended none of his actions during the life of the late King; and he ought not, in

Trial of Vane

<sup>p</sup> Kennet's Register.

<sup>q</sup> Ibid.



C H A P.

I.

1662.

strict justice, he affirmed, to be arraigned for want of fidelity to a Prince, who, though *de jure*, was not *de facto* King. A sovereign, he urged, who cannot defend from injuries, has no right to punish his subjects for disobedience; allegiance and submission being the price of protection, and not the inherent property of the chief magistrate. If compliance with the government of a commonwealth was a crime, it was, he added, only common to him with the nation; and he knew not, in that latitude of guilt, who was innocent enough to condemn him for treason. He denied his being accessory to the death of the late King. He mentioned as a merit, that he opposed the violence and tyranny of Cromwell<sup>r</sup>. He insisted, that as the two houses of parliament had joined in a petition for his life, to which the King agreed, this concurrence of the legislative power had the force of an act of parliament. He displayed in his trial the known character of the rest of his life; a great acuteness of understanding, mixed with an extravagance that bordered upon folly.

and Lambert.

LAMBERT, though modest in his defence, was condemned with Vane. The first, however, was reprieved at the bar, and confined for life to the island of Guernsey, where he continued in obscure tranquillity above thirty years. A principle of ambition, more than any aversion to monarchy, was the source of Lambert's activity in the late troubles. He had intended, when he escaped from the Tower, in the beginning of April 1660, to have declared for the King, and to have precluded Monk from the rewards which he derived from the restoration of monarchy<sup>s</sup>. He lived a concealed Papist<sup>t</sup>, and he died in the Romish communion. Vane's presumptuous behaviour at his trial, was the cause assigned for his execution. The blood of the Earl of Straf-

<sup>r</sup> Trial printed by his friends.<sup>s</sup> Kennet.<sup>t</sup> Ibid.



ford seems, however, to have been required at his hands. The virulence and activity with which he persecuted that unfortunate nobleman, rendered his own fate less regretted. His enthusiasm supplied, in his latter moments, his want of natural courage; and he suffered with a firmness which argued that he had acted from principle. When he attempted to speak to the people, his voice was drowned with the noise of trumpets and drums; a mean piece of policy, which did more harm than ought to have been dreaded from the speech of Vane.

C H A P.  
I.  
1662.

THE twenty-fourth of August, or the feast of St. Bartholomew, was the day appointed for putting in execution the famous act of uniformity. Two thousand ministers chose to desert their churches and relinquish their benefices, rather than comply with terms which they thought severe. Both sides had carried their arguments to the press; both endeavoured to justify before the people their cause. The church argued for the convenience of one form of worship. The Presbyterians exclaimed against imposing restraints upon conscience by law. The favourers of episcopacy represented the danger of introducing new doctrines by an extemporary service. The adherents of presbytery were loud against the observance of ceremonies, of which, as unnecessary to religion, they could not approve. The abettors of the act affirmed, that it was unjust that men, who believed not the doctrines of the church, should enjoy its revenues. The opposers of the law insisted, that orthodoxy of faith depended not upon forms. The first said, that the conference at the Savoy had shewn the disposition of the Dissenters to quarrel. The latter replied, that the violence of the churchmen promoted schisms, by forcing men of tender consciences to set up separate congregations. The one side shewed the necessity of an union of opinions. The other declared an union of charity to be sufficient. The church spoke

Two thousand ministers ejected.

7 Trial.

VOL. I.

H

of



C H A P.  
I.  
1662.

of the covenant, as the seed of rebellions. The Presbyterians urged, that it secured the just rights of the sovereign, as well as the religious privileges of the subject. The first insisted, that the Dissenters were intruders upon the livings of the church. The latter derived an argument, favourable to themselves, from their possessing those livings for many years. Both had their reasons, but neither party was free from prejudice. Ancient injuries contributed more to their disunion, than present differences in doctrine. In religious, as well as in civil concerns, men frequently cover passion and resentment under the specious appearance of argument and conviction.

Sale of Dunkirk.

THE accommodating manner of Charles had hitherto secured popularity to his government. He seemed to have transferred to his public councils the conciliating openness of his private conversation; and to have no design, but to derive his own happiness from the prosperity of his people. The necessities into which he was early plunged, through the narrowness of his revenue and his own bad management, brought, at length, his character forward to view. The first measure that seemed to raise the distrust of his subjects was the sale of Dunkirk. It was proposed by Southampton<sup>z</sup>, the lord-treasurer, and adopted by the King with that eagerness which he always exhibited, upon every prospect of relief from pecuniary distress. Precluded by the treaty with Portugal from disposing of the place to Spain<sup>a</sup>, Charles made his first offer to France, as early as the month of June<sup>b</sup>. On the twenty-second of August, the King of France permitted his ambassador to treat<sup>c</sup>. Charles asked seven hundred thousand pounds<sup>d</sup>. Lewis proposed scarce the fourth part of that sum. In the course of a short negotiation, the first fell in his demands, and the latter rose in his offers. On the fifteenth of September,

<sup>z</sup> Clarendon's life, p. 202.

<sup>a</sup> Treaty of marriage.

<sup>b</sup> D'Estrades.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid.

<sup>d</sup> Clarendon's life, p. 204.



the bargain was struck, at four hundred thousand pounds\*. The business was previously weighed, with the utmost attention, by the chief servants of the crown. After having been approved in the cabinet, it was laid before the council at large, where there appeared against it but one dissenting voice. The Earl of St. Albans wished to transfer the negociation to Paris, and the management of the whole to himself. He, however, ascribed to his love for the public a disapprobation suggested by private views<sup>f</sup>.

C H A P.  
I.  
1662.

THE sale of Dunkirk, though stigmatized as one of the worst measures of the reign of Charles, was less excusable, as a mark of meanness in the King, than for its detriment to the nation. The charge of maintaining it was very considerable, and the profit arising from it extremely small. It had no port to receive vessels of burden; no harbour where ships of war could ride with safety. Weak to the land, and easily blocked up by sea, it would be difficult to maintain it, but it might be commanded with ease. The keeping of Dunkirk, it was apprehended, might involve the King in a war. France looked upon it with an eye of jealousy; Spain had demanded its restitution, as unjustly seized by the late protector<sup>g</sup>. These were the arguments offered to satisfy the nation; others had still greater weight with the King. His coffers were empty, and his debts were great. The parsimony of parliament suited but ill with his profusion; and his late acquisitions, instead of bringing him profit, burdened his revenue with expence. The two hundred thousand crowns received, in the beginning of the year, from France to support Portugal, were already expended upon the forces sent, in the month of June, to the latter kingdom. His sister had been married near eighteen months to the Duke of Orleans, and her portion was

Reflections.

\* D'Estrades.

<sup>f</sup> Clarendon's life.

<sup>g</sup> MSS.



C H A P.  
I.

1662.

not hitherto paid. These were the urgent reasons which weighed with Charles. The relief was trifling, and the loss of reputation, which arose from the measure, great. But he was a spendthrift in politics, as well as in money. He purchased a moment of present ease with years of future distress.

Quarrels at  
court

DURING transactions in which the public were concerned, the private happiness of Charles was disturbed by domestic distractions, which proceeded from his own vices and weaknesses. Given to women and addicted to debauchery, he was either the dupe of designing mistresses, or converted into a tool by profligate men. Through a kind of vicious gratitude, he could refuse no favour to the first. He was governed by the latter through the easiness of a lively temper, that sacrificed every thing to mirth. Though a man of abilities, he hated business, because it interfered with his amusements. He followed sensuality with an avidity which is apt to destroy pleasure, by enjoying it beyond measure. Destitute of religion, he dropt its appearance; and by associating with the dissolute, he became an example and encourager of debauchery and vice. His good sense and understanding yielded the reins to a thoughtless extravagance. His virtues, for he had some, came seldom in view, as he banished morality from trifles. The Queen, instead of reclaiming him from his immoderate love of women, fixed him for ever in his infidelity, by her peevishness. His minister, though a man of abilities and virtue, was harsh and severe in his disposition, and more apt to irritate than persuade a prince, whose happiness chiefly consisted in good-humour and indolence. He sought for a relief against both, in the company of dissolute persons of either sex. He avoided the dark melancholy of Catherine in the company of Barbara Villiers, now Countess of Castlemain; and he endeavoured to forget the moral prudery of Clarendon in the vicious conversation of the Duke of Buckingham and his associates.

CHARLES,



1662.  
between the  
minister and  
mistress.

CHARLES, who affected to contemn such as were led by women<sup>h</sup>, was himself under the influence of the Countess of Castlemain, a woman whose violence could be only equalled by her want of understanding<sup>i</sup>. Though she had borne to him a son, the King, contrary to all decency and politeness, suffered himself to be persuaded to desire the Queen to admit her near her person<sup>k</sup>. When the Queen refused this request, with the indignation natural to a woman whose person is despised, Clarendon was employed to soothe her into consent; an office more agreeable to his love of his master's repose, than suitable to the dignity of his station and character. His behaviour during this odd negociation, instead of removing the former prejudices entertained against him by the favourite, added fury to her resentment. At a time that he endeavoured to persuade the Queen to admit her into her service, he forbade his own wife to return her visits<sup>l</sup>; an insult to the last degree unpardonable in a woman's eyes. The dignified demeanour of the Dutchess of York, who would never admit any of the King's mistresses into her presence, was construed into haughtiness, and ascribed to her father. The mistress declared herself openly against the minister; and he, though the contest was unworthy of the gravity of his character, as openly opposed her measures and her avarice<sup>m</sup>. He permitted nothing to pass the great seal in which her name was mentioned; and he often prevailed with the King to depart from resolutions, which she, as the tool of designing men, had advised him to take.

THE hesitation in the mind of Charles, between his facility to his mistress and his sense of Clarendon's services, escaped not the observation of some persons of greater abilities than integrity. Sir Harry Bennet, keeper of the privy purse, profited by it the first<sup>n</sup>. By the intrigues of the Countess, he succeeded Sir Edward

Intrigues  
against Cla-  
rendon.

<sup>h</sup> Clarendon.

<sup>i</sup> Carte's Ormonde.

<sup>k</sup> Clarendon's life.

<sup>l</sup> James II. 1662.

<sup>m</sup> Carte's Ormonde, vol. ii. p. 276.

<sup>n</sup> Clarendon's life, p. 193.



C H A P.  
I.

1662.

Nicholas as secretary of state, on the second of October. Nicholas, worn out in the service of the crown, received a gratuity worth twenty thousand pounds for his resignation<sup>o</sup>; a sum unequal to his services, but too great for those expected from his successor. Though Clarendon, perhaps, regretted that his old friend Nicholas should retire, there is reason to believe he was not very averse from Bennet's promotion. Jealous of the influence of Sir Charles Berkley with the King, he supported Bennet against him, upon his return from Spain; and, after Bennet had accepted the seals, he paid an attention to the chancellor, which bore the appearance of gratitude. Clarendon's support of Bennet, proceeded, however, from policy, and not from friendship. He suspected him to be a Catholic. Though he knew that he had abilities, he was no stranger to his want of principle. The coldness which arose between them, from Bennet's attention to the favourite mistress, was gradually improved into a mutual aversion. Clarendon had many enemies raised by envy; he had several created by disgust. Bennet joined himself secretly to both, and the chancellor ceased to be absolute in the cabinet. He was now deprived of almost all his friends. Southampton, being in a bad state of health, began to withdraw from the court. The Duke of Ormonde, by being appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland, had removed to his government; and Sir Edward Nicholas had yielded to the infirmities of age and the intrigues of Bennet. Charles, however, still entertained a respect for Clarendon, for his services; whilst he derived a powerful support from his connection with the Duke of York. He retained the reputation and a great part of the power of a minister. But the seeds of his fall and ruin were already sown<sup>p</sup>.

King dispenses with the act of uniformity.

THE first measure of the King, after the promotion of Bennet, shewed that new councils were adopted in the cabinet. The asso-

<sup>o</sup> Clarendon's life, p. 193.

<sup>p</sup> James II. Clarendon's life.

ciations



ciations among the Presbyterian clergy, joined to the rigid severity with which the act of uniformity had been put in execution, raised clamours and complaints, which Charles, by an inconsiderate step, endeavoured to remove. In their uninterrupted access to his presence, the Presbyterians had received repeated promises of his protection; and, on the twenty-sixth of December<sup>1</sup>, he issued a declaration, as head of the church, dispensing with the penalties imposed by the act of uniformity. The Protestant Dissenters owed, however, this indulgence more to the intercession of the Earl of Bristol, who considered himself as head of the Papists, than to the King's favour. That nobleman, excluded from office by his religion, endeavoured to secure an influence at court for his friends'. He gained the favour of the Countess of Castlemain by deserting his old friend the chancellor. She improved the coldness which had arisen between them concerning the King's marriage, into that animosity which soon after broke out into such violence on the side of Bristol. The King himself had shewn him such countenance, that he gave, at his recommendation, a regiment of horse to the Earl of Oxford, who then pretended to his daughter'. Though Charles knew Bristol too well to trust him in doubtful affairs', he followed his advice in a matter to which he was already inclined. He was an enemy to persecution, from an indifference to religion; and the person whose counsel he followed, hoped that the same dispensing power which relieved the Protestant Dissenters, might in time be extended to the Papists.

THE parliament meeting on the eighteenth of February, the only business mentioned by the King in his speech, was his declaration in favour of the Dissenters. He told them, "that being in his nature an enemy to all severity for religion and conscience, he had thought proper to dispense with the penalties imposed by

1663.  
Proceedings  
in parliament.

<sup>1</sup> Public Intell. Dec. 26, 1662.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> James II. 1662.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.



C H A P.

I.

1663.

the act of uniformity. He apprehended," he said, "that sanguinary laws against any difference of opinion in religious matters were first promulgated in Popish times. He declared his own firm adherence to the church of England. He desired some laws to be made against the growth of Popery. He signified his wishes, that, should the Dissenters demean themselves peaceably under government, he had such a power of indulgence, to use upon occasion, as might prevent the severity of the late act from driving them out of the kingdom, or from conspiring against its peace, if they remained." The two houses received this speech with a coldness which disappointed his hopes. The chancellor was either politically or conveniently sick when Charles advanced to his parliament doctrines so different from the minister's firm attachment to the church. The commons appointed a day for considering the declaration and the speech. On the twenty-fifth of February, "they thanked the King for his constancy in observing the act of indemnity, for his professions against introducing a government by military power, for his invitation to the house to prepare laws against the growth and progress of Popery." But at the same time, they resolved, "to present to the King their humble advice, that no indulgence from the act of uniformity should be granted to the Dissenters." Charles was not so fond of religion as to quarrel for its forms with his commons. He gave up the point, and the storm was dispersed before it fell\*.

Address a-  
gainst Papists.

THE King having yielded his project of indulgence with little hesitation, the two houses concurred in a remonstrance against the Papists. Charles, though he scrupled not to own his obligations to some persons of that persuasion, returned a gracious answer, and issued a proclamation against Jesuits and Romish priests<sup>†</sup>. This measure, however, was only a mark of his complaisance to parliament. The severities which he affected to dislike were

\* Journals.

† Proclamation.

avoided



avoided by a subterfuge in the terms of the proclamation; and it is even doubtful, whether the two houses meant any thing by their remonstrance, but to signify to the world their firm adherence to the act of uniformity. The commons, after settling these religious matters, proceeded to examine the standing revenue of the crown. They had promised to make it twelve hundred thousand pounds a year; but the funds upon which that sum had been charged had failed. Notwithstanding the price received through the sale of Dunkirk, the King's coffers were again empty. Oeconomy prevailed in no department of the state<sup>z</sup>; nor was the profusion of Charles diminished. Had even the funds, upon which his revenue was charged, answered the expectations of parliament, the amount would have been insufficient for the necessary disbursements of government. The sum annually saved by the sale of Dunkirk was scarce more than one-third of the money expended yearly on Tangier. An extraordinary supply was necessary. The King sent for the commons, on the twelfth of June, to Whitehall<sup>a</sup>. He complained of their inattention to his revenue; and by acquainting them of a conspiracy to seize the castle of Dublin, he hoped to furnish a reason for demanding a present supply. Four subsidies were immediately voted, though the previous question was only carried by a small majority<sup>b</sup>.

THE charge of treason against the chancellor, entered, on the tenth of July, before the lords, by the Earl of Bristol, closed the business of this session of parliament. The animosity between these two noble persons was proportionable to their former friendship. Clarendon's attachment to the church was deemed by Bristol the cause through which his favourite project of indul-

Bristol's  
charge of  
treason

<sup>z</sup> James II. 1663.

<sup>a</sup> Journals.

<sup>b</sup> 159 against 111.



C H A P.  
I.

1663.

gence failed. Though a man of abilities, he was proud, passionate, and revengeful. He forgot all propriety and decency in his resentments, and ruined his schemes by impetuosity. The charge was couched in several articles, which he accompanied with a speech, as indecent to the King, as it was severe on his minister. The lords referred the charges to the consideration of the judges. They sent, at the same time, a copy to the King. The judges declared, "that a charge of high treason cannot, by the laws and statutes of England, be exhibited by any one peer against another in the house of lords; and that, even if the articles alleged were true, they did not amount to treason <sup>c</sup>." The King sent a message to the house, which bore, "that he found several matters of fact charged, which, upon his own certain knowledge, were untrue; and that he could not but take notice of the many scandalous reflections in that paper upon himself and his relations, which he looked upon as a libel against his person and government. For these and other misdemeanours," continued the King, "I will, in due time, take such course against him as shall be agreeable to justice <sup>d</sup>."

against Clarendon.

THE lords, on the fourteenth of July, went into debate on the subject. They voted the opinion of the judges, without one dissenting voice. Bristol, in confusion, left the house; and, to add misfortune to the disgrace which he brought upon himself by his own impetuosity, the King issued a warrant to apprehend and confine him to the Tower. He concealed himself in several places for two years. He appeared not in public till the fall of Clarendon. He then came into the house, and exhibited such symptoms of malignity against that unfortunate nobleman, as were inconsistent with the generosity of a man of honour<sup>e</sup>. Bristol's

<sup>c</sup> Journals of the lords, July 13.<sup>d</sup> Journals, eodem die.<sup>e</sup> Clarendon's life, p. 210.



indiscretion, in his charge against the minister, could be only equalled by his prior insolence to his sovereign. Though he had experienced the royal bounty to a considerable degree, his profusion had reduced him to distress. Having asked a favour, which Charles did not think fit to bestow, he flew out into expressions of the utmost extravagance. He accused him of his excesses and debauchery, of his carelessness in business, of his neglect of his friends. These charges were true, and, therefore, the more severe, and less apt to be pardoned. He vowed vengeance against his own enemies. He even threatened the King. He completely ruined himself with his master; who, though he forgot the injury to such a degree, as to admit the Earl to his presence, never trusted him with his councils <sup>f</sup>.

C H A P.  
I.  
1663.

THE parliament was prorogued on the twenty-seventh of July, and the King spent the two succeeding months in a progress through different parts of the kingdom. The public tranquillity was in some degree disturbed by the discovery of a conspiracy in the north of England. Charles, weary of discourses concerning plots and insurrections, had resolved to give no countenance to such informations. He determined to leave the kingdom to the vigilance of the civil magistrate, and the care of the officers of the militia <sup>g</sup>. But intelligence coming from several quarters, with the particulars of the designs of the republican party, and their place of rendezvous, he was roused from his inattention. He sent some regular troops toward York; which city the conspirators had designed to seize. Some of their principals being taken, their measures were broken. A commission of oyer and terminer was sent to York. One and twenty persons, consisting of conventicle-preachers and old parliament-soldiers, were tried and condemned <sup>h</sup>. Some were pardoned, the greatest number

A plot discovered.

<sup>f</sup> James,

<sup>g</sup> Clarendon.

<sup>h</sup> Continuation of Baker, p. 633.



C H A P.

I.

1663.

executed. It appeared that the plot had been in agitation near two years<sup>1</sup>; but it was ill-concerted. Many persons of rank were accused, yet proofs were brought home to none. The whole seemed to be the indigested plan of a few wild enthusiasts, who had neither the abilities to give success to the enterprise, nor the prudence to foresee its danger.

<sup>1</sup> Journals of the lords.



CHAP. II.

*Affairs of Portugal—of France—of Scotland—of Ireland.—Triennial act.—Address against the Dutch.—Character of the Duke of York.—Rise of the Dutch war.—Victory of the English.—Consternation of the Dutch.—Affair of Bergen.—Bishop of Munster joins Charles.—The plague in London.—Rupture with France and Denmark.—Battle of four days.—The Dutch defeated.—The fire of London.—Discontents in parliament.—The fleet laid up.—Disgrace at Chatham.—Peace concluded.—Discontents.—Fall of Clarendon.—New ministry.—Foreign affairs.—Character of Lewis XIV.—Triple league.—Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.—Peace between Spain and Portugal.—Affairs of Scotland—of Ireland.—Proceedings in parliament.—A general tranquillity.—Intrigues at court.—Duke of Ormonde dismissed.—Violence of Buckingham.—Act against conventicles.—Death and character of Albemarle.—King changes his measures.—Secret negociations with France.—Conversion of the Duke of York.—Conference at Dover.—Treaty with France.—Death of the Dutchess of Orleans.*

THOUGH Charles derived little happiness from his marriage into the house of Braganza, he adhered, with a degree of firmness, to his resolution of supporting them on the throne of Portugal. The Queen-regent being removed from the helm by the intrigues of the Conde de Castelmelhor, the nominal management of affairs fell into the hands of her son, Alphonso the Sixth; a prince of little natural abilities, and altogether neglected in his education\*. Alphonso took the reins of

CHAP.  
II.  
1664.  
Affairs of

\* Abrege de l'Histoire de Portugal, 1663.

government



C H A P.  
II.  
1664.

government soon after his sister became Queen of England; and, in the month of June 1662, English forces to the number of three thousand, horse and foot, arrived in the port of Lisbon<sup>1</sup>. The Earl of Inchiquin, who had distinguished himself in Ireland, and Sir Thomas Morgan, whom Monk had left, before the Restoration, in the government of Scotland, commanded this small, but gallant body of veterans. Don John of Austria, the natural son of Philip the Fourth, led the Spanish army in Portugal, with success and reputation. He forced the Portuguese to raise the siege of Juremena. He took Evora. He opened a passage for his arms to Lisbon. Count Schomberg, in subordination to the Conde de Villa Flor, led the troops of Portugal, with her auxiliaries.

Portugal,

THE Conde de Castelmelhor, alarmed at the consternation and tumults in the capital, gave strict orders to Schomberg to engage the enemy, and to abandon at once the fate of the state to the fortune of arms<sup>m</sup>. On the eighth of June 1663 was fought the memorable battle of Amexial, near Evora, which established the independence of Portugal. The Portuguese owed the honour and advantage of this important victory to the valour of an English regiment, led by Lieutenant-colonel Hunt. Ascending with unparalleled spirit and impetuosity a steep hill, on which Don John himself was posted with the flower of the Spanish infantry, they routed him with great slaughter, seized his cannon, his tents, and his rich baggage. The Conde de Villa Flor, who was more a spectator than commander in this action, exclaimed with joy on the occasion, "These heretics are better to us than all our saints<sup>n</sup>." Of sixteen thousand Spaniards, four thousand were killed, and six thousand taken prisoners. The King of Portugal's generosity to his gallant allies was more suitable to his own folly, than to

<sup>1</sup> Public Intell.

<sup>m</sup> Colbatch's Account of Portugal.

<sup>n</sup> Ibid. p. 141.

their



their valour. His largesse was of an extraordinary kind; three pounds of snuff to each company. The soldiers received this royal gift with disdain, and strewed it upon the ground. Their native sovereign was more just to their merit. Notwithstanding the emptiness of his coffers, Charles ordered forty thousand crowns to be distributed among them, as a proof of his approbation and favour °.

C H A P.  
II.  
1664.

WHILE Philip the Fourth had lost so much of his reputation by the disgrace thrown on his arms in Portugal, Lewis the Fourteenth descended from his importance, by falling unexpectedly upon the Duke of Lorraine. Lewis, to whom ambition was the best reason for violence, alleged the Duke's negligence in adhering to the treaty of Montmartre, as the ground of his invasion. Marsal was invested by the armies of France. The Duke, unable to combat with such odds, signed a treaty at Nomeni, on the first of September 1663, by which he yielded Marsal to the King, in return for the rest of his dominions, which were, on that condition, restored. The injustice of Lewis to his more feeble neighbours had not yet raised the jealousy of those states who alone could put bounds to his ambition. The negotiations of the two preceding years discovered to him, that a well-timed supply to Charles would prevent all obstacles to his designs from England; and the Dutch, split even then into two great factions at home, suffered themselves to be swayed from the apparent interests of their nation abroad, by their domestic feuds. The German branch of the family of Austria suffered in their importance from the fall of the power of Spain, as well as from internal causes, co-operating with the undecisive councils of the Emperor Leopold. The idea of a balance of power, which subsisted during the greatness of Spain, and which afterwards rose upon the ambition of Lewis, was scarce, at this time, an object of policy; and the ex-

and of  
France.

° Colbatch's Account of Portugal, p. 147.



C H A P.  
II.

1664.

perience of almost an age ought to convince Europe, that she honoured France too much, in being afraid of her arms. Lewis himself had hitherto given no great cause of jealousy. In deference to the peaceable policy of Mazarin, he had, till the death of that minister, carefully concealed the love of glory, to which he afterwards sacrificed prudence as well as justice.

Scotish and

THE Scotish nation continued, throughout the year 1663, to run in their former channel of unlimited loyalty. The Earl of Middleton, through the intrigues of Lauderdale, gave place as commissioner to the Earl of Rothes. On the eighteenth of June, the parliament met at Edinburgh. They condemned to death Archibald Johnston, commonly called Laird of Wariston, who had been very active during the late times, and was the only Scotsman who was a member of the famous committee of safety. He was executed at the Cross of Edinburgh on the twenty-second of July; behaving with more spirit than was expected, from the known timidity of his mind. A national synod of a peculiar kind was constituted for the regulation of ecclesiastical affairs. It formed a medium between the Presbyterian assembly of the church and the English convocation. This synod was to assemble at such time and place as the King should appoint by proclamation; and to debate of such matters, relating to the government and doctrine of the church, as his Majesty should deliver to his commissioner, without whose presence they were not permitted to meet. This confusion of the modes of presbytery with the constitution of prelacy, rose from the mixed character of Lauderdale, who joined an attachment to the covenant to principles favourable to an unlimited monarchy. He had attended Rothes, whom he could not trust, to Scotland; and held him in a dependence more suitable to his own arrogance, than the high character of his friend<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Burnet, vol. i. p. 284.



THE Duke of Ormonde, arriving in his government of Ireland on the twenty-seventh of July 1662<sup>1</sup>, applied his whole attention to the settlement of her affairs. Though some part of the confusion which distracted that island had been removed, things were far from being yet restored to tranquillity and order. The third act of settlement, which passed in September, was so far from being equal to the purpose, that it was immediately followed by a bill of explanation. To this disorder in civil concerns were added the lord-lieutenant's well-grounded fears of the army. He applied himself to purge the troops; but the bills lately passed had brought no money into the exchequer to pay their arrears. Though the duke raised, on his private credit, the sums necessary for a work which admitted of no delay, his precautions prevented not a formidable conspiracy for seizing the castle of Dublin, in the beginning of the summer of 1663<sup>2</sup>. Ormonde discovered the plot, and prevented its execution. A few examples of justice struck a terror into the rest; but though the nation was quiet, the very stillness seemed to threaten a storm. The disaffection of the soldiers continued. To provide against the worst events, the lord-lieutenant sent officers to England for a draught of five hundred men; but the duke of Albemarle acquainted him, that he had not five hundred in all his small army whom he could trust<sup>3</sup>. Time only could settle these bad humours, notwithstanding the mildness and vigilance of the Duke of Ormonde's government.

C H A P.  
II.1664.  
Irish affairs.

THE parliament of England, after a recess of near eight months, met on the sixteenth of March. But the King, as few of the members were arrived, did not go to the house till the twenty-first<sup>4</sup>. He enlarged in his speech on the late conspiracy in the North, which, he affirmed, was not yet at an end. He derived

Parliament  
meets<sup>1</sup> Public Intell.<sup>2</sup> Carte's Ormonde.<sup>3</sup> Ibid. vol. ii.<sup>4</sup> Journals.



C H A P.  
II.

1664.

the pretensions of the disaffected to make disturbances from their opinion that the long parliament was not dissolved; and from their fancying to themselves, by some computation on a clause in the triennial bill, that the present parliament was for some months past at an end. The affair of the long parliament, he continued, was already settled; but he confessed, that though there was no colour for the fancy of the determination of the present parliament, he was surprised that they had not taken into consideration a bill which passed in times as careless of the security of the people as they were of the dignity of the crown. He prayed the commons to revise the bill. He declared his unalterable affection for parliaments; and he concluded this part of his speech with assuring them, if he thought otherwise, he would never suffer a parliament to meet by the means prescribed by that bill. He thanked both houses for their late supply; but he complained, that it had fallen much short of what either he expected or they intended. He affirmed, that the most unpopular tax, the excise, was the least beneficial to the crown; and he signified his wish, to collect and husband the chimney-tax by officers of his own appointment<sup>u</sup>.

Address  
against the  
Dutch.

THE commons, in compliance with the King, brought in a bill for the repeal of the triennial act, which, however, contained a provision, that parliaments should not be discontinued above three years. The bill having passed the lords, received the royal assent on the fifth of April; and on the twenty-first of the same month, the commons came, without one dissenting voice, to a resolution, that the wrongs and indignities done to his Majesty's subjects in India and Africa, by the subjects of the United Provinces, were the greatest obstructions to the foreign trade of England<sup>x</sup>. They demanded the concurrence of the lords, in moving the King to take some effectual course to redress the same.

<sup>u</sup> Journals of both houses.<sup>x</sup> Journals of the commons.



In prosecution of his endeavours upon that subject, they resolved to assist him against all opposition, with their lives and fortunes. On the twenty-seventh of April, both houses waited in a body on the King, and he promised to examine the complaints, and to demand of the States speedy justice and reparation. Having, in their zeal for prelacy, passed the act against conventicles, the parliament was prorogued on the seventeenth of May, to the twentieth of the following August<sup>y</sup>, having carried through the session that zeal for the crown and the church for which they were hitherto so remarkably distinguished.

THOUGH the Duke of York, on account of his birth and his high office, had already commanded the attention of the world, he came forward more fully to public view in the disputes which involved England in a war with Holland. In his person he was somewhat above the middle stature, well shaped, very nervous, active, and strong. His face was rather long, his complexion fair, his countenance engaging; but his outward carriage was a little stiff and constrained; and he was not so gracious as he was obliging and courteous. He was affable in his conversation, easy of access; and though sometimes exact in the use of the ceremonial, an enemy to formality. Having a hesitation in his speech, his discourse was not graceful. But upon those subjects which he studied the most, his observations were judicious and solid<sup>z</sup>. Though hot and choleric by nature, he became sedate in his temper, from a sense of the indecency of passion; and though he was, through the warmth of his constitution, given to women, he was never their slave<sup>a</sup>. In every part of his character he was the reverse of his brother, who lost his dignity in his amusements, and sacrificed his judgment to the ministers of his pleasures.

Character

<sup>y</sup> Journals.

<sup>z</sup> Continuation of the Life of James II. MS. Scot. Coll. Paris.

<sup>a</sup> Burnet, vol. i.



C H A P.  
II.

1664.  
of the

HAVING served in several campaigns under the Viscount de Turenne, the Duke of York secured the friendship and obtained the applause of that great commander. His personal courage was undoubted; and in the department of war, which he studied the most, he was far from being destitute of conduct. His chief praise consisted in a strict adherence to truth in all he said. Sincere in his professions, and minutely observing his word, he was respected by those whom he favoured the least; but his uncomplying disposition prevented him from being ever loved. Though not a warm, he was a firm friend; and though an unforgiving, he was an open enemy. He affected to guide his actions by principle, to be directed in all his opinions by reason. This was the great defect of his mind. His circumscribed abilities often prevented him from judging right; and mistaking obstinacy for firmness, he seldom availed himself of the counsels of others. His lofty notions of regal authority rendered him an obsequious, rather than a good subject, while it made him unfit for the office of a limited king. A lover of decency and good order, he was unexpensive in his disposition, but far removed from avarice. He was frequently unjust to men in their speculative opinions, never with regard to their property. His virtues, upon the whole, though not splendid, were obvious; his vices were few, and they lay concealed. In the earlier part of his brother's reign he was respected by individuals and highly esteemed by the nation; and even after the folly, or rather madness, of his religious zeal was known, he was more feared than despised.

Duke of  
York.

His father having destined him for lord-high-admiral of England, he was placed in that important office when his brother was restored to the throne; and he applied himself with great assiduity to the duties of his station. The fleet, which had carried the glory of England to a high pitch under Cromwell, was neglected in the changes and revolutions which succeeded the death



death of that able despot<sup>b</sup>. At the Restoration, the naval stores were exhausted, and the magazines almost empty<sup>c</sup>. The sums granted by the convention-parliament were inadequate to the old debts of the navy, much less to repair its present wants. Of the twelve hundred thousand pounds voted by the commons in the end of the year 1661, eight hundred thousand were applied by the King to the use of the fleet. Charles, as well as his brother, loved and understood maritime affairs. They were both fond of commerce, and they resolved to support it against the encroachments of foreign powers. The East-India, Turkey, Hamburgh, Canary, and other companies were encouraged and protected. A new African company was formed under the auspices of the duke of York, to supply the West-India islands with slaves<sup>d</sup>. With an eagerness suitable to his temper, he pursued every measure to establish this branch of commerce on a durable and advantageous foundation. He procured the secret of dying cloth in Holland; he deceived the natives of Guinea, by giving the same smell to the goods in packing as the Dutch used to do at Leyden<sup>e</sup>. He divided his time between the city, the admiralty, and the parliament. He presided at every meeting of the company. In four years he had scarce been absent as many days from the house of lords. His industry supplied the place of great abilities; and he gained men of business by descending with such zeal into what engaged their own minds.

C H A P.  
II.  
1664.

THE Dutch, during the troubles which succeeded the death of Rife Cromwell, had encroached on the foreign trade of the English every where<sup>f</sup>. They had dispossessed them of Cormantin on the Gold-coast, they had been insolent to the merchants, and committed depredations in other parts of the world. The Duke of York, as governor of the new African company, had obtained

<sup>b</sup> James II. 1663.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid.

<sup>d</sup> Ibid.

<sup>e</sup> Ibid.

<sup>f</sup> Ibid.



C. H. A. P.  
II.

1664.

two ships from the King, which, together with armed vessels belonging to the company, he submitted to the command of Sir Robert Holmes. That officer, having received instructions to protect the commerce of the English, and to check the insolence and encroaching disposition of the Dutch, directed his course to Cape Verde. He seized that fort, he retook Cormantin, he placed garrisons in both, and established factories along the coast. Soon after, the Duke, having obtained a grant of a tract of land lying between New-England and Maryland, which the Dutch, during the late troubles, had seized, obtained again two ships from the King. These, under the command of Sir Richard Nicholas, sailed, with three hundred men on board, to take possession of the country. The Dutch yielded the place without bloodshed, and most of the settlers remained under the English government. Nicholas, in honour of his patron the Duke, called this acquisition New York; giving, at the same time, the name of Albany to the fort, which the Dutch had built to protect their beaver trade<sup>g</sup>.

of the

NOTWITHSTANDING some reprisals, which fell not short of declared hostilities, the States-General had concluded, on the twenty-fourth of September 1662, a treaty with England, upon the same inglorious conditions which had been extorted from them by Cromwell. No fresh article was inserted in a treaty, which seemed only to be renewed to acquire validity from legal authority. In the commercial contests between the subjects of both states, two English ships, the Bonaventure and Goodhope, had been either sunk or destroyed by the Dutch<sup>h</sup>. This affair was debated with some warmth at the treaty of 1662; but it was afterwards submitted to the decision of a court of justice, by the mutual consent of both parties. Downing, who resided at the Hague, envoy for the King of England, bought, for a trifle, the

<sup>g</sup> James II. 1664.<sup>h</sup> Basnage. D'Estades.

property



property of the merchants in the disputed ships<sup>i</sup>; and being a man of a violent and avaricious disposition, added by his remonstrances fresh fuel to the flame. The jealousy against the Dutch commerce, which prevailed among the merchants of London, carried daily complaints to the ears of the Duke of York, who had added a desire of distinguishing himself in a war<sup>k</sup>, to his natural aversion to every republican government. The nation itself, from the repetition of insults, took fire; and the commons entered into all the vehemence of their constituents. The King and his minister opposed the torrent in vain. The impetuosity of the people prevailed; and Charles found himself obliged to suspend his pleasures, to apply himself to preparations for war.

C H A P.  
II.  
1664.

THE King having, in consequence of his promise to the parliament, demanded through Downing a redress for depredations and insults, the States dispatched Van Gough as their ambassador to the court of London. He arrived on the twenty-fifth of June; but the time for negotiation was past. Little hopes of peace remained on either side; and, therefore, both had taken previous steps toward an open rupture. The English made the first motion toward hostilities. The Duke of York had, in May, dispatched Holmes with a powerful squadron to the coast of Africa. The States, on this emergency, placed a kind of dictatorial power in the hands of the pensionary De Wit<sup>l</sup>. Upon intelligence of the expedition of Holmes, he ordered De Ruyter to follow with thirteen ships of war. De Ruyter, in conjunction with the English admiral, Sir Thomas Lawson, was then employed in the Streights against the states of Barbary. He took in provisions at Cadiz, Lawson suspected his design; but it was resolved, in a council of war, not to commit hostilities without orders<sup>m</sup>. De Ruyter failed for Africa. He met with no opposition on the coast of Guinea. The acquisitions of the English, except Cape Corse, fell all into

Dutch war.

<sup>i</sup> D'Estrades, June 5, 1664.

<sup>k</sup> Clarendon.

<sup>l</sup> James II. 1664.

<sup>m</sup> Ibid.

his



CH. A. P. II. his hands. He bent his course to America. He insulted Barbadoes. He attacked Long Island, and seized all the English merchantmen that came in his way.

Preparations  
of Charles.

BEFORE intelligence of De Ruyter's expedition arrived in England, Charles, though unwilling to plunge into hostilities, made all the necessary preparations against a rupture. Uncertain of the event of his requisition to the States, he had demanded no supplies from parliament. He applied for the loan of one hundred thousand pounds to the city; which, in their eagerness for war, was granted without hesitation. He made a progress in person to the different ports, to hasten the fitting out of his fleet. The spirit of the nation joined the efforts of the King. The artificers worked with the utmost expedition and alacrity. Sailors poured in from every side. In the middle of October, Prince Rupert put to sea with a squadron of twelve men of war, and six of the African company's ships, each carrying forty guns. He received orders to intercept De Ruyter; but intelligence arriving that the States prepared a greater force under Opdam, the Duke of York joined the Prince with a reinforcement of ships in November. Opdam laid up his fleet for the winter; and the Duke, after a cruize of a few days, in which he took the Dutch fleet from Bourdeaux, returned to Spithead. Orders of reprisal having been issued, one hundred and thirty-five vessels fell into the hands of the English, prior to the declaration of war.

Act against  
conventicles  
enforced.

WHILST the attention of the court was taken up with preparations for war, the civil magistrate, in every corner of the kingdom, was employed in enforcing the act passed in the last session of parliament against conventicles. This act, though supported by some specious arguments, may justly be deemed severe. Though persuasion scarce ever reclaims mankind from religious errors,

<sup>a</sup> James II. 1664.

penalties



penalties in matters of conscience have seldom any effect, unless they are carried into an excess inconsistent with humanity. There is no middle way to be taken in such cases. Slight persecutions increase the evil. They provoke, but they do not terrify; and could men reflect with coolness on their own system of religion, it furnishes no argument of its justness to call the force of the state to its aid. The greatest part of the Dissenters were Presbyterians, and it looked like adding tyranny to persecution to divest of the liberty of preaching men already deprived of their livings by law. But the day of retribution was come. The mercy which the Presbyterians had denied to the church was now refused to themselves.

C H A P.  
II.  
1665.

THE parliament, after two prorogations, met on the twenty-fourth of November, and granted two millions five hundred thousand pounds for prosecuting the war with the Dutch. This supply, the greatest ever granted to a King of England, was voted to be levied upon the subject by quarterly payments, in three years. A signed narrative of the proceedings with regard to the States was laid before the houses. They concurred in an address of thanks to the King, for preserving the honour of the nation. They thanked the city for supporting the preparations of the crown with a loan<sup>p</sup>. On the twentieth of December, they adjourned to the twelfth of January, when they brought back to both houses the same vehemence against the States, the same determination to strengthen the hands of the King. Having given his assent to the money-bill in the beginning of February, Charles declared war against the Dutch in form; and, on the second of March, the parliament, having transacted no material business, except the royal aid, were prorogued to the twenty-first of June<sup>q</sup>.

Parliament  
meets.

<sup>p</sup> Journals, Nov. 25.

<sup>q</sup> Journals, March 2.



C H A P.  
II.1665.  
Duke of  
York com-  
mands the  
fleet.

THE King, encouraged by an ample supply, resolved to prosecute the war with vigour. The Duke of York, on the fifteenth of March, repaired to Gunfleet, the general rendezvous of the ships, to hasten the equipment of the fleet; but it was not in five weeks ready to put to sea. The Duke, to whom such business was amusement, employed the time in settling the order of battle and rank of the commanders. Though the English had been so successful at sea under Cromwell, they fought without order, and owed their victories more to their valour than to their skill. The Duke was the first who drew up the fleet in a line. In the first week of May, he sailed in the Royal Charles, at the head of ninety-eight ships of war, the greatest fleet ever sent by England to sea. He determined to visit the Dutch on their coast, and anchored at the mouth of the Texel. The enemy, afraid of a landing, erected beacons along the coast; but the Duke was forced, by stress of weather, to return to Gunfleet to refit. On the thirtieth of May, as the wind, being easterly, might bring the Dutch on the English coast, he sailed, making all the use he could of the tide; yet it was the first of June before he could anchor in Southwold Bay. About one o'clock, the Dutch fleet, under Opdam, appeared to windward, consisting of one hundred and thirteen men of war, eleven fire-ships, and seven yachts. The wind, which continued easterly, fell toward evening; so that, though both fleets used all their sails, little way could be made.

A battle.

ON the second of June, the Dutch were not seen till ten in the morning, when the Duke of York, with thirty of his best failers, stood toward them with a fresh gale. He kept about two leagues from the enemy, till he was joined by his whole fleet; and the weather becoming calm in the close of the evening, he lay all night about eight leagues to the east of Leostoff. About two in the morning, the Dutch were seen lighting their matches, and

James II. 1665.

preparing



preparing for action; all in a line, and in the same order with the English. At day-break a fresh gale arose, and the English got the wind. The Dutch van came up at three, and the fight began, when an untoward accident deprived the Duke of the advantage of his situation. He ordered the signal to be given for the whole fleet to tack; but the sailer sent up the mast was so long in unfurling the flag, that, before he could let it fly, Opdam with his van had bore up round, ship after ship, and brought his starboard tacks on board. The Duke stopt the signal, lest it should put the whole fleet in disorder; and instead of bearing up round, tacked only when it came to his turn. Six hours were lost by this little accident; for had the signal been given, both fleets would have their larboard tacks on board, and have stood toward the coast of England; so that the Dutch, upon giving way, would, as the Duke intended, have a greater run to make to their own coast.

C H A P.  
I.  
1665.

At ten o'clock the battle, interrupted by this accident, was renewed with redoubled ardour. The sea was smooth, and not a cloud to be seen in the sky. The Duke of York bore down upon Opdam, and a furious battle began. The Earl of Falmouth, the Lord Muskerry, and Mr. Boyle, as they stood on the quarter-deck, were all slain by one shot; and the Duke, who stood by their side, was covered with their blood. The fight continued till two with great obstinacy, when Opdam blew up, at the third shot of the Duke's lower tier, which he had ordered to be fired, gun after gun. The Dutch, seeing the fate of their admiral, fell into the utmost confusion. Their fire abated, and at half past two they fled. Sebastian Seaton, a Scotsman, remained alone in his ship, called the Orange. He attempted to board the Duke; but being raked by Sir John Smith, who killed sixty of his men, he was obliged to strike. The Dutch, in this

The Dutch  
defeated.

\* James II. 1665.



C H A P.  
II.

1665.

decisive action, lost thirty ships; twenty-two taken, and eight either sunk or burnt. Eight thousand men were taken prisoners; three admirals, besides Opdam, were slain. The English lost but one ship, the Charity. Eight hundred men were either wounded or killed. Two hundred, besides the Earl of Falmouth, the Lord Muskerry, and Mr. Boyle, were slain on board the Duke's own ship<sup>u</sup>. The Earls of Marlborough and Portland fell in the action. Sir John Lawson died afterwards of his wounds<sup>x</sup>.

An accident  
prevents the  
victory

THE Duke pursued the Dutch till night; and most of their ships, had it not been for an accident, might have been taken next morning, before they could gain the Texel. When it began to grow dark, the Duke ordered the Norwich, a fifth-rate, to keep just a-head of him all night; to hang out lights, and to keep close to the Dutch. He ordered Captain Wetwang, who commanded her, to fire guns, to make false fires, to put out more lights, should the enemy clear their course; and by no means to lose them in the night. Having given strict charge to his own ship to keep close to the enemy, that he might engage them by break of day, he retired to his cabin about eleven o'clock, and lay down on a quilt, in his clothes, to take some rest, after the fatigues of the day. He scarce had fallen asleep, when one Brounker, whose behaviour during the battle exhibited every symptom of cowardice, came upon deck, and endeavoured to persuade Captain Cox, the master of the Royal Charles, to shorten sail. Cox refusing his request, he applied to Captain Harman, a brave and experienced officer, who acted as first lieutenant, but in vain, unless he obtained an order from Sir William Pen, the captain. Brounker, upon this, went under deck; and, without entering the Duke's cabin, returned with a pretended order to shorten sail<sup>y</sup>.

<sup>u</sup> Clarendon's life, p. 266.

<sup>x</sup> James II. 1665.

<sup>y</sup> Ibid.

HARMAN,



HARMAN, not thinking it possible for a gentleman to tell a lie<sup>z</sup>, not only shortened sail, but, after some time, brought to; yet, to prevent any disorder in the fleet, he put again before the wind; and, as day began to break, set a-trip his topsails, just as the Duke, who knew nothing of what had passed, came on the quarter-deck. He found himself, when it grew light, half a league a-stern of the Dutch, and about the same distance a-head of his own fleet. He believed the Dutch had outailed him, by going right before the wind, and drawing less water. He thought that the Royal Charles had, by being a good failer, advanced a-head of the other ships. This accident saved the Dutch. They endeavoured to enter the Texel, but the tide had failed. They anchored, however, so near the sands, and in such shallow water, that the English durst not advance with their large ships; and the enemy was too numerous and strong for the small. To complete the disappointment, all the fire-ships had been expended. Four or five would have been sufficient to destroy the whole of the Dutch fleet. The Duke knew nothing of Brounker's affair, till the parliament met at Oxford, in the month of October. Enraged beyond measure, he determined to try him by a court-martial<sup>a</sup>; but he was prevented by the house of commons taking cognisance of the affair. Brounker retired to France, and he was expelled the house; a punishment too slight for his crime<sup>b</sup>.

C H A P.  
II.

1665.  
from being  
pursued.

THE Duke of York, despairing to destroy the Dutch, returned to the Buoy at the Nore. He was ordered by the King to repair to London, and to leave Prince Rupert, with the Earl of Sandwich, in the command of the fleet<sup>c</sup>. The people received him with that admiration which persons of high rank derive from victory and personal courage. The States were filled with consternation. Tumults arose among the people, which De Wit found himself obliged to appease with some sacrifice. Several of-

Consternation of the  
Dutch.

<sup>z</sup> James II. 1664.

<sup>a</sup> Ibid.

<sup>b</sup> Journals. James II.

<sup>c</sup> James II. 1665.

ficers



C H A P.

II.

1665.

ficers were tried, as the authors of the public misfortunes. Some were punished with death, some with ignominy. Terror, faction, and confusion, still prevailed. De Wit, who joined valour to his qualities as a statesman, resolved to go on board the next fleet in person<sup>d</sup>, and to execute with vigour what he had planned with wisdom. Sandwich, in the mean time, stood for the coast of Holland. De Ruyter was on his return from his expedition, and the English resolved to intercept him. Upon this intelligence, he went round the north of Scotland, and endeavoured to steal home by the coast of Norway and Denmark. A rich fleet from the Mediterranean and the East Indies took the same course with De Ruyter. Having arrived in the German ocean, they heard of the defeat of their fleet; and they resolved to take shelter, under the protection of the King of Denmark, in the port of Bergen in Norway.

Affair of Bergen.

FREDERICK the Third, who then sat with some reputation on the throne of Denmark, acted, upon this occasion, a part unworthy of a King. Upon receiving intelligence of the arrival of the Dutch East India fleet in the port of Bergen, he made secret proposals to Sir Gilbert Talbot, the English envoy at his court, to assist in delivering them, for a share of the booty, into the hands of their enemies. Talbot communicated the offer to Charles, who embraced it with joy. Sandwich received orders to repair with the fleet to the coast of Norway. Upon his arrival, he detached a squadron of men of war, under Sir Thomas Tiddiman, to attack the Dutch; who, apprized of the danger, had landed their effects, and erected batteries ashore. The treachery of the governor of Bergen, the obstinacy of the enemy, the various difficulties to surmount, obliged the English to retire without success. The King of Denmark, as if ashamed of his conduct, entered into a strict alliance with Charles, through his ambassador at Co-

<sup>d</sup> Le Clerc.

penhagen;



penhagen; while the Danish resident in Holland concluded, by command, an offensive treaty with the Dutch. His present conduct was as extraordinary as his former treachery. He, however, adhered to the latter treaty, and threw all his weight into the scale of the States \*.

C H A P.  
II.  
1665.

WHEN Charles was making preparations for a war with the States of Holland, he endeavoured to fortify himself with foreign alliances. Though the Spaniards deduced their disgrace at Amexial from the valour of the English auxiliaries, he dispatched Sir Richard Fanshawe, as ambassador, to gain the friendship of Philip the Fourth. Age and disease had now added their infirmities to the natural weakness of Philip. In his eagerness to reduce Portugal, he neglected to remove from her the support of her best ally. The loss of Jamaica and Dunkirk lay so heavy on the minds of the Spaniards, that the dangers which threatened the monarchy, the ambition of France, the dying condition of their King, the uncomfortable prospect of the reign of a sickly infant, the last male of his family in Spain, were not all sufficient to induce them to accept the offer of an alliance with England. Neither was Charles more successful in his negotiations in France. The mind of Lewis was already engaged in the visionary scheme of empire, which was long the terror, and afterwards the derision of Europe. Governing the councils of Holland through the abilities of De Wit, he had concluded a treaty with the States for a partition of the Spanish Netherlands. The Lord Hollis, then ambassador at Paris, failed in all his endeavours to gain the court of France. The offer of Charles, to abandon Flanders to conquest equalled not, in the mind of Lewis, the power which England would acquire by the total reduction of the Dutch. Resolving to establish a force at sea, he thought it best for his scheme to preserve a kind of balance between the two great maritime powers.

Negociations  
with Spain  
and France.

\* Clarendon, Rapin, &c.



C H A P.  
II.

1665.

He, however, either through art or want of decision, hesitated for some time; and, when he engaged on the side of the States, his aid was spiritless, elusive, and cold.

Bishop of  
Munster joins  
the English.

WHILST France and Spain were in vain solicited, a new ally offered spontaneously his aid in the war. Van Ghalen, Bishop of Munster, whose territories lay contiguous to those of the States, sent a proposal to the King, to attack his enemies on the German side. That prelate, by nature restless and resolute, added the memory of injuries from the Dutch to his own ambition to share in their spoils. Though furnished with men, he was destitute of money; and Charles promised a subsidy, to enable him to take the field. With a tumultuary army of sixteen thousand men, he entered the province of Overijssel, and found little resistance in his progress. De Wit, safe in the assurances of France, was in dread of no other power; and, neglecting the land-forces, had thrown the whole strength of his country into the navy. This storm, which rose suddenly, was not destined to last. The subsidy from England was not punctually paid. The French sent a small army to the aid of the Dutch. Undisciplined troops are calculated for incursion, but not for war. The Bishop, through the rigours of winter, carried on his campaign; at length he thought proper to finish the career of his ambition. A peace was concluded; and he retired, without doing any benefit to England, except striking a temporary panic among her enemies<sup>f</sup>.

A plague.

DURING these transactions abroad, the nation was visited by a dreadful calamity at home. A pestilence, which began in May, carried off, in the course of the year, near eighty thousand persons in the city of London alone. The court, the judges, and all who possessed the means of escape, left the town. London became, in some measure, a desert; the very grass was said to grow

<sup>f</sup> Temple's letters.



in the middle of Cheapſide<sup>z</sup>. The plague ſpread to the country with thoſe who fled. Terror and death were every where ſeen. The King retired to Salifbury; the Duke, after his return from the fleet, reſided at York. London was left under the direction and care of the Duke of Albemarle, who remained in Whitehall, and reſſed, by his authority, the diſtractions which ſprung from the calamities of the people. To avoid the peſtilence, the parliament, after two prorogations, aſſembled on the eighth of October at Oxford. The commons granted to the King the demanded ſupply of twelve hundred and fifty thouſand pounds; they preſented the Duke of York with one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds, as a reward for his valour and conduct. The good agreement which ſubſiſted between Charles and his parliament continued; but the public calamities put no ſtop to perſecution againſt non-conformiſts. In this ſeſſion the famous five-mile-act was formed, which prohibited diſſenting teachers from coming within five miles of any place where they had preached, after the act of oblivion. This bill met with oppoſition; but it paſſed and received the royal aſſent on the thirty-fiſt of October, when the parliament was prorogued to the twentieth of the enſuing February<sup>h</sup>.

CHAP.  
II.

1666.

THE year 1666 uſhered in an unfavourable proſpect of Engliſh affairs. Denmark, gained by a ſubſidy, ſided with Holland; France, at the earneſt inſtances of De Wit<sup>i</sup>, openly eſpouſed her cauſe. On the nineteenth of January Lewis iſſued a declaration of war; but allowed three months to the Engliſh merchants to remove themſelves and their effects from his dominions. Frederick ſhewed firſt his intentions, by the ſeizure of all their ſhips in the Daniſh ports. The regency of Sweden, offended at the treaty between the Danes and the States, adhered to Charles in

Rupture with  
France and  
Denmark.

<sup>z</sup> Baker, p. 637.

<sup>h</sup> Journals.

<sup>i</sup> D'Eſtrades, Baſnage.



C H A P.  
II.

1666.

their professions of friendship<sup>k</sup>; but they avoided to engage in the war. The pressure of danger from abroad created unanimity at home. When the King issued his declaration against France, the people, though recent from a dreadful calamity, testified their resolution to support him with shouts of joy. The maritime counties put themselves in a posture of defence; and offered the continual attendance of their militia in arms. Charles received their proposals with thankful expressions; but he would not permit them to incur the expence. The motives of France were not perhaps unknown to the King. He justly thought that Lewis would not push with vigour a war into which he had entered only to support the credit of De Wit against the faction of the family of Orange.

Albemarle  
and Rupert  
command  
the fleet.

THE Queen-mother, who had left England in the preceding summer, had prevailed with Charles, not to permit the Duke of York to hazard his person any more in the war. The fleet was therefore submitted to the joint command of the Duke of Albemarle and Prince Rupert. The Earl of Sandwich, who had closed with reputation the service of the preceding year, having behaved himself irregularly concerning the prizes, was removed; but without dishonour. He was appointed ambassador extraordinary, in the room of Sir Richard Fanshawe, to the Queen-regent of Spain. The perilous situation of England, the new councils which might be adopted upon the death of Philip the Fourth, induced Charles to renew his negotiations at Madrid in the person of Sandwich<sup>l</sup>. The joint admirals received not their commissions till their predecessor departed on his embassy. They went on board in the middle of April; but though they were both men of indefatigable industry, the fleet was not ready to sail till the end of May<sup>m</sup>. Their force consisted of seventy-eight

<sup>k</sup> Philips, p. 549.<sup>l</sup> Clarendon's life.<sup>m</sup> Ibid.



ships of the line, with several frigates and some fire-ships. They stood immediately for the coast of Holland, and took many prizes; but concluding precipitately, from the intelligence which they received, that the Dutch were not ready to leave their ports, they returned to the Downs<sup>n</sup>.

CHAP.  
II.  
1666.

LEWIS, to co-operate with his allies, had given orders to his admiral, the Duke of Beaufort, to sail from Toulon with forty ships. This force, by the bad intelligence of the ministry, was said to have already entered the channel. Orders were sent to Prince Rupert, to separate himself with twenty ships from his colleague, and to make the best of his way to intercept and fight the French. The Prince with all the natural ardour of his temper, immediately obeyed; whilst Albemarle, with the rest of the fleet, remained in the Downs. The next day after Rupert's departure, the Duke received certain intelligence, that the Dutch, commanded by De Ruyter, with De Wit himself on board, had come out of their harbours. On the first of June, at three in the morning, he gave orders to weigh; and at seven he saw the Dutch to leeward, to the number of ninety sail, lying at anchor. Albemarle, though cool and sedate in his temper, was ever impatient at the sight of an enemy. Though he called his flag-officers together, it was not to ask their advice, but to give his commands. He bore up with a full wind upon the enemy; who, having cut their cables, stood out to receive him with ardour<sup>o</sup>.

Battle of  
four days.

AT two o'clock the engagement began. The English at first had the wind, which was so high, that they could not carry out their lower tiers, whilst the Dutch ships, being bent toward the side which lay from the English, could fire their full broadsides. Van Tromp, rushing furiously through the squadrons of the

First day.

<sup>n</sup> Contin. of Baker, p. 637.

<sup>o</sup> Clarendon's life, p. 343.



C H A P.  
II.  
1666.

enemy, exhibited prodigies of valour. Albemarle, engaged with De Ruyter, shewed himself worthy of his former renown. The Dutch had the advantage in the action of the first day. Sir William Berkley, as vice-admiral, leading the van, was by numbers overpowered, his ship taken, and he himself slain. Sir John Harman having disengaged himself from two fire-ships, sunk a third; and having slain Admiral Evertson, who bore down upon him, retired with his shattered vessel to Harwich. One Dutch ship was burnt; two admirals slain. Three English ships, after the loss of almost all their men, were taken by the enemy.

Second day.

THOUGH night interrupted the fight, the ardour of neither side was abated. The Dutch were animated with the hopes of conquest; the English were fired with indignation at their not being victorious. De Ruyter saw his own superiority in point of numbers: Albemarle was ashamed of retiring from an enemy whom he had often subdued. The whole night was spent in repairing the masts and rigging, which the Dutch, by using then for the first time chain-shot, had greatly damaged<sup>p</sup>. At six of the clock the battle began with redoubled fierceness; but when the Dutch were upon the point of flying, they were reinforced with sixteen capital ships. They renewed with fury the combat. Many were slain on the side of the English; many of their ships were disabled; Albemarle, however, would yield to nothing but the night. Though the Dutch lost a vice-admiral, though many of their ships were disabled, and Van Tromp himself obliged repeatedly to change his flag, the enemy had greatly the disadvantage in the action of the second day. The English had lost no ship, but many were shattered and in no condition to face the enemy with any prospect of success. Darkness had scarce given them a respite from battle<sup>q</sup>.

<sup>p</sup> Clarendon's life, p. 844.

<sup>q</sup> Ibid. Contin. of Baker, Basnage.



ALBEMARLE found his fleet so much weakened in this action, that he resolved to take the benefit of the night and retire. The vigilance of the enemy, and the shattered condition of his ships, prevented him from executing this design. Before day-light appeared, he ordered the disabled ships to make all the sail they could, whilst he himself, with a line of battle of sixteen vessels, brought up the rear. De Ruyter pursued the flight of the enemy, yet he could not bring up his fleet within shot of the Duke till four in the afternoon. Albemarle prepared to renew the action, and resolved to perish rather than yield. He communicated to the Earl of Ossory, who was then on board, his intention to blow up the ship rather than to tarnish his former renown by falling into the enemies' hands'. At this instant a new fleet appeared to the south, crowding toward the English with all their sails; the mariners, concluding it to be Prince Rupert's squadron, rent the sky with their shouts. They edged up with so much eagerness towards their friends, that several of the flag-ships ran aground on the Galloper sand. They all, but with great difficulty, got off, except the ship of Sir George Ayscough, admiral of the White, who, with the remains of his crew, was made prisoner by the enemy. Though the ministry, apprized of their former fatal mistake, had dispatched an express to Rupert, it was the noise of the cannon, which filled all the neighbouring seas, that brought him back so opportunely to his friends. The Prince having joined Albemarle, the fleet bore northward; but in endeavouring to clear the sands, they gave the wind to the enemy. Night prevented a renewal of the fight'.

CHAP.  
II.

1666.  
Third day.

IN the morning of the fourth of June, the English admirals, who had resolved to renew the combat, descried the enemy three leagues to windward. They crowded toward them with all their

Fourth day.

' Hume.

' Clarendon.

fails.



C H A P.  
II.  
1666.

fails. The Dutch lay with their sails to the mast. The fighting began about eight of the clock, with the utmost fury on both sides. The Dutch were eager to retain their advantage, the English to retrieve their fame. The victory remained doubtful throughout the day. De Ruyter exerted all his skill, but the two admirals were invincible. They kept their first advantage of the wind. They burnt six ships, they sunk others, and lost only three. The fate of the battle was not, however, decided at six at night; when both, as if weary of carnage, gradually separated, and hastened to their respective coasts. Both sides claimed the victory; both deserved it, had it depended on valour. Albemarle, by his invincible courage, made amends for his eagerness; and Rupert, by the timely relief which he brought to his distressed friends, added their love to his former renown. The behaviour of the Dutch admirals upon this occasion was manly, and full of heroism. De Ruyter and Van Tromp, though mortal enemies ashore, contended at sea only for fame. The first, by saving his rival from imminent danger, gained over him a victory more to be envied, than if he had ruined the designs of his whole faction at home<sup>t</sup>.

Dutch defeated,  
July 25th.

THE disabled ships were sent to different ports to refit; the admirals remained on board of their own<sup>u</sup>. Both, men of the most undaunted intrepidity in action, seemed ashamed to return, without victory, to their friends. Their industry in preparing the fleet was equal to their courage in battle. In four weeks they were ready for sea; but the winds were so contrary, or the weather so calm, that it was the twenty-fourth of July before they came in sight of the enemy. De Ruyter, reinforced by some ships that were ready to sail for the Baltic, was before them at the mouth of the Thames. When the English appeared, he retreated toward the coast of Holland; but he was closely pursued. Night

<sup>t</sup> Clarendon, Heath, &c.

<sup>u</sup> Clarendon.

prevented



prevented an action. About six the next morning, the English found themselves within two leagues of the enemy. The Dutch formed themselves into a half-moon, to avoid the fire-ships, the English having the wind. They hoped, in that way, that either their van or rear, by tacking, might weather a part of the English fleet. At ten the white squadron fell along-side of the Dutch, and the fire began. The enemy, at eleven, gave way a little, but they renewed the action; yet, at one, their whole van gave way, and bore up before the wind. De Ruyter's ship still maintained the fight against the English admirals. The Royal Charles, on board of which were the Prince and Duke, was forced to quit the line at three to refit, and the Sovereign fell in her place, along-side of De Ruyter. His fire-ship being at length sunk, and his main-top-mast shot down, he bore, at four, into his fleet, right before the wind. He disabled his adversary in such a manner as prevented pursuit. Van Tromp having, at the beginning of the action, broke in between the red and the blue, maintained, with his wonted obstinacy, the battle with the latter squadron. He also was at length forced to give way. Though the loss of the Dutch was not considerable, an indisputed victory remained to the English. They rode in triumph along the coast. They attacked the isle of Ulie. They burnt two men of war, and one hundred and sixty merchant-men, that lay in the harbour\*.

THOUGH these misfortunes raised distractions in Holland, De Ruyter was again ordered to sail. To effect a junction with the French fleet was their principal object, as the only means to gain a superiority over the English. De Ruyter, taking the advantage of the retreat of the enemy to Southwold Bay, put to sea. He was pursued by the English admirals; but he declined the combat, by retiring into a bay near Bulloigne. Lewis the Fourteenth, at the earnest instances of De Wit, hastened forward the

The Dutch  
at sea to no  
purpose.

\* Mr. Pepys's MSS. fol. 53. Oxon.



C H A P.  
II.

1666.

Duke of Beaufort. He was apprehensive for the safety of his allies, or rather afraid that De Wit would sink, from repeated misfortunes, before the Orange faction. A storm, which forced Prince Rupert to St. Helens, saved at once both the Dutch and the French. Beaufort passed the enemy unperceived; but the Dutch had recalled their fleet to their ports. The French admiral had again the good fortune to return unseen. Only two ships, who fell in with Sir Thomas Allen, were taken. This small loss gave a pretence to Lewis to lay up his fleet for the year. De Wit had supported his influence, and the King of France left the safety of the States to their own arms.

Fire of

THE storm that protected the Dutch and French from the English, promoted a dreadful calamity, which fell on the city of London. On the second of September a fire broke out, at one in the morning, in a baker's shop in Pudding-lane, near New Fish-street, with such violence, that the family escaped with the greatest difficulty. The wind was high, the lane narrow, the houses were old and of wood. The flakes, carried forward by the tempest, kindled new fires beyond the course of the first flame, and spread the devastation far and wide. The terror of the people was at least equal to their danger, though great. Uproar, confusion, and flight, prevailed. Few thought of saving any thing, except their lives; none to stop the progress of the conflagration. The morning came, and the fire increased. The alarm had spread to the farthest corners of the city; assistance came from all parts. The pipes under the streets were broken up; but, to add to the mischief, the water suddenly failed. That part of the city where the flames raged was supplied with water by the engine at the north end of the bridge; but the engine itself was burnt down. They had recourse to the pipes of the New River, but they found them dry. The cocks, by some accident, were not, though such was the practice on Sundays, turned into the city. Distrust, jealousy,



lousy, and suspicion, as is usual, were joined to consternation and terror in the minds of the people, who are ever ready to ascribe public misfortune to private design<sup>y</sup>.

CHAP.  
II.  
1666.

THREE days and three nights the flames raged with redoubled fury. Of the twenty-six wards fifteen were burnt down. Four hundred streets and lanes, thirteen thousand houses, eighty-nine parish-churches, were destroyed<sup>z</sup>. The King, the Duke, the officers of state, the members of the privy-council, took different posts in the city, to keep order, by their authority, among the terrified populace; and to contribute, by their directions, to furnish them with relief. Charles was affected beyond measure at this dreadful misfortune<sup>a</sup>. Roused from his lethargy of pleasure and indolence, he was present every where, directing, encouraging, assisting those who laboured to extinguish the fire. The Duke of York, who was afterwards accused as the author of the calamity, was active in stopping its progress. The wind falling in the night of Tuesday, the flames began to decline. The fire, by the blowing up of houses, ceased in many parts; in others it became extinguished, without any apparent cause. On the evening of Wednesday it broke out afresh in the Inner-Temple; but, by the care of the Duke of York, who held the watch there for that night, it was extinguished before day. It is remarkable, that, during a calamity so terrible, not one life was lost; and though the fields were covered with people, whose houses had been burnt, in four days there was scarce a person to be seen. They all found shelter in the parts of the city which remained, in the suburbs or neighbouring villages<sup>b</sup>.

London.

THOUGH the loss of individuals was great, the fire of London might be said to have been a benefit to the nation. The wretched

Reflections.

<sup>y</sup> Clarendon, Heath, Burnet, Contin. of Baker, &c.

<sup>z</sup> James II. 1666.

<sup>a</sup> Clarendon, p. 359.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. p. 351.



C H A P.  
II.

1666.

cabins, which nursed sickness and disease, being destroyed, the new city became airy and healthy. The plague, which formerly visited, at stated periods, the capital, has not been heard of for more than a century; and other epidemical disorders have, ever since, become more bounded in their ravages. The King assumed a discretionary power, which the parliament afterwards confirmed, to regulate the rebuilding of the city, and to prevent the houses from being framed of lath and timber. Had he extended his care from the materials to the disposition of the houses, London might have taken a more magnificent and convenient form. But neither Charles, nor the age in which he lived, had formed any perfect idea of that convenience, at which an advanced state of luxury can only arrive. The opinion that the Papists burnt the city of London suited the jealousy of the times. Plots, conspiracies, and treasons, were the terror and disgrace of that suspicious reign. The minds of men were not yet settled, from the late diversity of political opinions. The negligence of a dissolute court, the careless and even profligate character of the King, were more apt to kindle ancient jealousies, than to lull the people into present security. The novelty of the restoration of monarchy, the specious qualities of the Prince, had lost a great deal of their influence in the progress of time; and mankind, as if awakened from a dream, began to wonder how they had been pleased.

Discontents

BUT neither the public calamities, nor the undecisive state of an expensive war, had yet raised open clamours in the nation against the measures of the crown. The first symptoms of discontent appeared in the parliament, which, after several prorogations, met on the twenty-first of September<sup>c</sup>. The King, as usual, suited his speech to the times. He lamented the late calamity; he magnified the success of his arms; he, in an artful manner, demanded a supply<sup>d</sup>. The house of commons, during

<sup>c</sup> Journals.<sup>d</sup> Ibid.



the first days of their sitting, was thin, the distant members having not yet arrived. The servants of the crown formed a great majority of those present; and a supply was faintly voted<sup>c</sup>, without mentioning the funds upon which it was to be charged. When the members increased, they made professions of loyalty to the King; but they arraigned the measures of the crown. Without thinking any more of the supply, they passed to other business. They inquired into the cause of the late fire; they ordered in a bill for appointing commissioners to inspect the public accounts. When any member mentioned the urgent necessities of the crown, another answered by representing the exhausted state of the nation. This business became the subject of altercation, rather than debate; the servants of the crown, who wished to ingratiate themselves with the popular party, avoiding to bring the matter to a question.

C H A P.  
II.  
1666.

THE ill-humour in parliament proceeded less from a regard for the public good, than from the private views of some leading members. The necessities, which threw Charles so frequently on his commons, rendered the possession of their house an object of ambition. Men saw that the road to preferment lay through that place; and they began to oppose the crown, to render themselves necessary to its service. This science, brought since to great perfection, was far from being unknown under Charles. The best speakers among the commons thought themselves the most able to govern the nation. They formed into a party, and, to carry forward their operations with more force, they chose a head. This was the Duke of Buckingham, who joined lively parts to unequalled profligacy. The pleasantness of his humour and conversation, the extravagance and poignancy of his wit, rendered persons of all opinions fond of his company. A quarrel with the favourite mistress, which drove him from the King's presence, made him a

in parliament.

<sup>c</sup> Clarendon.



C H A P.  
II.

1666.

fit leader for a party who opposed the court. He knew the vulnerable side of Charles, from being acquainted with his secret acts of profusion; and from him, probably, rose the popular topic of an examination into the public accounts.

A supply  
granted.

NOTWITHSTANDING this combination among the speaking members, the majority of the commons had not changed their former affections for the King<sup>f</sup>. The opposition were as unwilling to bring the business of the supply to a decision, as the servants of the crown. To defer it was to gain a point. The attention of the house was called to a matter which engaged their passions. A bill was brought in to prevent the importation of Irish cattle<sup>g</sup>; and the debates upon it, through some of those strange humours to which popular assemblies are frequently liable, grew to a warmth which precluded all other subjects. A difference with the lords was added to the turbulence among the commons<sup>h</sup>. The bill at length passed both houses; and, when the King came to give his assent, on the eighteenth of January, he spoke to the commons concerning their promised supply with that firmness which he could, upon occasions, assume. They retired to their house, and passed the bill of supply, which was presented for the royal assent on the eighth of February; and then the parliament was prorogued to the tenth of October<sup>i</sup>. The bill for inspecting the public accounts was dropt in the house of lords<sup>k</sup>.

The fleet laid  
up.

THE supply granted by the commons, with so much reluctance, was inadequate for carrying on the war with vigour. The King himself, and almost all his servants, were inclined to a peace; but how to obtain it with honour, was difficult to be conceived. Southampton was the first who proposed to lay up the first and second rates; and to act, to avoid expence, upon the defensive. Albemarle joined the lord treasurer's opinion, and advised to weary

<sup>f</sup> Clarendon.<sup>g</sup> Journals.<sup>h</sup> Ibid.<sup>i</sup> Ibid.<sup>k</sup> Clarendon.



the Dutch out of patience, by incommoding their trade. The Duke of York opposed this scheme. He thought that the measure would have a contrary effect. "The success of the last year," said he, "was more specious than solid; the English having lost ten and the Dutch only two men of war. The chief advantage," he continued, "which had been derived from the battles with the enemy, was the panic which the English valour had struck into the Dutch seamen; who, being convinced of their own inability to resist them with equal numbers, would scarce be induced to go on board the fleet. The laying up of the great ships," he affirmed, "would remove the terror of the enemy, make them masters of the sea, and place them in a capacity to insult the coast." He presented a plan to the council, by which it appeared, that, with good husbandry, the whole fleet might be fitted out for service; and he assured them, that their present project, though it might save a little money to the King, would become burdensome to the people, by obliging them to keep the militia in arms and pay during the summer. The Duke's arguments were over-ruled in council. His father-in-law, the chancellor, deserted him upon this occasion<sup>m</sup>. They laid up the capital ships, and the nation was left open to insult.

THOUGH the chief success of the war had been on the side of England, the King, from his natural indolence and want of ambition, wished for peace, before the parsimony of parliament had rendered it necessary<sup>n</sup>. Having, in the month of September, sent to Holland for the body of Sir William Berkley, he insinuated, but in a distant manner, his inclination to put an end to differences upon reasonable terms. The Dutch, though their credit remained entire, were afraid of a failure in their resources, by the almost total obstruction of their trade by the English navy. In their answer to the letter of Charles, they offered one of two

Steps toward  
a peace.

<sup>l</sup> James II. 1667.

<sup>m</sup> Ibid.

<sup>n</sup> Basnage, Le Clerc.

conditions;



C H A P.  
II.

1667.

conditions; that every place taken should be restored on both sides, or each party retain what they now possessed. Charles, in expectation of a large supply from parliament, hoped to compel his enemies to more advantageous terms. When that failed, he began to listen to a renewal of the same proposals. The Dutch, on the seventeenth of January, wrote a letter to the King<sup>o</sup>. They wished for a conference, and they named London for holding it; provided the two crowned heads, who were their allies in the war, should agree to a circumstance that might appear humiliating. The King, to obviate objections, named the Hague. At length, after some negotiations with the court of France, Breda was fixed upon by all parties. The conference was to have been opened on the tenth of May. The English commissioners, the Lord Hollis and Henry Coventry, arrived not till the twentieth. Sweden, as mediator, was represented by two ambassadors, Fleming and Coet. France, Denmark, and the States, sent their commissioners; and the conference was opened with every reasonable prospect of a speedy and happy conclusion.

Disgrace

DISPUTES concerning the cession of the island of Polerone having protracted the negotiations<sup>p</sup>, the Dutch, who had refused a suspension of arms, endeavoured to retrieve the honour they had lost at sea, by insulting the English in their own ports. The laying up of the capital ships, to save money, was no secret to the States. They fitted out their fleet. De Ruyter appeared at the mouth of the Thames. He took Sheerness, ill fortified, and worse defended. A squadron, under Van Ghent, advanced with a leading wind up the Medway, on the tenth of June. He broke the chain, destroyed seven ships of war at Chatham, and carried away the Charles, a first-rate<sup>q</sup>. The consternation was great, but scarce equal to the general indignation. The reputed lords of the ocean saw themselves insulted, and their navy destroyed in

<sup>o</sup> D'Estrades.

<sup>p</sup> Clarendon.

<sup>q</sup> James II. 1667.

their



their very harbours. Men exclaimed against the shameful negligence of government. They complained with justice of the mean avarice of the King; who, to secrete a pitiful sum, left his kingdom defenceless against danger, and exposed to insult and disgrace. The enemy hovered near Chatham for several days; and every tide furnished them with a fresh opportunity of triumph. The Duke of Albemarle exerted in vain his conduct and skill. The negligence of the Crown had extended to all its meanest servants. Disobedience, cowardice, and rapacity prevailed in every department; and that more mischief was not done, proceeded less from any vigilance in the English, than from a want of vigour in the Dutch.

C H A P.  
II.

1667.

THE city of London, during the Dutch operations at Chatham, was thrown into the utmost consternation. The enemy were expected at London-bridge. The timid left the town. Confusion prevailed among those who remained. The militia was raised. Nine ships were sunk at Woolwich, five at Blackwall. Batteries were raised on the banks of the river. The train-bands themselves took the field. These precautions were, however, unnecessary. The difficult navigation of the Thames, prevented De Ruyter from endeavouring to advance, more than any force prepared by the English. He sailed westward along the coast. He attempted Portsmouth, Torbay, and Plymouth in vain. He returned again to the Thames. The same consternation was renewed. An encounter happened between Sir Edward Spragge and the enemy, in the mouth of the river. Little damage was done on either side. Spragge retired to Gravesend, De Ruyter sailed again to the west. The Dutch, during the whole month of June and the greatest part of July, rode triumphant in the channel. The treaty of peace being at length signed, on the twenty-first of the latter month, De Ruyter put an end to hostilities and returned to Hol-

at Chatham.

\* James II. 1667.

land.



C H. A. P.  
II.

1667.

Treaty con-  
cluded.

land. Charles was extremely mortified at the disgrace, which either his own avarice, or the unskilfulness of his councils brought upon the nation. A melancholy and concern, for some time, suspended his pleasures; and he added self-reproach to the just murmurs of his people.

DURING the alarm, which the Dutch fleet made along the coast, Charles levied suddenly a body of twelve thousand men; and to provide against the worst, ordered the parliament to assemble, on the twenty-fifth of July\*. The peace, with the three hostile powers, being concluded before they met, he dismissed them, with a short speech; having perceived, that the ill humour which had become apparent in the late session, was increased by the disgrace at Chatham. The only vote passed by the commons, was an address for disbanding the army; with which the King, in his speech at the prorogation, promised to comply. Thus ended the first war of Charles, begun through jealousy more than injury; and which, though carried on with some glory, terminated in disgrace. Though the Dutch were nominally joined by two crowned heads, they derived little assistance from either. They were supported merely by their own resources, and the enterprising genius of their minister, De Wit. A subsidy procured for them the friendship of Denmark; they owed the name of France, in the war, to the influence of the pensionary with Lewis the Fourteenth. Neither of the two kings had any quarrel with England; and they had no differences to settle by treaty. To forget the past was to be reconciled with Denmark; and France, by putting a part of the island of St. Christophers again in possession of the English, removed every pretence of future contest. The ambition of Lewis being turned to another quarter, he found it convenient to secure the acquiescence, if not the friendship, of

\* Journals.



Charles. This was the cause of his languor in the war, as well as of the facility with which he was induced to conclude the peace.

C H A P.  
II.  
1667.

THE national happiness, which began with the Restoration, seems to have terminated with the Dutch war. The carelessness of the King, the distress brought upon the crown by extravagance, the disgrace thrown upon the kingdom by the want of a proper protection from government, raised the jealousy of the people, and, in some degree, provoked their resentment. To these, Charles had only to oppose some amiable qualities; and that irresistible popularity in his manner, which supported him with the vulgar, in his worst measures. Men of sense and virtue, who knew his abilities, were offended at his not exerting them with vigour. The lovers of monarchy were chagrined at a negligence, which undermined his authority; and his best friends, the populace, transferred the blame of the late misfortunes from their Prince to his servants. These discontents, however, exhibited no symptoms of violence. The calamities of fire, pestilence, and, in the end, an inglorious war, were not capable to alienate the affections of the people from a prince, whose very vices were popular. His gallantry was construed into spirit, his want of oeconomy into generosity. The vulgar, ever fond of royalty, forgot a thousand errors, in the flattering familiarity of their Sovereign.

Discontents  
among the  
people.

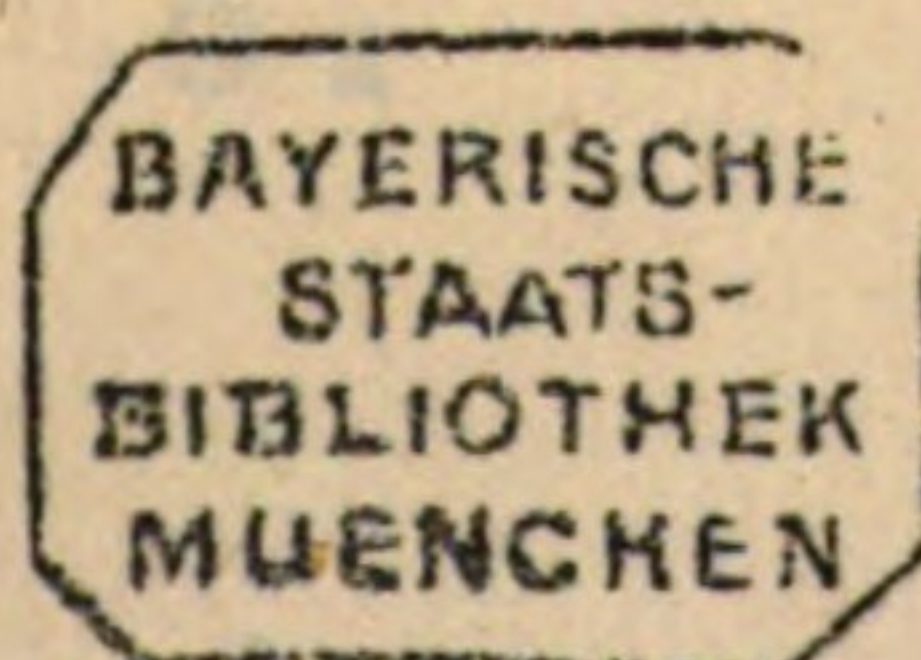
THE popularity which Charles possessed in his private capacity, was not now sufficient to reconcile even the vulgar to his public conduct. He perceived, that to regain the confidence of the nation, he must assume an appearance of changing his measures. He knew that a sacrifice must be made, and that a minister is the most grateful offering to an offended people. The Earl of Clarendon, though he had lost a part of the confidence of the Sovereign, was considered by the nation as the leader in all his councils; and he was now become as disagreeable to Charles, as he was hated by

Character of  
the

VOL. I.

O

his





C H A P.  
II.  
1667.

his subjects. This noble person, though possessed of merit, was subject to weakneses, which by their magnitude bordered upon vices. To the severity of his manners he added a passionate disposition, which frequently converted his best friends into his worst enemies. In business he was sometimes trifling, always dilatory; and he often forgot to act, in the pleasure which he derived from disquisition and argument. His love of virtue was tarnished with a scrupulous adherence to forms, which bore the appearance of moral prudery. His good sense yielded too often to the vehemence of his temper; and, as he was seldom wrong in his judgment, he could not bear contradiction with any degree of patience. Though he cannot be accused of injustice, his violent expressions against his enemies might be construed into a disposition toward revenge; whilst his extravagant praise of his friends, brought frequently in question his judgment of character. In the most favourable view, he was rather a good than an amiable man; more moderate in his temper than humble in his deportment.

Earl of Clarendon.

In his public capacity he exhibited abilities, though it is extremely doubtful whether he deserves the character of a great minister. Confined in his general view of affairs, he seems to have carried too much of the narrowness of his profession into the great line of public business; and to form his conduct upon his own early prejudices, more than upon an immediate view of the state of the nation. Though faithful to his master, he perceived not his distant interests; and he sacrificed, for present convenience, his future political happiness. The most unpopular measures of the early part of this reign were either originally proposed, or afterwards prosecuted with ardour by Clarendon; yet even these proceeded from an error in judgment, more than from design. He advised the King to retain a numerous guard for his person". The sale of Dunkirk, proposed first by his intimate

\* North's Examen. p. 455.

" James II. 1661.

friend,



friend, Southampton, was managed by him and afterwards defended<sup>x</sup>. Though perhaps he was not the first who suggested the match with the daughter of Portugal, he supported, against all opposition, that unfortunate measure; and brought, as his son-in-law affirms, a Queen of his own choosing to England<sup>y</sup>. His zeal for the Church of England, combining with his memory of the political delinquency of the sectaries, formed those intolerant laws which disturbed the repose of the kingdom. The unfortunate resolution of laying up the fleet, may be carried by implication to the account of Clarendon. It was proposed by Southampton<sup>z</sup>, who, though a man of parts himself, was known, from his indolence, to be guided in his opinions by the chancellor. He was, upon the whole, a respectable minister and a man of integrity. To an unwearied application, he joined a constancy which approached to firmness; and though a zealous assertor of the prerogatives of the crown, he made few encroachments upon the liberties of the subject, as they were then defined.

C H A P.  
II.  
1667.

THOUGH Clarendon's ungracious manner was so contrary to the disposition of the King, the latter long sacrificed his feelings to his convenience. He permitted his minister to rail at his vices, for furnishing him with leisure to follow his pleasures. The whole weight of the state lay chiefly on his shoulders; and an old servant derived a kind of right to be familiar, from his fidelity. The intemperate rage of a mistress, the artful machinations of her designing creatures, would have little weight with Charles, had his minister retained the power of serving him with effect. But Clarendon had lost the confidence of the people; and he probably never possessed the sincere love of his Prince. The power of being useful being ended with the chancellor, the King ceased to be grateful. In falling down with the stream of public opinion, he found that he could indulge his own private resentment. The

Cause of his fall.

<sup>x</sup> Clarendon's life.

<sup>y</sup> James II. 1662.

<sup>z</sup> Ibid. 1667.



C H A P.  
II.

1667.

enemies of Clarendon, and envy as well as his manner had raised many against him, urged the King to remove him, with all their address. The Duke of Buckingham, who had, some months before, fallen under the displeasure of Charles, was now permitted to appear at court; and he ascribed his late misfortunes to the chancellor. With all the force of his poignant wit, he had long endeavoured to render the minister ridiculous in the eyes of his Sovereign; and what contributed still more to the success of his purpose, he promised for the future good humour of the commons, should his enemy be divested of his employment. Buckingham's influence on the measures of the house in the last session, stamp'd more credit on his promise, than any opinion of his veracity.

He is dismissed.

CHARLES having come to the resolution of removing the chancellor, observed a degree of delicacy with regard to his fall. He sent him a message by the Duke of York, on the twenty-sixth of August, that the necessity of his affairs, and not any dissatisfaction, obliged him to require his resignation<sup>a</sup>. The hesitation of the chancellor irritated the King; and he sent secretary Morrice, on the thirtieth, with positive orders to receive the seal<sup>b</sup>. The parliament having met, on the tenth of October, the King spoke but little, in person<sup>c</sup>. Sir Orlando Bridgeman, the lord-keeper, enlarged upon the late prorogation, the peace, and the state of the public accounts. He recommended an examination of the latter to the commons; he promised to both houses, in the name of the King, that all just grievances should be redressed. The commons, on the fourteenth, voted an address of thanks to the King, "for disbanding the late raised forces, for turning the Papists out of his guards, and more especially, for dismissing the Earl of Clarendon from the exercise of public trust and employment<sup>d</sup>."

<sup>a</sup> James II. 1667.<sup>b</sup> Clarendon's life.<sup>c</sup> Journals of the Lords.<sup>d</sup> Journals.



THE King, with too much readiness, made answer, "that he would never employ the late chancellor in any public affairs." He even indecently interfered in the debates of the house, to throw disgrace on the fallen minister. He ordered his servants to let it be known, that he expected to be thanked for dismissing Clarendon; whilst the latter charged his friends not to oppose the motion, being resolved that none of his private concerns should disturb the King's affairs<sup>e</sup>. The same conduct was used by both in the upper house, when the Lords were moved to join in the address of the commons. The vote would not have passed, had not the Duke of York and several peers withdrawn, that no obstruction might be given to the declared wish of the King<sup>f</sup>. On the twenty-sixth of October, Clarendon was accused to the commons, by Mr. Seymour; and a committee appointed to consider of proceedings and precedents. Seventeen articles of accusation were presented to the house, on the sixth of November. He was charged with designing to govern the kingdom by a standing army; of corresponding with Cromwell, selling of Dunkirk, for arbitrary and illegal imprisonments, extorting sums of money illegally, procuring exorbitant grants for himself and his relations; and of betraying the King's councils to his enemies<sup>g</sup>.

C H A P.  
II.

1667.  
Attacked by  
the Com-  
mons.

THOUGH some of the articles had a kind of foundation in fact, others were either frivolous or unjust. Clarendon advised the raising a proper guard for the King's person. But Charles himself declared, in the most solemn manner, to the Duke of York, that he had never given his advice to govern by a standing army<sup>h</sup>. His concern in the sale of Dunkirk is not to be denied. But there is no reason to believe, that he derived any advantage to himself from the measure; and it is even doubtful, whether the sale of the place was any real detriment to the nation. Sir Richard Greenville and Sir Robert Long, during the King's exile, had

The charge  
examined.

<sup>e</sup> James II. 1667.

<sup>f</sup> Ibid.

<sup>g</sup> Journals.

<sup>h</sup> James II. 1667.

accused



C H A P.  
II.

1667.

accused Sir Edward Hyde of paying a secret visit to Cromwell, and receiving a pension for intelligence. The accusation was founded upon the faith of a chambermaid, who alleged that she led Hyde one morning to the Protector's bed-room<sup>b</sup>. This vague report was rejected without examination by Charles; and though his accusers endeavoured to corroborate their assertions by the affluence in which Hyde and his family lived abroad, the tale is too improbable to be believed<sup>c</sup>. Of arbitrary imprisonments he may with some justice be accused. His enemies acquired popularity by releasing, after his fall, some old officers whom he had kept in prison for several years, more to prevent their future plots, than from any proof of their prior guilt<sup>d</sup>.

He is im-  
peached and  
banished.

UPON the foundation of these articles the commons, on the twelfth of November, sent up to the lords a general charge of treason against Clarendon, by the hands of Mr. Seymour. They desired their lordships to sequester him from parliament and to commit him to safe custody till they should exhibit the articles of their charge<sup>e</sup>. The lords refused the demands of the commons; looking upon a general accusation as a mere clamour. The commons flew into the utmost fury. A breach was made between the houses. The King interfered in vain. He was obliged to apply to Clarendon, to remove himself from the kingdom, to appease their rage. He obeyed; and wrote an apology from Calais, at which the lords took offence: they sent down a bill for his banishment to the commons; and though it was disliked for different reasons, both by his friends and his enemies, it passed at length, and received the royal assent. The conduct of Charles, during the whole prosecution, did little honour to his gratitude. But jealousies of a new kind are said to have joined their force to his former prejudices. Buckingham and others insinuated, that

<sup>b</sup> Letter of Sir Rich. Greenville, MS.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid.

<sup>d</sup> James II. 1667.

<sup>e</sup> Journals of the commons.

he



he was in danger, by permitting the Duke of York to have his own guards to wait upon himself at Whitehall. They affirmed, that the Duke might be prevailed upon, by Clarendon and his daughter, to attempt some violent measure. Alarmed at this tale, or apprehensive of the rising heats in the house of commons, the King ordered Clarendon to withdraw. The latter communicated his resolution of obeying to the Duke, who was just recovering from the small-pox. The Duke had laboured under that disorder during the persecution of his father-in-law; so that he could neither counteract the malice of his enemies, nor give any essential assistance to his friends <sup>m</sup>.

CHAP.  
II.  
1667.

THE commons, prior to the impeachment of Clarendon, made some progress in examining the causes of the misfortunes in the late war. The sacrifice of a minister to the public jealousy cooled their resentment, though it put not an end to their inquiry. On the nineteenth of December they adjourned themselves, by the King's command, to the sixth of February<sup>n</sup>. Charles, before their recess, had filled the different departments. Sir Henry Bennet, now Lord Arlington, and Sir Orlando Bridgeman, the lord-keeper, were his ostensible ministers<sup>o</sup>; Buckingham and Bristol advised him behind the curtain. The treasury, since the death of Southampton, in the month of May, was in commission under men of abilities, though, except the Duke of Albemarle, of no high reputation. Lord Ashley was Chancellor of the Exchequer; Sir William Coventry, Sir John Duncomb, and Sir Thomas Clifford, were inferior commissioners. Coventry, a man of parts, in an avowed opposition to Clarendon, had resigned his office of secretary to the Duke of York. Duncomb was a country gentleman of some note; Clifford, a man of violent abilities, possessing weight in parliament, but a known papist. No sooner was

New ministry.

<sup>m</sup> James II. 1667.

<sup>n</sup> Journals.

<sup>o</sup> James II. 1667.



C H A P.

II.

1667.

Clarendon removed, than these began to quarrel for the possession of the chief power. Coventry, as the most able, was the best qualified for the office of minister, but not of sufficient name for so high a character. Buckingham and Arlington joined against him, then quarrelled among themselves. The first carried all the profligacy of his private life into his politics; the latter, cunning by nature, was timid, though full of pride<sup>p</sup>.

1668.  
Foreign  
affairs.

To gain the favour of the nation by acts of popularity employed the first attention of the King and his ministers. They released Wildman, Salmon, Creed, Brown, and others, whom Clarendon had kept close prisoners, on account of their republican principles and their great credit and influence with the disbanded officers and soldiers<sup>q</sup>. They extended their attention to foreign affairs, and formed the triple league, the most approved measure of this reign. The ambition which Lewis the Fourteenth exhibited through the rest of his life, had broken out into an act of unjustifiable violence in the preceding summer. Induced by the condition of Spain, feeble in her resources, and weakened still more by the government of a minor, he fell with an army into Flanders, and took the most of the principal towns, then destitute of garrisons, and totally unprovided with the means of defence. By claiming a part of Flanders in right of his wife, he added insult to injustice. Though he had solemnly renounced, by the treaty of the Pyrenees, all pretensions to every part of the Spanish monarchy, though Charles the Second, the undisputed heir of the whole, sat upon the throne, he alleged, that by the ancient custom of some parts of Brabant, his wife, as being of the first marriage, possessed a right to a considerable portion of the Spanish Netherlands, to the exclusion of her brother. He followed this false reasoning with

<sup>p</sup> James II. 1667.<sup>q</sup> Ibid.

the



the decisive argument of the sword. His conquests kept pace with the rapidity of his march, in the territories of a prince, who could oppose nothing but remonstrances to his arms.

C H A P.  
II.

1668.

LEWIS, to a degree of vanity which the world as well as himself mistook for the love of glory, added qualities fit to dazzle a nation less fond than the French of their monarchs. To a gracefulness of person that gave lustre to his high station, he joined an affability which enchanted his subjects. Though remarkable, neither for the generosity of his conduct, nor an extensive liberality of sentiment, he could act the part of a complete gentleman, a science too often little studied by persons born to wear a crown. Specious in his conduct, and possessed of abilities sufficient to conceal his want of great parts, he was respected where he was not admired. His politeness of carriage passed for humanity of disposition; his reserve in business was construed into prudence; his love of pomp ascribed to dignity of mind. He was however more fit to represent a magnificent king in theory, than to act the part of a great monarch in practice. To conceal the defects of his real character, to hold forth a favourable image of himself to the world, employed his study and comprehended all his views. He followed pleasure from fashion more than from appetite. He applied to business to acquire importance rather than from motives of utility. Vanity was his ruling passion; and what is deemed a vice in the rest of mankind, became in him a virtue. Illiterate himself, he was an encourager of letters; and with no great talents for the field, he formed generals and improved the art of war. Superstition, the inseparable companion of the weak and timid, disgraced his specious qualities, and rendered even his personal courage suspected. It was that feebleness of mind which induced him to sanctify with matrimony the frigid arms of a woman of fifty; and to kiss the image of the Virgin at the whistling of a cannon-ball. But these were the weaknesses of a more advanced period of his life. Lewis, upon

Character of  
Lewis the  
Fourteenth.



C H A P.  
II.  
1668.

His haughty  
conduct to-  
ward other  
powers.

the whole, was as singular in his fate as he was in his character. In his youth he was the admiration, in his riper years the terror, in his old age the contempt, of Europe. His ambition ruined his country, even when he extended its limits; and France, swelled by his councils into a bloated magnitude, has languished ever since under an incurable disease.

THOUGH the character of Lewis was not calculated to establish on a permanent foundation the power of France, it was well suited to her temporary glory. With that convenient inattention to justice, which ambition has introduced into the policy of princes, he possessed resources much superior to those of the other powers of Europe. His extensive dominions, favoured with a fruitful soil and a good climate, had risen in a few years to a high degree of prosperity, through the industry of the inhabitants, under the peaceable councils of Cardinal Mazarin. An ample revenue, a disciplined army, and even a kind of naval force belonged to Lewis; while the neighbouring states had either fallen from their former consequence, or had not yet arrived at the strength which they have since acquired. The Dutch, who had derived their independence from the protection of France and England, had thrown the whole force of their state into their navy. England, jealous of her native sovereigns, had not yet furnished herself with a standing army, to stop the ambitious projects of foreign princes. The latter, however, retained her ancient animosity against France; and the former chose to forget former favours in their present safety. Lewis had added a haughtiness of conduct toward his neighbours to his opinion of the superiority of his own force; and he contrived to kindle indignation beyond the limits to which he had extended injuries. He extorted from Spain a precedence in dignity before he invaded her territories; he disputed the honours of the flag with the King of England; he reduced the Pope into an abject dependence, under colour of satisfaction for a trivial affront.

THE



THE treaty of Breda was hastened to a conclusion, by the jealousy raised in the Dutch and English, through the sudden irruption of Lewis into the heart of Flanders. Charles, occupied by the fears of tumults at home, in consequence of the disgrace which closed the war, had neither leisure nor inclination to look beyond the limits of his own dominions. The removal of Clarendon, the establishment of new councils, and the heats in parliament, succeeded to the apprehensions which the apparent disgust of the nation had raised in the mind of the King. The States had scarce extricated themselves from a war with England; they were in alliance with France; and divided into factions at home. The times were opportune for the ambition of Lewis. He dreaded nothing from the careless councils of Charles; he hoped every thing from the attachment of De Wit. But the first was offended at the coldness with which Lewis received his proposals for a close connexion with France; and the latter lost his aversion to the Orange faction in his love for his country. To the astonishment of Europe, as well as to the amazement of his subjects, the King of England made the first motion for a treaty of confederacy to prescribe bounds to the conquests of France. On the first of January it was resolved in council, to enter into a strict alliance with the States of Holland. Sir William Temple, the English resident at Brussels, was ordered to proceed to the Hague; and such was the eagerness of De Wit, in a measure which so much concerned his country, that the treaty was signed on the twenty-third of January. Room was left for the accession of Sweden as a principal, which was soon obtained.

DE WIT is said to have been the dupe of Charles in a measure, which loses much of its reputation when the motives are known. The pensionary, with all his good qualities, was vain of his own

Secret motive  
to that treaty.

Sir W. Temple.

P 2

abilities,



C H A P.  
II.

1668.

abilities, and proud of the success of his policy. He spoke frequently of the advantages which he had obtained over England, and of the necessity to which he had reduced Sweden and Denmark to conclude and preserve peace. To mortify Lewis the Fourteenth was only wanting to his ambition. He had derived much of his importance with his own countrymen from his connexion with the French nation. But he now seriously dreaded the power of that kingdom, and the ambition of its sovereign. Charles had, upon various grounds, entertained an animosity against the pensionary; and he was determined to ruin him, by detaching him from France. He resolved, therefore, to attack him through the channel of his vanity. He beseeched him, through his ambassador, to give his advice upon every occasion, without even the ceremony of being asked, concerning the conduct which England ought to observe in the affairs of Europe. De Wit was flattered by these condescensions. He believed that Charles was sincere. He suffered himself to be detached from France by the triple league; and having lost, soon after, his consequence with his countrymen, became an easy victim to the faction of the Prince of Orange. The advice, by which the King of England seems to have profited, came originally from Gourville; who says, in his Memoirs, that he communicated it to the Lord Hollis, when that nobleman was employed in concluding the peace of Breda.

Treaty of  
Aix-la-Chapelle.

THE King of France, at the close of the easy campaign which placed the strong holds of Flanders in his hands, had, at the instances of the States of Holland, agreed to a truce with Spain to the end of March. He left to the Queen-regent her choice of two alternatives, to serve as a foundation for a treaty of peace: Either to yield to him the places taken by his arms, or the dutchy of Luxembourg. The court of Spain was in no haste to close with

\* Mem. de Gourville, tom. ii. p. 11—14.

† D'Estades, 1668.

either



either of the alternatives. They forgot their own want of power, in their sense of the injustice of Lewis. To force Spain into a peace, was as much the object of the triple alliance, as to put bounds to the conquests of France. The contracting powers agreed to adhere to the alternatives offered by Lewis, and to join their forces against either of the crowns that should remain refractory. Lewis, under a pretence of enforcing the peace, entered Franche Comté in the month of February, and subdued the whole province in a few days". The Queen-regent at length agreed to the first alternative offered by France. A congress was held at Aix-la-Chapelle. The plenipotentiaries of all the powers met at that place; and a treaty was signed on the second of May, which annexed to the crown of France all the conquests made by its arms in the preceding campaign.

C H A P.  
II.  
1668.

WHILST Charles put an end to the war in Flanders by the triple league, he procured a peace for Portugal, by his negotiations at the court of Madrid\*. The efforts of Spain against the Portuguese had languished ever since the death of Philip the Fourth, whose resentment for his frequent disappointments had induced him to persevere in an unsuccessful war. The councils of Portugal had acquired vigour by an extraordinary revolution, which threw the feeble Alphonso from his throne into a prison. That unfortunate prince, more profligate than wicked, had offended the nation by low buffoonry, and by suffering himself to be governed by the mean companions of his pleasures†. His wife, a daughter of the Duke of Nemours, struck with the person of his brother, Don Pedro, forsook his bed, and accused him of debility of body as well as of mind. She fled to a monastery. She threw herself under the protection of the church. She sued for a divorce. A faction seized the unfortunate Alphonso, his brother

Peace between Spain and Portugal.

\* Bafnage, Le Clerc.

† Hist. of Portugal.

‡ Colbatch's Account of Portugal.

was



C H A P.  
II.

1668.

was declared regent in an assembly of the states, whilst he himself was confined in the island of Tercera. Don Pedro, a prince of abilities, was preparing to assert the independence of his country by the sword, when it was established on a sudden by treaty. Spain, oppressed by accumulated misfortunes, descended from her stateliness; and owned the independence of Portugal, after a ruinous war of near thirty years<sup>a</sup>.

Affairs of  
Scotland,

THE civil affairs of Scotland were managed with precision, while disorder and oppression prevailed in her religious concerns. The fanaticism of the vulgar, many of whom still adhered to the covenant, inflamed by the folly of Archbishop Sharpe, broke out in tumults and confusions, which were suppressed by means at once impolitic and inhuman. The violence which appeared in the English parliament against conventicles was adopted by that of Scotland; and was productive of more mischief, as the northern sectaries were more obstinate. A high commission was instituted, for executing the rigorous laws against the Presbyterians, and for the management of religious affairs<sup>b</sup>. The civil power enforced by its authority the decrees of this court of inquisition. A military force was let loose on an unarmed multitude, whose only crime was enthusiasm. Those unfortunate persons, who from scruples of conscience avoided to be present at the worship established by law, were fined at discretion by the commander of the troops; and these mulcts were levied with all the rigours of military execution. Religious persecution, when not carried to an extreme, which subdues all the passions of the soul under the dominion of fear, defeats its own purpose. The people, inflamed by oppression, rose in the western counties. They assembled at Lanerk. They renewed the covenant. They published a declaration, which, however, contained nothing against the King's authority. Ill-armed, and worse conducted, the insur-

<sup>a</sup> Hist. de Port.<sup>b</sup> Burnet.



gents advanced toward Edinburgh ; and in a tumultuary skirmish, rather than a battle, were defeated at the Pentland-hills, on the twenty-eighth of November, 1666. The severities which follow unsuccessful insurrections were extended to an unusual degree by the violence of Sharpe. The lenity of the King, at length, put a stop to the rigours of the church. He expressly ordered to set at liberty those who should only promise to obey the laws ; and that the most incorrigible should be transported beyond seas <sup>b</sup>.

C H A P.  
II.  
1668.

THE affairs of Ireland had scarce assumed the appearance of settlement, under the prudent management of the Duke of Ormonde, when the interest of that kingdom received a fatal blow, from an act of the parliament of England. The English nation, though prudent in their regulations at home, seem never to have understood the art of governing their foreign conquests. Fond of domestic freedom, they carried frequently tyranny and oppression abroad, and endangered the losing by injustice what they had obtained by valour. The severity of their government contributed more to deprive them of the continental dominions of the family of Plantagenet, than the arms of France ; and the peculiar situation of Ireland secured its dependence, and not the mildness of the conquerors. In the year 1666, a bill was passed for restraining the importation of Irish cattle ; an act peculiarly hard, as Ireland had scarce any other article for foreign commerce. The violence of the country-gentlemen, who ascribed the sudden fall of their rents to the importation of provisions from abroad, overcame the King's solicitations, and superseded all arguments. The intrigues of Buckingham and Lord Ashley, who wished to disturb Ormonde in his government, increased the flame. The King, who had discovered an inclination to refuse his assent to the bill, was swayed from his purpose, by his fears that the commons would give no supply ; a circumstance which weighed more

and Ireland.

<sup>b</sup> Burnet, Woodrow.



C H A P.  
II.

1668.

Proceedings  
in parlia-  
ment.

with Charles, than the interest of his Irish subjects. Ormonde employed the year 1667 in alleviating the distress brought upon Ireland by this impolitic law; which, in the issue, became favourable to the inhabitants, by forcing them to apply with greater industry to articles more suitable than cattle for commerce<sup>c</sup>.

THE parliament of England, according to their adjournment, met on the sixth of February, 1668; and, on the tenth, the King made a speech to both houses. He informed them of the triple alliance. He demanded a supply of money<sup>d</sup>. The commons heard the first with satisfaction; to the latter they made no reply. The bad humour excited by the misfortunes of the last year had been increased by the King's indulgence to the non-conformists; a measure which he had adopted to gain popularity. Instead of thanking him, as usual, for his speech, the commons addressed him to issue a proclamation, to enforce obedience to the act of uniformity. They resumed their inquiries into the late miscarriages. Charles urged in vain, in repeated messages, the pressure of his debts; in vain, the necessity of fitting out a fleet in consequence of his engagements to his allies. The commons were deaf to his requests. Buckingham, who had promised to manage their leaders, was found destitute of influence. He could inflame them against the crown; but he had not the talents to soothe them into a compliance with the desires of the King. Broucker, on the evidence of Sir John Harman, was expelled the house, and ordered to be impeached, for bringing to that officer pretended commands from the Duke of York to lower the sails, after the battle near Southwold-Bay. Commissioner Pett was impeached<sup>e</sup>. The inquiry, however, though carried on with seeming spirit, produced no signal punishments. The house was more eager in giving its full force to the act of uniformity, than in animadverting with severity upon the authors of the late miscar-

<sup>c</sup> Carte's Ormonde, vol. ii. p. 331.<sup>d</sup> Journals.<sup>e</sup> Ibid. May 9.



riages. - The King, at length, issued a proclamation against sectaries; and the commons, in return, gave a supply of three hundred and ten thousand pounds, by an imposition on wines and other liquors. On the ninth of May, both houses adjourned to the eleventh of August.

C H A P.  
II.  
1670.

AN unusual tranquillity succeeded the calamities which had fallen, in the course of the last three years, upon the kingdom. London had risen with lustre from its ashes. A favourable season had diffused plenty through the nation. Even plots and conspiracies had ceased to be named. The sectaries succumbed under the rigour of the act of uniformity. The republicans lost their hopes in the careless dissoluteness of the times. Dissipation and intemperate pleasures reigned at Court. Amusements, which degenerated into profligacy, prevailed among the people. Charles divided his time between women of beauty, and men of wit and humour. The Countess of Castlemain, divesting herself of the jealousy of her sex, retained, with the charms of others, the influence which her own had lost. A Buckingham and a Rochester, qualifying, by the vivacity of their genius, the severity and even coarseness of their wit, became the King's inseparable companions. Debauchery and lewdness were seen in every form; and, as if examples of sensuality and riot were not sufficient to corrupt the manners of the people, the press teemed with licentious publications, and the stage exhibited nothing but vice. The King leaving London, made a progress through a great part of the kingdom. In the inland towns he resigned himself to pleasure; but in the sea-ports his amusement was to examine naval affairs; a subject which he well understood. Notwithstanding the dissoluteness of his manners, Charles promoted trade, loved the sciences, and encouraged the arts. His appetite for pleasure rendered him prodigal, and his political meanness sprung from profusion.

A general tranquillity.

<sup>f</sup> Rovign to Lewis XIV. May 21, 1668.



C H A P.  
II.1668.  
Intrigues

DURING these scenes of riot and pleasure at court, faction and intrigue prevailed in the cabinet. Buckingham and Arlington, having removed Clarendon, began to undermine Sir William Coventry, whose talents they feared. Though he had opposed the chancellor, he was still in the interest of the Duke of York, who had declared his opinion of his being the only man fit for the office of minister<sup>2</sup>. Buckingham turned the whole force of his wit against Coventry. The latter afterwards sent him a challenge<sup>3</sup>; and the Duke, more ready to give an affront than to defend his honour, complained to the King. Coventry was dismissed from all his employments.<sup>1</sup> The jealousy of the ministry concerning the Duke of York's influence continued, though his power had declined. He had offended his brother, by speaking in favour of his father-in-law. He had irritated his principal servants, by openly affirming in the house of lords, that the whole charge against Clarendon was false, malicious, and groundless. But no insinuations of danger from his brother could have much weight with the King. He knew that the Duke's high ideas of the indefeasible rights of monarchy were a sufficient security for his loyalty. They tried, by mortifications in the department of the admiralty, to force him to resign. Osborne and Lyttelton, two of their adherents, were, without the ceremony of speaking to the Duke, made treasurers of the navy, though they had chiefly managed the charge against Clarendon in the house of commons. They placed their own friends and dependents in other lucrative employments, in opposition to officers of merit recommended by the Duke. They intended to disband his troop of horse-guards; they endeavoured to divest him of the command of his regiment of foot. They even began to form plans for excluding him from the throne, by procuring a divorce for the King. In the latter scheme, their chief engine was the Earl of Bristol, who, on account of Clarendon, was the Duke's mortal foe<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> James II. 1668.<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 1669.<sup>1</sup> Ibid. 1668.



To prevent for ever the return of Clarendon, Buckingham and Arlington endeavoured to annihilate his party, by displacing his relations and friends. Some were deprived of their offices, others suspended from performing the functions of their several employments. Those who contributed to ruin the late chancellor were rewarded with the spoils of his adherents. Buckingham having purchased, in the month of May, the office of master of the horse of the Duke of Albemarle, added the weight of an ostensible office to his secret influence in the cabinet. In the month of July, he fell upon the Duke of Ormonde, Clarendon's most intimate friend. He procured a commission to be issued to inquire into the mal-administration of the Irish revenue<sup>k</sup>; and, in frequent conferences with the Earl of Orrery, a man of more abilities than integrity, concerted measures to dismiss Ormonde from the government of Ireland. Morrice, who had been secretary of state ever since the Restoration, was turned out of office, by the intrigues of Buckingham, to make room for Sir John Trevor, who had formerly served Cromwell. Trevor owed his place to Lady Harvey, a woman of wit and intrigue, who possessed the favour of Buckingham and Arlington. Every measure was undertaken by the ministry that might distress their enemies, and strengthen their own interest, by providing for their friends<sup>l</sup>.

C H A P.  
II.  
1668.  
against the

LORD Ashley, who now began to display his talents for intrigue, adhered to the secret measures of Buckingham. Arlington, artful in the midst of his natural timidity, counteracted Buckingham's influence, though he adopted his schemes. Both were intent upon each other's ruin. Arlington seemed at last to prevail. Though they joined in their plans of mortifying the Duke of York, they were afraid of his obstinacy. Buckingham, in the month of December, secretly signified his wish of being well with the Duke. But that Prince rejected his offers, for for-

Duke of  
York.

<sup>k</sup> Carte's Ormonde.

<sup>l</sup> James II. 1668.



C H A P.

II.

1668.

mer breaches of faith. This repulse added resentment to the fears of Buckingham. He endeavoured to insinuate to Charles the facility of divorcing his Queen. Bristol, ever precipitate and violent in the prosecution of favourite schemes, proposed a journey into Italy, to find a new wife for the King among the daughters of the duke of Parma<sup>m</sup>. Sir Orlando Bridgeman, the lord-keeper, was consulted concerning the legality of a divorce. Dr. Burnet was afterwards employed to write in its favour<sup>n</sup>. The Earl of Carlisle and Lord Ashley were proposing to the King to own the legitimacy of the Duke of Monmouth. Their aversion to the Duke of York, or their fear of his resentment for the fall of Clarendon, turned against him the whole intrigues of the party<sup>o</sup>. His connexion with Sir William Coventry, whose talents, as has been observed, they feared, added to their eagerness to break the influence, which his industry in business, more than an opinion of his abilities, had established in the mind of the King.

Duke of Or-  
monde dis-  
missed.

BUCKINGHAM and Ashley<sup>p</sup>, who never loved either of the royal brothers, extended their designs beyond the possession of present power. The contempt which Charles expressed, upon many occasions, for the former, had kindled a resentment in his breast equal to the impatience of all authority, which the latter derived from a spirit naturally restless. The phlegmatic disposition of the Duke was as disagreeable to Buckingham, as his avowed dislike to those who had distinguished themselves against his family was terrible to Ashley. To open a field for their ambition, they thought it expedient to remove the old cavaliers from offices of the first trust. None remained in a capacity more suitable to thwart their designs, than the Duke of Ormonde, who had added the advantage of a high character to an inviolable attachment to the royal family. Attacks had been already made on his management of the revenue of Ireland; he was now to

<sup>m</sup> James II. 1669.<sup>n</sup> Ibid.<sup>o</sup> Ibid.<sup>p</sup> Carte's Ormonde, vol. ii. p. 337.



be deprived of his government. The Duke of York interposed his declining influence in vain<sup>1</sup>. Even the personal regard which Charles entertained for Ormonde, yielded to the vehemence of Buckingham. Arlington, from ties of friendship, adhered for some time to the lord-lieutenant; but the easiness of his temper, and, at length, his inherent timidity prevailed. He began to listen to the solicitations of Lady Harvey and Sir John Trevor<sup>2</sup>. He succumbed to the threats of Buckingham. Ormonde was dismissed with a compliment, by the King. Lord Robertes, who had fought against his father, succeeded a noble person, who had served his family with the utmost fidelity for thirty years<sup>3</sup>.

C H A P.  
II.

1669.

BUCKINGHAM, having removed Ormonde, turned his whole influence and policy against the Duke of York. Without asking permission from the King, he endeavoured to find a successor for his brother, as lord high-admiral. On the eighteenth of April, he went to Newhall in Essex, where Albemarle, then declining in his health, resided; and proposed to him to resign the command of the army and to accept the admiralty. Albemarle refusing to consent to either, was assailed through the influence of his wife. The Dutchess of Buckingham and Lady Harvey met to persuade her to promote their views; but in vain. The nation were equally astonished at Buckingham's confidence and influence. It will hereafter appear, that he was the dupe of a master whom he affected to command. Charles was no stranger to his character. The brilliancy of his wit rendered him fond of Buckingham's company; yet he despised his understanding, hated his temper, and laughed at his follies<sup>4</sup>. But he had entered into councils, where want of principle became more useful in servants, than either ability or integrity. His secret measures, however, had not yet arrived at any degree of maturity. A profligacy, which had obtained the name of pleasure, and intrigues about places of profit and trust-

Violence of  
Buckingham.

<sup>1</sup> James II. 1669.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Carte's Ormonde, vol. ii.

<sup>4</sup> James II. 1668.

seemed



C H A P.  
II.  
1669.

seemed to employ the whole attention of the King and ministry. Parliament had been so backward in giving money, that their attendance was not desired. Domestic business went round, in the common circle of office. Tranquillity prevailed in foreign affairs. The carelessness of the King seemed to increase, when he was forming chains for his people; and conspiring with France against the independence of Europe.

Act against  
conventicles.

THE bad success of the conference at the Savoy, discouraged not Charles from forming new projects of a comprehension. The favour shewn by the court to the Presbyterians, had enabled them to hold, with a degree of openness, their assemblies; notwithstanding the severity of the act of uniformity<sup>u</sup>. Sir Orlando Bridgeman and Sir Matthew Hale were directed to frame such a bill, as might give, by law, that liberty of conscience, which was now derived from a precarious indulgence. Secret meetings were held with the heads of the Presbyterians; but the hierarchy began to be alarmed. The aversion of parliament to all condescension on the subject of religion was known; and the affair was dropt. The King stood in need of money; and it was not prudent to irritate the commons. The two houses, after a recess of seventeen months, met at Westminster, on the nineteenth of October<sup>\*</sup>. Charles demanded a supply. He recommended an union with Scotland. The lord-keeper enlarged on both points; but the commons made no reply. They brought back to their house the bad humour in which they had adjourned. They entered upon the examination of public accounts. They resumed their intolerance against non-conformists. The bill to suppress conventicles was passed, with a clause, that the judges should interpret any doubts in the sense against the non-conformists. In their zeal for the church, they made a breach on the established maxim, that, in all criminal prosecution, the law should incline to mercy<sup>†</sup>.

<sup>u</sup> Rapin, vol. ii. p. 653.

<sup>\*</sup> Journals, Oct. 19th, 1669.

<sup>†</sup> Stiernhook *de Jure vet. lib. i.*



THE public business was retarded, by a renewal of a former quarrel between the two houses<sup>z</sup>. Skinner, a considerable merchant in London, had, in the preceding session, carried a complaint against the East-India company, by petition, before the lords, and he was relieved in costs and damages to the amount of five thousand pounds. The taking cognisance of a subject of property, without an appeal from an inferior court, was deemed by the commons unprecedented and dangerous. They voted Skinner, upon a breach of privilege, into the custody of the serjeant at arms; they passed a resolution, that whoever should put in execution the decree of the lords, should be deemed a betrayer of the rights and liberties of the commons of England. In the midst of this ferment the parliament rose. They brought back the same animosity into their present session. The King, however, by the advice of Lord Ashley<sup>a</sup>, put an end to the dispute, by prevailing with both houses to erase their whole proceedings on Skinner's affair. The parliament was prorogued on the eleventh of December<sup>b</sup>. They met again, in better humour, on the fourteenth of February. Four hundred thousand pounds were granted to the King. Commissioners were appointed to treat, concerning an union between England and Scotland. But things were not yet ripe for such a measure; and the design vanished into air.

C H A P.  
II.

1669.  
Proceedings  
in parlia-  
ment.

ON the third of January 1670, after a lingering illness, George Monk, Duke of Albemarle, died, in the sixty-first year of his age<sup>c</sup>. This extraordinary person has been variously represented by writers; a circumstance not surprising, in a country where character is too often measured by the standard of political prejudice. His claim to personal courage, to military skill, to prudence in his measures and moderation in his views, is by no party denied; although it shall always be questioned, whether he owed so much to his abi-

1670.  
Death. and  
character.

<sup>z</sup> Journals.

<sup>a</sup> James II. 1669.

<sup>b</sup> Journals.

<sup>c</sup> Skinner's Monk.



C H A P.  
II.

1670.

lities as to fortune. To direct the measures of a people, when they act under the awe of an army, requires neither consummate address nor extensive talents. The machine of government, in such a case, becomes so simple, that it may be conducted by any hand. The situation of Monk was, however, more delicate than that of many others, whose fortune it was to command nations by the terrors of the sword. When he marched from Scotland with six thousand men, more than forty thousand veterans were in the hands of his enemies in England. But his coolness and deliberation, were more than a match for the undecisive enthusiasm of Fleetwood; and he derived from his justice and influence with the soldiers, what the more splendid abilities of Lambert could never command.

of the Duke  
of Albemarle.

THE high situation which enabled Monk to re-establish monarchy, was a disadvantage to his character, after the Restoration. Calculated more for the field than the court, he carried an awkwardness in his manner, which lessened his dignity. The flight companions of a gay and dissolute Monarch were apt to put the worst constructions upon a deportment so different from their own. His taciturnity was no longer ascribed to prudence, his frugality was distinguished by the name of avarice, his disregard to ceremony was denominated clownishness. The King, it must be confessed, never deviated from those marks of respect, which he owed to him for the possession of his throne. The Duke was admitted always to his most secret councils. Recourse was had to his prudence in domestic tumults, to his valour in foreign war. Though the part which he had acted raised the resentment of many individuals, he always retained the affections of the people; and the whispers of a few were lost in the sound of public applause. He was, upon the whole, a good rather than a great man; more free from vice, than possessing splendid virtues. Easily led by the counsels of others, he was under the absolute dominion of a wife,



wife, neither remarkable for her beauty, nor amiable in her disposition; and to her ought, perhaps, to be ascribed, that bias to interest, which has, with a degree of justice, stigmatized the memory of her husband with some acts of meanness and avarice.

C H A P.  
II.

1670.

THE death of the Duke of Albemarle, joined to the fall of Clarendon and the removal of Ormonde, had left a fair field for the new schemes which Charles seems to have secretly adopted before this period. The distress brought upon his finances by his own profusion, the mean shifts by which he was frequently obliged to obtain money from a parsimonious house of commons, had induced him to search for relief to his pecuniary necessities from another quarter. He saw that supplies, already unwillingly granted, were likely to become still more uncertain, from the ill-humours which had crept, through the carelessness of his own government, into parliament. Though naturally unambitious, he loved the possession of power to relieve his wants; and to put an end to a dependence that hurt his pride. These reasons, together with a secret affection for the Romish religion, which he entertained, amidst all his profligacy, became the source of his connexion with France: a scheme which, in more steady hands, might have endangered the liberties of his subjects; and as it was then thought, the independence of Europe. But Charles wanted perseverance, and Lewis abilities. Though both were men of splendid talents, and provided with a convenient absence of principle, both were as ignorant of their own resources, as they were of the state of the neighbouring powers. Neither, perhaps, was sincere: neither, at least, meant the half of what they respectively proposed. Charles hoped to derive an immediate supply, from the eagerness of Lewis's ambition; and Lewis expected, from the avarice of Charles, his acquiescence in his own views upon Flanders. Schemes begun in folly, were destined to end in misfortune. Lewis, in his pursuit of glory, was covered

King changes  
his measures.



C H A P.  
II.

1670.

Secret cause  
of the triple  
league.

with disgrace. Charles, in his eagerness to relieve his wants, added fresh distress to his former necessities.

THE triple league, deemed the best measure of Charles, was in part the fruit of one of his worst schemes. Instead of stopping the conquests of France, it was calculated to extend them, by forcing Lewis into an alliance with England. The ascendant obtained by Buckingham so unexpectedly in the summer of 1667, proceeded perhaps from the opinion which Charles entertained of his being an useful instrument in his new-adopted designs. Pursued by messengers and warrants in the month of March, in the Tower in June, in July leading the cabinet. All this could not have happened through mere caprice. Some secret motive must have induced the King to trust his councils in the hands of a man whose talents, in any serious business, he always despised. Charles, it is now known, made attempts toward a close connection with France before he finished the Dutch war. To gain the confidence of Lewis, he had agreed to the French invasion of Spanish Flanders. His sister, the Dutchess of Orleans, was partly trusted with the projects of Charles. She was intimate with Buckingham, and he probably became acquainted with all that she knew of the connexion between Charles and Lewis. The influence which he gained was at once the reward of his present secrecy, and an inducement to future services. The sudden change in the King toward Clarendon, proceeded perhaps from the same cause. He could not trust that minister in an affair which, in its consequences, must infallibly either ruin the authority of the crown or the liberties of the people. The influence of a mistress, the clamours of the chancellor's enemies would perhaps have failed, could the King trust him in his new measures. When he fell, Charles advanced without interruption in his favourite

• James II.

scheme.



scheme. But Lewis was cold in his answers, and the triple league was formed <sup>f</sup>.

CHAP.

II.

1670.

THE triple alliance was scarce signed, when the King and Buckingham began to renew their applications to France with an eagerness, which, for some time, defeated their views. The whole of the year 1668 passed in fruitless negotiations. The King of France either distrusted the sincerity of Charles, or he had not yet opened his eyes to the advantages of an alliance which involved him in an immediate expence. The enthusiasm of the Duke of York, who now was a convert to the Romish faith, though not formally reconciled to that communion, suggested to his brother the means of gaining Lewis to his own views. In a private meeting, held in the Duke's closet on the twenty-fifth of January, 1669, where the King, the Duke, the Earl of Arlington, the Lord Arundel of Wardour, and Sir Thomas Clifford, were present, Charles declared his zeal for the Catholic religion<sup>g</sup>. The result of the consultation was, that to promote the faith in his kingdoms, a strict union should be made with France. This change in the object of the negotiation rendered it necessary to drop Buckingham<sup>h</sup>, who, in his disbelief of all religion forgot not his aversion to the church of Rome. The same reason which obliged the King to remove Buckingham from the management of the treaty, induced him to trust it to men of very different principles. The Lord Arundel, a rigid Roman Catholic, was sent to the court of France. Arlington, a concealed papist, and Clifford, who avowed his attachment to the Romish religion, managed at first the negotiation in the cabinet, and were afterwards, with Sir Richard Bealling, an enthusiast in the same faith, appointed commissioners to carry the treaty to a conclusion. Col-

Secret negotiations with France.

<sup>f</sup> Charles II. to Dutchess of Orleans, Jan. 23, 1668.

<sup>g</sup> James II. 1669.

<sup>h</sup> Charles II. to Dutchess of Orleans, March 22, 1669.



C H A P.  
II.

1670.

bert de Croissy, who soon after the treaty of Aix-la Chapelle came to England, managed it on the part of France <sup>b</sup>.

Conversion  
of the Duke  
of York.

THE Duke of York, who had been long wavering on the point of religion, was now completely reconciled to the church of Rome. That unfortunate prince, who, from a conceited obstinacy, affected to be guided by reason in his opinions, suffered himself to be argued out of his small remains of Protestantism by the smooth sophistry of Father Symons, a bigotted jesuit <sup>1</sup>. Serious and melancholy in his disposition, his mind was adapted by nature for superstition. During his exile he zealously adhered to the Protestant faith. Ardent and almost an enthusiast in all his speculative opinions, he, in consequence of a letter from his brother, insisted with vehemence that the Duke of Gloucester should be removed from his mother, on account of a report that she endeavoured to entice him to the religion of Rome <sup>k</sup>. His aversion to the principles of sectaries, whom he deemed the irreconcilable enemies of monarchy, inclined him first to a system of faith, favourable to the quiet despotism which he so passionately loved. The conversion of Turenne is said to have had its weight with his wavering mind; that great commander being one of the few characters whom he esteemed and admired. A change so fatal to his family, but, in the result, beneficial to his country, happened in the year 1669. Had the Duke of York continued a protestant, the monarchy would have become absolute through his perseverance and obstinacy, qualities which supplied in him the place of great abilities and firmness of mind.

Treaty now  
in its pro-  
gress.

THE secret negotiation employed the attention of the popish junto throughout the year 1669. The eagerness of Charles to receive two hundred thousand pounds, as the price of his con-

<sup>a</sup> James II. 1669.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>k</sup> Charles II. to the Duke of York, MS.

version,



version, was counteracted by that of Lewis to begin with the Dutch war. Notwithstanding the enthusiasm of the latter, he submitted it, upon the present occasion, to his policy. He believed Charles to be sincere, at the time that he himself was the dupe of his avarice. He thought that a precipitate declaration of his religion would fill his hands with too much business at home, to be in a condition to aid his ally abroad. But Charles was obstinate. The money for his conversion was to be received before his declaration for Popery, and he endeavoured to conceal the impatience of his necessities under a zeal for the Romish faith. To put an end to the procrastinations of Lewis, Charles played off another engine on his weakness. He instructed his resident at the Hague to hasten the accession of the Emperor and Spain to the triple alliance. De Pomponne, the ambassador of France to the States, informed his master of the conclusion of this formidable alliance. Lewis was alarmed. From being cold in the negotiation, he became a suitor; and the treaty was concluded in the beginning of the present year. In the mean time, Charles, to keep secret his agreement with France, suffered Buckingham, and his own sister the Dutchess of Orleans, who were absolute strangers to the agreement already signed, to carry on a mock treaty; while, at the same time, he kept this mock treaty a secret from the Duke of York and the Earl of Arlington.

THOUGH Lewis had, in consequence of the first agreement, paid a part of the two hundred thousand pounds a-year, stipulated to be given to Charles, he resolved to make one other experiment upon that prince, to induce him to begin with the Dutch war. To accomplish this purpose, he sent the Dutchess of Orleans to England. That princess undertook the journey with eagerness, having entertained some hopes that her brother would retain her in England, where she would be sure of governing every thing,

Dutchess of  
Orleans  
comes to  
England.

<sup>1</sup> James II. 1669.

through



C H A P.  
II.

1670.

through his easiness and her own address<sup>1</sup>. The Duke of York, either jealous of his sister's influence, or averse to a Dutch war, which he foresaw would involve the crown in difficulties, and throw the King upon the mercy of parliament, obstructed with all his art the projected journey of the Dutchess. He, however, failed in his views. The French King, having made a progress to view his conquests in Flanders, in the month of May, the princess passed the channel to Dover, where she was met, on the sixteenth, by the King her brother<sup>m</sup>.

Conference  
at Dover.

The Duke of York was detained in London, by the public business, two days after the King joined his sister at Dover. Before the Duke arrived in that place, she had persuaded Charles to begin with the Dutch war<sup>n</sup>. The Duke argued against this scheme. He urged the unprepared state of the navy. He represented that a war would leave the crown in the mercy of parliament, who, he might be assured, would not support a measure which they had not advised. Besides, that an avowed concert with France would break all the views of the King at home, before they were ripe for execution<sup>o</sup>. Charles insisted, that the customs, which yielded annually six hundred thousand pounds, would be sufficient, without any application to parliament, to maintain a fleet of fifty sail; which, with thirty to be furnished by France, would be able to oppose the whole power of the Dutch at sea. The Duke argued against the sufficiency of that force in vain. Charles was obstinate<sup>p</sup>. It is even affirmed, that he communicated to his sister the insincerity of his promise with regard to his declaration for Popery. "I entertain," said he, "a good opinion of the Catholic religion and its professors. The latter are the best subjects for monarchy; but I am not so well satisfied, either with the former, or with my own condition, as

<sup>1</sup> James II. 1670.<sup>2</sup> Ibid.<sup>m</sup> MS. conference.<sup>p</sup> Ibid.<sup>n</sup> James II. 1670.



to make it my faith." This declaration, if then made, was probably sincere. During his health and vigour, without any outrage on truth, Charles might have made the same declaration against any religion.

CHAP.  
II.  
1670.

ON the first of June, the mock treaty, the same in substance with that already concluded, except in the article of the King's religion, was signed at Dover. It had been stipulated in the first treaty, that Charles, to support himself in his declaration for Popery, should receive two hundred thousand pounds from the King of France: one half to be paid three months from the ratification of the treaty, and the other three months after the expiration of that time. In the present treaty, the triple alliance, in so far as it concerned the inforcement of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, was to remain inviolable. But, in case the King of Spain should die without issue, his dominions were to be divided between the contracting powers. Minorca, Ostend, and all Spanish America, were to fall to the lot of Charles. All the territories of Spain in Europe were to be assigned to Lewis. To facilitate the completion of this grand object of the treaty, war was to be declared against the Dutch; and their dominions, after a provision made for the Prince of Orange, were to be ceded to France; except the islands of Walkeron, L'Ecluse, and Cassante, together with all the ports to Maelland-Sluys, reserved for the King of England. To enable Charles to exert his force with vigour, a subsidy of eight hundred thousand pounds was to be annually paid by France, during this eventual war. In the case of the decease of the King of Spain, both the contracting powers were to join, at their own proper expence, to subject his American dominions to England; but Charles was to receive three pounds twelve shillings a-month for each man to be employed by sea

Treaty concluded.

\* Conference at Dover, MS.

\* James II. 1670.



C H A P.  
II.

1670.

in reducing the Spanish territories in Europe under the dominion of the French King<sup>†</sup>.

Reflections.

SUCH was the treaty with France. The conditions, though known to many individuals, remained long a secret from the public. Though Charles ought to derive no reputation from the part which he acted, it was evident that Lewis was the dupe of his designs. Had the government of England been as despotic in its constitution as that of France, it would be difficult to accuse the King of having neglected the interests of his subjects. By annihilating the trade of Holland with its independence, England, from its peculiar advantages, might be supposed to command the commerce of Europe; whilst the wealth of America would provide it with resources, which might for ever defeat the designs of France against its power. But commerce is neither to be acquired by violence, nor kept by force; and the danger of American treasures had been even then ascertained, by their effect on Spain. In the most flattering light, the object of this treaty would prove, in the end, of no real advantage to the English nation; and it would, in the mean time, most certainly deprive them of their political freedom. The independence on parliament, which the possession of treasure might have given to the King, must have rendered the monarchy absolute; an abject system of government under any sovereign, but insupportable under a careless and dissolute prince. The King, however, extended not his principal views so far. Too indolent in his character, and unpersevering in his disposition, present relief from his distresses was with him a greater object than future advantage. Though the King of Spain was sickly, he might live many years; and Charles, by recent experience, had been convinced, that to reduce the Dutch would at least be a task of difficulty.

Death of the  
Dutchess of  
Orleans.

THE Dutchess of Orleans did not long survive the signing of a treaty finished by her address. She died at St. Cloud, on the

† Vid. Treaty.

thirtieth



thirtieth of June<sup>u</sup>, after an illness of a few hours. The suddenness of her death created a suspicion of poison; but it was found, upon opening her body, in the presence of the English ambassador, and an English physician and surgeon, that there was no foundation for the report<sup>\*</sup>. To an uncommon degree of beauty and gracefulness of person, she joined the most alluring qualities of the mind. Her good sense could be only equalled by her address, and the clearness of her understanding was surpassed by nothing but her greatness of soul. She was a stranger to vanity, but full of that excusable pride which guards her sex from meanness. There was a sweetness in her language, and a lively delicacy in her conversation, that gained her the hearts of all that heard her; and when she expired, she left scarce a dry eye in a court who are always thought to feel less than they express<sup>y</sup>. The openness of her manner rendered her suspected of an inclination to gallantry; and Lewis the Fourteenth was said to have carried his attention to her beyond the bounds of the affection due to a brother's wife. Charles, who loved her to excess, lamented her sincerely; but he was too fond of his connexion with France to shew any symptoms of indignation, even when he suspected that unfair means had been used to accomplish her death. In her journey to Dover, the Dutchess of Orleans was attended by a young lady of the name of Querouaille, afterwards better known by the title of Dutchess of Portsmouth. Lewis is said to have sent her, to secure the fluctuating friendship of Charles through the channel of his pleasures. She made the expected impression on the King. His proposals were accepted. To preserve an appearance of decency, she went back with the Dutchess; but, soon after the death of that princess, she returned to England, and used all the influence of her beauty in that country to serve the interest of her own.

CHAP.

II.

1670.

<sup>u</sup> Hist. de France, 1670.

<sup>\*</sup> James II. 1670.

<sup>y</sup> MS. de Cosn.



## C H A P. III.

*Reflections.*—Character of the cabal.—Buckingham in France.—Invasion of Lorrain.—A parliament.—Prince of Orange in England.—Attempt upon Ormonde.—Blood's attempt.—Coventry-act.—Scheme for a comprehension.—Death of the Dutchess of York.—Transactions at court.—Quarrel with the Dutch.—Imperious conduct of Charles.—Embassies.—Exchequer shut.—Preparations for war.—Smyrna fleet attacked.—Promotions.—War declared.—Declaration of indulgence.—Battle of Southwold Bay.—Death and Character of Sandwich.—Invasion of Holland.—Consternation of the Dutch.—Character of the Prince of Orange.—He is declared Stadtholder.—Tumults in Holland.—Murder of the De Wits.—Misfortunes of the Dutch.—Promotions.—Affairs of Scotland—of Ireland.—Reflections.—State of the nation.—A parliament.—Proceedings of the commons.—Indulgence recalled.—The test.—Designs to exclude the Duke of York.—Character of Monmouth.—Defection of Shaftesbury.—Battles at sea.—State of the war.—Congress at Cologne.—Duke of York and Clifford resign.—Osborne made treasurer.—His character.—A parliament.—Address against the Duke's marriage.—Proceedings.—Chancellor dismissed.—Duke of York's marriage.—A parliament.—Their proceedings.—Peace with Holland.

C H A P.  
III.  
1670.  
Reflections.

**I**N England, the measures of the crown are so uniformly ascribed to its servants, that the monarch frequently remains, without either censure or applause, at the head of the state. The minister is thought to advise what he executes, and he only is the object



object of punishment, or the subject of praise. Charles, though he can derive little reputation from that circumstance, was now the author of his own measures; and he chose his servants, from their boldness to act, more than from their wisdom to plan. In the course of a secret negotiation of three years, he discovered abilities worthy of a more noble object; yet he, at the same time, betrayed a want of principle, which would disgrace the most splendid designs. To deceive his allies, to dupe foreign powers, to shew a contempt for the faith of treaties, may derive some defence from great examples; but to adopt schemes too pernicious to be wholly laid open to such bold and profligate servants as he had chosen, was peculiar to this King. This prince seems to have carried the vein of humour, which distinguished his private conversation, into his public transactions. In a contempt for the abilities of others, he delighted to use mankind as tools; and to derive amusement, as well as advantage, from follies occasioned by his own want of sincerity. His desire of money was not, perhaps, more gratified with the sums which he received from Lewis the Fourteenth, than his taste for humour was satisfied at seeing that monarch becoming a kind of pander to his pleasures.

C H A P.  
III.

1670.

To carry into execution the secret treaty with France, Charles saw the necessity of employing more tools than those by whom it had been signed. Clifford and Arlington, though men of considerable parts, were not of themselves sufficient to carry forward such unpopular measures. Three others, of more boldness and superior profligacy, were admitted with them into the management of the great line of affairs. These were Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale. This committee of five were, by a puerile conceit, denominated the cabal, from the initials of their names; an appellation rendered odious to posterity by their measures. Honest in an uncommon way, they scarce, except Arlington, made any pretensions to principle; and this singularity in him

Character of  
the cabal.



C H A P.  
III.

1670.

proceeded less from virtue, than an inherent timidity of mind. The most of them had lost their regard to reputation, in their insatiable desires and an high opinion of their own abilities; being persuaded, that parts alone are sufficient to support the character of a ministry with the world.

Clifford.

CLIFFORD, whom his name has placed at the head of the cabal, deserved that pre-eminence from another cause. To a boldness, which shrunk from no political danger, he added an openness which approached to honesty. He was a violent enemy, yet a sincere friend<sup>a</sup>; and though his prejudices led him into errors, he atoned for them, in some measure, by avowing his conduct to the world. His eloquence in the house of commons brought him first into notice; his intimacy with Arlington raised him into office<sup>b</sup>. Ardent and impetuous in his councils, he deserved to be trusted, from his spirit. His perseverance in any plan acquired to him a firmness in all. The only symptom of weakness which he exhibited, was his avowed adherence to a system of faith which the laws of his country did not recognise. But few men had then arrived at a degree of philosophy sufficient to remove religion from the channel of their temporal concerns.

Arlington.

ARLINGTON supplied the place of extensive talents by an artful management of such as he possessed. Accommodating in his principles, and easy in his address, he pleased when he was known to deceive; and his manner acquired to him a kind of influence, where he commanded no respect. He was little calculated for bold measures, on account of his natural timidity; and that defect created an opinion of his moderation, that was ascribed to virtue. His facility to adopt new measures was forgotten in his readiness to acknowledge the errors of the old. The deficiency in his integrity was forgiven in the decency of his dis-

<sup>a</sup> James II. 1667.<sup>b</sup> Ibid. 1668.

honesty.



honesty. Too weak not to be superstitious, yet possessing too much sense to own his adherence to the church of Rome, he lived a Protestant, in his outward profession; but he died a Catholic. Timidity was the chief characteristic of his mind; and that being known, he was even commanded by cowards<sup>c</sup>. He was the man of the least genius of the whole party; but he had most experience in that slow and constant current of business, which, perhaps, suits affairs of state better than the violent exertions of men of great parts.

C H A P.  
III.  
1670.

THOUGH few could owe more to fortune than Buckingham, none ever made a worse use of her favours. Possessed of an ample estate, yet always in distress. A spendthrift without magnificence, extravagant without the least symptom of generosity. A man of uncommon talents, yet subject to unaccountable weaknesses. Superstitious in his disposition, yet believing in no religion. Lively in his wit without elegance, open and free without sincerity; destitute of principle, and a stranger to prudence. He was vain, but not proud; eager for reputation, but careless of honour; fond of debauchery, more than a lover of pleasure. He was versatile and various, subject to caprice and the slave of whim. In any other age or reign he might offend with the irregularity of his private life; but he never could have an opportunity of giving disgust by his influence in public affairs. The King, with whom he had been brought up, had a kind of natural affection for him, till he abused it by frequent repetitions of acts of insolence and folly. At the Restoration, he was the only person who had enjoyed that honour abroad, excluded from the council<sup>d</sup>; and he owed afterwards the countenance of Charles to the irresistible vivacity of his conversation, and not to any opinion he entertained of his merit<sup>e</sup>. The influence which he acquired, immediately after his disgrace in 1667, was soon lost. In the beginning of

Buckingham.

<sup>c</sup> James II. 1668.

<sup>d</sup> Ibid. 1669.

<sup>e</sup> Ibid.



C H A P.  
III.

1670.

1669, his unaccountable fears of being assassinated by the Duke of York, estranged from him the mind of the King. He concluded him absolutely mad<sup>f</sup>, and ceased to communicate with him in any public affair. The Dutchess of Orleans, with whom he always retained his influence, reconciled her brother to him during the conference at Dover<sup>g</sup>; and though Charles despised his abilities in business, he thought him afterwards a proper tool for his worst designs.

Ashley.

THE Lord Ashley, whose name stands the fourth in the committee was first in abilities and extraordinary talents. Bound by no principle, and restrained by no ties, his uncommon parts having room to play, appeared in their utmost force to the world. Bold and intrepid in his councils, yet full of address in his manner, he could execute with confidence, whatever he had planned with art. Naturally restless in his temper, he loved trouble, from its amusement, and though ambitious, he was fond of confusion, more as a field for action, than as the means of acquiring power. His knowledge of human nature was extensive. He was acquainted with the tempers of men, and commanded them through the channel of their ruling passions. Without the reputation of constancy, he gained the confidence of parties, through their opinion of his talents; and though he deserted measures frequently, he never betrayed his friends. He was an eloquent speaker<sup>h</sup>; but more subtle in his argument, than solid in his judgment; indefatigable in business, but versatile and changeable in his schemes. Measuring the rules of policy, by his own variable passions, he was attached to no political principle, to no particular system of government. Now a republican, now all for monarchy; to-day a supporter of liberty, to-morrow the slave of absolute power: and thus, though regularly under the dominion of his insatiable desires, he seemed always inconsistent with himself. During the

<sup>f</sup> James II. 1669.<sup>g</sup> Ibid.<sup>h</sup> Ibid. 1681.



first years of Charles, the attachment of the nation to their Sovereign deprived him of a field for exerting his abilities; which were only calculated to shine in times of tumult and confusion. He continued in office, more through the influence of the Earl of Southampton, whose niece he had married, than from any opinion of his political consequence. When Buckingham acquired influence, he attached himself to his councils<sup>1</sup>; and this near approach to Charles, was the means of discovering to him talents, which he deemed suitable for executing his schemes.

CHAP.  
III.  
1670.

LAUDERDALE, though not equal in abilities to Ashley, was, at least, as careless about any principle in politics. His awkward and ungraceful figure<sup>k</sup>, was the counterpart of a rude and boisterous mind; which, however, was improved, though not polished, by acquired talents. Obstinate, ambitious, and fierce, in his public conduct; an implacable enemy, and an inconstant friend in private life. Haughty, beyond measure. A tyrant to his inferiors; but to his superiors, an abject and submissive slave<sup>l</sup>. With an appearance of bluntness, he was full of art; though his violent passions broke often through the veil with which he wished to cover his designs. His talents were considerable, his experience great; he was bold and fearless in the execution of all his schemes. Though he was, from prejudice rather than principle, averse to despotism, and a friend to presbytery, he extended, in Scotland, the prerogative to a kind of tyranny; and abetted the rigours of the church against his own favourite sect<sup>m</sup>. Fond of power, and necessitous from expence, he adopted every measure that gratified his ambition or relieved his wants<sup>n</sup>. His readiness to humour his master in all his views, his spirit in supporting his worst and most dangerous measures, secured to him an ascendant over Charles; which, notwithstanding the opposition in their

Lauderdale.

<sup>1</sup> James II. 1668.

<sup>m</sup> Burnet, vol. i. p. 140.

<sup>k</sup> Burnet, vol. i. p. 139.

<sup>n</sup> Ibid.

<sup>l</sup> Ibid.

characters,



C H A P.  
III.

1670.

Buckingham  
sent to  
France.

characters, he retained during the greatest part of this reign. The rest of the cabal, afterwards, either deserted or opposed the King: Lauderdale's adherence to his Sovereign, terminated only in the decay of his own strength and understanding.

SUCH were the committee of his council, to whom Charles trusted his affairs. Without either an opinion of their fidelity, or attachment to their persons, they became his sole advisers in domestic measures, and his tools in foreign affairs. To secure the exertion of their abilities in the latter, he found it necessary to involve them in the secret treaty with France. But the sudden and suspicious demise of the Dutchess of Orleans, threatened to break his favoured scheme. Buckingham, who professed a wonderful attachment to that princess, became outrageous upon the news of her death<sup>o</sup>. He talked of nothing but a breach with France. He flew to all the foreign ambassadors, and, without authority, endeavoured to engage them in the expected war<sup>p</sup>. In the mean time, the Marquis of Bellesfonds arrived, with compliments of condolence from the French King. Charles, who knew the character of Buckingham, proposed to send him in return to France; insinuating, at the same time, to Lewis, the propriety of gaining him to their secret schemes. The access to Buckingham was easy, through the channels of his vanity and avarice. The King of France assailed him through both. The Dutchess of Orleans was soon forgot. He ran with eagerness into the views of the Kings; and Ashley, who still adhered to his councils, adopted, with little difficulty, the measure. A ridiculous farce was now begun. The treaty concluded at Dover, except in the article concerning the Popish religion, was brought again into negociation, as originating from Buckingham. Charles employed the secret councils of the rest of the year, in imposing upon a servant scarce worthy of being deceived.

<sup>o</sup> James II. 1670.<sup>p</sup> Ibid.



WHILE this pretended treaty was in agitation, Lewis formed his measures upon the faith of that already concluded. The invasion of Holland was the chief object of the alliance; and he took the first step toward the execution of the projected scheme. To the United Provinces from France, there were two ways for conducting an army. The one lay through the Spanish Netherlands, the other through the territories of the German Princes upon the Rhine. A voluntary passage through the first was not to be expected; and to force it would be both dangerous and tedious. The latter appeared to be attended with the least difficulty and most advantage. The petty princes of Germany might be insulted with safety, or corrupted with ease. The Duke of Lorraine, as being the nearest, was the first attacked. To gain his concurrence was impossible, on account of the memory of former injuries. Lewis resolved to seize the dominions of a Prince, whom he could not hope to allure to his views. Besides, the duchy of Lorraine was in itself a valuable acquisition, as well as convenient for his other designs. In breach of the faith of treaties, in the height of security and peace, the Marechal de Crequi entered Lorraine. He took Epinal, on the twenty-fourth of September<sup>r</sup>. Chatte fell into his hands, on the sixth of October. The whole country yielded, with little resistance, to the force of a powerful and disciplined army. The Duke, deprived of all his territories, took refuge in the city of Cologne.

CHAP.  
III.

1670.  
French invasion of Lorraine.

EUROPE was alarmed at an enterprise, which seemed to be the prelude of greater mischiefs. Lewis endeavoured, in vain, to justify his conduct, by an allegation of dangerous intrigues in the court of Lorraine<sup>s</sup>. His own ambition was known, and therefore the reason of the measure was obvious. Men thought that the storm was to fall upon Flanders. The few who suspected the King of England of being privy to the invasion, dreamed of no design against Hol-

The parliament meets.

<sup>r</sup> Henault, Hist. Abregé, 1670.

<sup>s</sup> Ibid.



C H A P.  
III.

1670.

land. The moderate declarations of France, though they received not full credit, created suspense; and the States, though suspicious, took no vigorous measures for their own defence. In the mean time, the parliament met<sup>t</sup>; and Charles, by the mouth of the lord-keeper Bridgman, took advantage of the present situation of affairs, to demand a supply. He informed them, that both France and the States were busy in arming by sea and land; and that prudence dictated to the King to make suitable preparations. He urged that, from the situation of the kingdom, as an island, the defence of its liberties, and the security of its commerce, lay in its strength at sea; and that therefore his Majesty, to preserve both, had given orders for the fitting out fifty of his largest ships, against the spring. He told them, that, besides, the King was obliged, by the leagues which he had made for the peace of Europe, to keep up a certain force, to preserve the public tranquillity, and to aid some of his neighbours, in case of invasion. Having enumerated many alliances finished since their recess, by his Majesty; he concluded with assuring them, that all the Princes in Europe sought the friendship of the King, and thought themselves insecure without his protection<sup>u</sup>.

A supply  
granted.

THIS house of commons, when not led by men who converted them into an engine of ambition, were attached to Monarchy, and fond of the King. In matters of toleration only, they remained uncomplying to the views of the Crown. The speaking members had been either bought off with offices, or swayed from opposition by promises. On the twenty-seventh of October, the King's speech was taken under consideration; and, without one dissenting voice, a supply was voted proportionable to his present occasions<sup>x</sup>. The house ordered a list of the particular debts of his Majesty, at interest, to be laid before them, by the commissioners

<sup>t</sup> Journals, Oct. 24, 1670.<sup>u</sup> Journals of the lords, Oct. 24, 1670.<sup>x</sup> Journals of the com. Oct. 27, 1670.



of the treasury; while the treasurers of the navy were, at the same time, directed to bring in an estimate of the charge of the fleet. Though the real designs of the crown were known to several, they were kept in profound secrecy from parliament and the nation. Even the unretentive Buckingham himself was too deeply engaged in the treaty with France to disclose it to the world. The parliament, judging from the outward appearance of things, were deceived into a concurrence with the dangerous measures of the King. The debates concerning the funds for the supply, retarded the progress of the bills for raising it; but no objection was made to its being ample, and even equal to the utmost wish of the King.

C H A P.  
III.  
1670.

A FEW days after the meeting of parliament, the Prince of Orange arrived in England. Men, who annexed importance to all the motions of princes, formed various conjectures concerning the object of his visit. He was treated by Charles with all the marks of affection which that prince invariably bestowed upon his relations. He first intended to communicate to his nephew his treaty with France, which contained an article favourable to his ambition. In the proposed partition of the territories of the Dutch republic, care was taken to reserve a portion to form a sovereignty for the family of Orange. Charles found that the Prince was not to be trusted with his favourite schemes. He thought him too strict a protestant, and a Dutchman too sincere, to adopt, even for his own advantage, a measure calculated to ruin the religion and government of Holland. In visiting the universities, in making progresses through the kingdom, he spent three months in England. Though forbidding in his manner, and ungraceful in his person, his grave deportment procured him respect; and he was received by all with attention, though perhaps neither with affection nor with awe.

Prince of  
Orange in  
England.



C H A P.  
III.1670.  
Attempt on  
the Duke of  
Ormonde.

AN incident rendered memorable an entertainment given on the sixth of December, by the city of London, to the Prince of Orange<sup>y</sup>. The Duke of Ormonde having attended him thither, was attacked as he was returning home, through a dark night, by six ruffians on horseback, and well armed. Six footmen, who usually attended his carriage, had been either stopt by the contrivance of the assassins, or were by accident out of the way. He was forced out of his coach, and mounted behind one of the villains, who instantly rode away. The attack happening in St. James's Street, the coachman drove to Clarendon-house, which stood at the upper end, and where the Duke of Ormonde then resided. The family was alarmed; and the servants arriving, ran to the rescue of their lord. The rider to whom the Duke was bound, embarrassed by his struggling, advanced but slow; and he was at length unhorsed, and both fell together in the mud, beyond Devonshire-house, just as Ormonde's servants arrived. Disengaging himself, the assassin discharged his pistol at the Duke, but he missed, and then, with one of his companions, rode off, and saved himself under the cover of night<sup>z</sup>.

Blood's  
crimes.

THOUGH the King issued a proclamation for the discovery and apprehension of the assassins, they remained unknown till they were detected by another crime. They formed, the succeeding May, the extraordinary project of stealing the crown from the Tower of London: but some of them were taken in the attempt. The chief actor in both these desperate undertakings was one Thomas Blood, of Sarney, in the county of Meath. Notwithstanding his having received the gift of an estate from Charles the First, he served Cromwell, and had lands allotted to him for his arrears. Bold and daring by nature, he loved iniquity from its danger; and was fond of deriving reputation from his desperate-

<sup>y</sup> Carte's Ormonde, vol. ii. p. 421.<sup>z</sup> Ibid. p. 422.



ness in crimes. In the year 1663, he was concerned in the conspiracy for surprizing the castle of Dublin and for raising an insurrection in Ireland. Expelled from his country, and deprived of his estate, he came to England, herded with the fanatics, and was ever ready in plots for the republican cause. His restless temper carried him also into Scotland, where he was present in the fight at the Pentland Hills. Escaping to Ireland, he was pursued there by the officers of justice: then returning to England, he signalled himself in Yorkshire, by rescuing some criminals from the sheriff's men, as they were leading them either to trial or execution<sup>a</sup>.

C H A P.  
III.

1670.

THOUGH Blood ascribed to his own resentment his attempt upon Ormonde, others surmised that he was instigated by Buckingham, that noble person's mortal foe. His refinement in vengeance looked like one of Buckingham's whims; for it was to hang the Duke at Tyburn, with a paper on his breast, that he had deferred to put an end to his life when he seized his person. The King, struck with the boldness of his latter attempt, expressed an inclination to hear him examined. Blood was carried to court; and he had the address to improve an opportunity, which seemed to promise a certain pardon<sup>b</sup>. He raised the admiration of Charles with a bold avowal of all his crimes. He wrought upon his fears, by declaring that he was one of many who had conspired against his life. He told him, that he had been engaged to kill him with a carabine above Battersea, where His Majesty was accustomed to swim; but that when he took his stand in the reeds to execute his purpose, his heart misgave him through awe. He magnified his own influence among the fanatics. He dwelt on the certainty of a severe vengeance, from his associates, should he suffer for his crime. Charles forgave him, through a mixture

<sup>a</sup> Carte's Ormonde, vol. ii. p. 422.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid.



C H A P.  
III.

1670.

of admiration and terror. He obtained the Duke of Ormonde's consent to his pardon. He conferred upon him an estate in Ireland equivalent to that which he had lost. Blood was admitted, in some degree, to the privacy of the King and intimacy of the court. The lenity of Charles degenerated, in this instance, into a meanness which was ascribed to fear.

Affault on Sir  
J. Coventry.

IN the evening of the twentieth of December<sup>c</sup>, the day the parliament had adjourned for the Christmas-holidays, an incident happened, which was followed by some striking consequences. Though the commons had voted a supply, the charging it upon adequate funds was the subject of long debates. A motion made for taxing the theatres was opposed by the court-party, who said that the players were the King's servants, and a part of his pleasure. Sir John Coventry stood up and asked, "Whether His Majesty's pleasure lay among the men or the women players?" This piece of raillery was carried with aggravated circumstances to Charles. He received it worse than could have been expected, from his known good humour. He was hurt at a reflection that bore so much upon his pride; for it was well known, that besides his mistresses of higher name, he entertained at the time two actresses, Mrs. Gwin and Mrs. Davis. Urged by the commands of the Duke of Monmouth, or in hopes of gaining the favour of the King, Sir Thomas Sandys, Obrien, and other officers of the guards, waylaid Coventry upon his return at night to his lodgings. He defended himself for some time with courage. He was at length overpowered, and his nose slit to the bone. The officers, after their exploit, returned to the Duke's house, where Obrien's arm, which had been wounded in the scuffle, was dressed.

Proceedings  
of the ca-  
binet.

THOUGH the commons were not then sitting, this dangerous breach on their privileges made a great deal of noise. The King

<sup>c</sup> Journals of the commons, Jan. 9th, 1671.



either repented or disapproved of the forward zeal of his servants. A council was called to meet at Lord Arlington's house on the twenty-sixth of December<sup>f</sup>. The Duke of Buckingham proposed to the King, to send on Thursday the twenty-ninth for the commons to the house of lords, and to endeavour by a speech to lessen their resentment. The Duke of York seconded this motion. The whole council were unanimous. The heads of the speech were prepared, and read and approved the next day. Charles was to own that he had heard of Coventry's words, and of the consequent assault upon his person; and that he highly disapproved of both. He was to have acquainted them, that he was troubled at their permitting such disrespectful expressions to pass without punishment; that he expected an amendment in their conduct upon that head; that he was as tender as they themselves of their liberty of speech; and that it concerned him, as well as them, not to suffer his or their enemies to create a misunderstanding, which might occasion a dissolution of the present parliament. He was to conclude with a compliment. But on the twenty-eighth this resolution was laid aside. It was agreed the King should make no speech, and that the law should have its course without any obstruction from the crown<sup>g</sup>.

C H A P.  
III.

1670.

THE commons, who after a short adjournment met on the twenty-ninth of December<sup>h</sup>, had ordered a call of their house on the ninth of January<sup>i</sup>. When the name of Sir John Coventry was mentioned, Sir Thomas Clerges gave information of the assault upon his person<sup>k</sup>. The house flew into a violent flame. They entered into an immediate cognizance of the affair. They suspended all other business. They voted unanimously that they repented this fact, not only as a high breach of privilege, but an attempt of dangerous consequence to the King, the laws, and

1671.  
Coventry-  
act.

<sup>f</sup> James II, 1670.

<sup>g</sup> Ibid.

<sup>h</sup> Journals.

<sup>i</sup> Ibid. Jan. 9, 1671.

<sup>k</sup> Ibid.

government,



C H A P.  
III.

1671.

government, and destructive to the very essence and constitution of parliament. They ordered a bill to be brought in, upon the debates of the house, for setting a day, under the penalty of banishment, to Sir Thomas Sandys, Obrien, and the other actors in assaulting and wounding Coventry, to render themselves to public justice. This bill, which was passed with the utmost expedition, contained a clause which precluded the crown from pardoning the offenders. To maim or disfigure any person was rendered, for the first time, capital. The commons, having thus vindicated their privileges, applied themselves to the money-bills still depending in their house<sup>1</sup>.

Parliament  
prorogued.

NOTWITHSTANDING the application of the Commons to the supply, their progress was slow. Charles becoming impatient, sent a message on the fourteenth of February<sup>m</sup>, to hasten the money-bills; but the house, in return, presented to him an address against the growth of popery. The King, as usual, promised to comply with their desires, and they were satisfied. To three money-bills already passed, they added a fourth, for impositions on foreign commodities. When the bills were sent to the lords, they thought proper to check the liberality of the commons, by making amendments. A dispute arose between the houses. The commons, deeming that the right of granting money was inherent in themselves, rejected all alterations; and the lords yielded to their reasons, with regard to the three first bills. The merchants of London petitioned the upper house against the fourth, as grievous and inconvenient to trade. The lords insisted upon making alterations; but the commons would yield to none. Frequent conferences were held. Resolutions were framed on both sides. The bill was stopt by this dissension. The King, eager to receive the money granted by the first three

<sup>1</sup> Journals, Jan. 9th, 1671.<sup>m</sup> Journals.

bills,



bills, came to the house on the twenty-second of April, and having passed them, prorogued the parliament, to put an end to the dispute. The money granted this session has been variously computed. The most moderate extend it to a sum considerably beyond two millions<sup>n</sup>.

C H A P.  
III.  
1671.

COMPREHENSION being a favourite object in this reign, some steps were taken toward it, in the beginning of March, by the Bishops of Winchester, Sarum, and Chester<sup>o</sup>. To make it palatable for the house of commons, it was to have been introduced under another name and pretence. The plan was so artful, and the language so accommodating, that it was likely to pass without animadversion. Many violent churchmen ran with warmth into the scheme, from an opinion that the whole bench of bishops were its friends. The project was defeated, by the joint efforts of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Duke of York<sup>p</sup>. The first opposed it, from his zeal for the church of England; the latter, from his bigotted adherence to the tenets of the Romish faith. To bring the Presbyterians within the pale of the church, was to put an end to that indulgence to sectaries, which preserved a degree of toleration for the professors of the Catholic religion. To this source ought to be traced the uniform adherence of this misguided Prince to toleration. He laboured to place the Papists on the same footing with other sects, to render them capable of holding offices, and, at length, to make converts through interest. The rack, the gibbet, the stake, he probably never intended to use. He hoped to gain mankind to his opinions, by rewarding them for quitting their own. The plan, in hands more able, might have succeeded; but the abilities necessary to carry it on, would have prevented the folly of undertaking the scheme.

Scheme for a  
comprehension.

<sup>n</sup> Journals, passim.

<sup>o</sup> James II. 1671.

<sup>p</sup> Ibid.



C H A P.  
III.

1671.  
Death of the  
Duchess of  
York.

THE first fruits of the Duke's zeal for the Romish religion appeared in the conversion of his wife. In the winter of the year 1670, the Duchess was first suspected to be a Catholic<sup>1</sup>; though she, probably, in private, had adopted the faith of Rome some time before. Zealous for the ordinances of the church of England, she had always received, once a month, the sacrament<sup>2</sup>, according to the established forms. In the illness in which she died, she not only discontinued the taking of the sacrament, but even the hearing of prayers. The King first observed this change; and, in the month of December, charged his brother to keep concealed this change in her faith. After a growing corpulence, that threw her into a long indisposition, she expired on the twenty-second of March, 1671<sup>3</sup>. She was rather graceful, than beautiful in her person; more dignified, than amiable in her temper of mind. She possessed the pride of her father, without his violent passions; his good sense, without his dilatory adherence to argument. Bred under the Princess of Orange, she knew well what belonged to a court<sup>4</sup>. She was fond of state, and expensive in affecting show. She was generous and faithful to her friends, but, from the same warmth of disposition, severe against her enemies. Though her husband was not faithful to her bed, she retained always her influence over his mind. The Duke, though deficient in his public virtues, was possessed of those of domestic life. He invariably treated her with becoming respect<sup>5</sup>, and, even after her death, paid the utmost attention to her family and friends. She had the good fortune to overcome the envy raised by her elevation with her dignified deportment; and had she adhered to her original faith, she would have died regretted by all.

Transactions  
at court.

THE summer of the year 1671 is peculiarly barren in events. Charles, in the month of June, made a kind of sea-progress

<sup>1</sup> James II. 1670.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Public Intel.

<sup>4</sup> Burnet, vol. i. p. 238.

<sup>5</sup> Clarendon.



along the coast, inspecting as he went the condition of naval affairs<sup>x</sup>. In the beginning of the year, the pretended treaty with France was concluded; the commissioners being the Protestant part of the cabinet, and the Duke of York<sup>y</sup>. Buckingham, the dupe and instrument of this second alliance, was busy in forwarding its object, in his own capricious way. He wished for a dissolution of parliament; but Charles would not listen to the measure. He endeavoured, by fomenting the dissensions between the houses<sup>z</sup>, to derive from the necessity of the thing what he had failed to obtain from his master by influence. The King contented himself with a sudden prorogation; and Buckingham was disappointed. The Earl of Manchester dying on the fifth of May, the Duke, notwithstanding his character, was chosen, in his place, chancellor of the university of Cambridge. Several bishops recommended him to that office by letters, forgetting, in his power, his avowed aversion to all religion and principle<sup>a</sup>. The creatures of Buckingham copied, in their proceedings, the profligacy of their patron. Osborne and Lyttelton, joint treasurers of the navy, quarrelled about their fees. A council, called upon their differences, ordered, that no treasurer of the navy should, for the future, receive any poundage, sign any agreements, or vote for any contracts<sup>b</sup>; a necessary restraint, when corruption had ceased to be controuled by the fear of shame.

C H A P.  
III.  
1671.

WHEN the calm at home seemed to be the prelude of a storm, an action worthy of memory happened between the English and the Algerines. These pirates having long eluded the vigilance of Sir Thomas Allen, fell in with nine of their ships of war, with Sir Edward Spragge, his successor in the command of the fleet stationed in the Mediterranean. Taking shelter under the castle of Bugia, they put themselves in a posture of defence. The Eng-

Peace with  
Algier.

<sup>x</sup> Heath's Chron. 1671.

<sup>y</sup> Dalrymple's Append.

<sup>z</sup> James II. 1671.

<sup>a</sup> Ibid.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid.



C H A P.  
III.

1671.

lish, attacking them with their fire-ships, burnt some and took the rest. Another ship of forty guns was, at the same time, taken and brought in by a cruizer. Spragge, after the victory, made the best of his way to block up the port of Algiers. Confusion, insurrection, and revolution, prevailed ashore. Dey was assassinated after Dey. The divan consulted in arms, being besieged by the populace, who demanded peace<sup>b</sup>. A new Dey having, at length, escaped the dagger, restored domestic tranquillity, by entering into a treaty with the English. The conferences ended in an honourable and advantageous peace; and a period was put to a war, to which success itself could scarce give importance.

Quarrel with  
the Dutch.

NOTWITHSTANDING the profound secrecy observed with regard to the alliance with France, the steps toward a breach with the United States began now to discover the designs of the cabinet to the world. Sir William Temple, who had concluded the triple league, had continued as English resident in Holland for three years<sup>c</sup>. Neither his character for honesty, nor his regard to conscience, rendered him a fit instrument for carrying forward the changed measures of Charles. He was recalled, in the beginning of the year, upon a slight pretence. In July, his Majesty signified formally his revocation, in letters to the States<sup>d</sup>; and, in the month of August, a yacht sent for his wife and family furnished the first pretext for an unjustifiable war. The captain of the yacht had received strict orders from the admiralty to fire on any Dutch ship that should refuse to strike her sails. The Dutch fleet lay floating in the channel, and the yacht passing through them on her return, fired some shot upon their neglecting to strike<sup>e</sup>. The Dutch admiral came on board to make his compliments to Lady Temple; but he refused to pay the demanded ho-

<sup>b</sup> Heath, 1671.<sup>c</sup> Kennet's Hist. vol. iii. p. 309.<sup>d</sup> Arlington's Letters, July 6, 1671.<sup>e</sup> Kennet, vol. iii. p. 310.



nours. He urged, that he had no orders from his masters upon that head; and that, had even the point been settled, he could not consider a boat of passage in the same light as a King's ship of war. The yacht pursued her course, and brought to the English court the news of a specious foundation for a complaint.

THOUGH Charles and Lewis were resolved to adhere to their engagements, some alterations were now made in the conditions of the secret alliance. The vanity of commanding six thousand men, as an aid from England to France in the Dutch war, was one of the chief motives to the eagerness with which Buckingham entered into that scheme. Mountague, the English ambassador, had induced Lewis to depart from that demand. Buckingham ascribed to private pique against himself a measure which Charles considered as a public benefit. Haughty, from an opinion of his being the first promoter of the alliance, he could not brook this disappointment to his ambition. He absented himself from the court. He affected to be offended with the King. Charles, conscious of the sinister tendency of the secret treaty, carried his behaviour to those who signed it into a kind of insult. Having seduced servants whom he never loved, he triumphed over their folly; and expected, from their fear of detection, an exertion of their talents, which he could never hope to derive from their loyalty. He sent for Buckingham. He reprimanded him for his puerile forwardness. He told him, "that, on occasions, where his private ambition interfered with the interests of the crown, he considered him no more than his dog<sup>s</sup>." He spoke in the same imperious terms to Lauderdale and Ashley; men whose pride could bear any thing, when it was not their interest to oppose.

Imperious  
conduct of  
Charles.

<sup>s</sup> Colbert to Lewis XIV. Nov. 9, 1671.



C H A P.  
III.1671.  
Embassies to  
foreign  
powers.

To support with foreign alliances his domestic force, Charles sent ambassadors to the principal powers of Europe. Henry Coventry, in the month of September, was dispatched to Stockholm, to sway the young King of Sweden from observing the triple alliance. He executed his instructions with such address, that Charles the Eleventh, who promised at first to remain neuter, took afterwards an actual part with France and England in the war. Sir Robert Southwell, on the thirtieth of October, went envoy-extraordinary to Brussels. The Earl of Sunderland, in the end of November, took Paris in his way to the court of Spain. To widen the breach with the States of Holland, Sir George Downing set out, in the beginning of December, with the title of ambassador, to the Hague. The rude pertinacity of Downing, and the aversion which arose, from a perfect knowledge of his character, among the Dutch, rendered him fit for a journey, the object of which was to find a specious pretence for war. His business was to complain, and not to negotiate; to denounce vengeance, more than to demand satisfaction. It was remarkable, that during the four years since the treaty of Breda, the Dutch had furnished no ground of complaint, except the refusal of their admiral, in the month of August, to strike to the English flag. Their fears of France had reduced them into a temper that wished to retain the friendship of England by their own moderation.

Necessities of  
the King.

THOUGH the sum granted in the last session of parliament was ample, it was not equal to the necessities of the crown. The great remittances received from France were also lost, in the unaccountable vortex of old demands. The standing revenue, if even managed with oeconomy, was inadequate to the common purposes of government; and now it was anticipated, by mortgages to money-brokers, bankers, and usurers. To remove these restraints,



restraints, was the first object of every supply. But one debt was scarce paid, when another was incurred. Distress was followed by difficulty; and Charles felt all the inconveniencies incident to private extravagance, in his public profusion. The expence of the navy, as it could never be ascertained with precision, was peculiarly distressful to a government negligent of checks upon its servants. The amount of outlays on a land-force may be previously calculated, with some degree of certainty. No computation can be made of the accidents of tides and winds. The King was particularly fond of maritime affairs, but want of money forced him to neglect, in some measure, the navy, after the peace of Breda. Though near a million of the late supply was expended on the fleet, fifty capital ships were not ready to put to sea. The inactivity of Charles through the summer 1671, proceeded from his want of resources; and the measures which he projected were too unpopular to hope for an aid from a parliament, whose very meeting might now be attended with danger.

CHAP.  
III.

1671.

To supply his immediate wants, the King adopted a scheme, as ruinous to his future convenience as it was contrary to the public faith. The shutting up the Exchequer, attributed to the suggestions of Ashley<sup>k</sup>, and adopted by Clifford, is justly deemed, if not the worst, the most imprudent measure of the present reign. On the second of January, Charles issued a proclamation, suspending all payments upon assignments in the Exchequer for one whole year. An explanation of the subject may throw light on the hardships attending a measure, which filled London with a general distrust and consternation. The goldsmiths, who then were the bankers, were accustomed to advance their money in the Exchequer upon the security of the funds upon which parliament had charged their supplies. They derived, from the necessities of the crown, an ample interest for their loans; and they were re-

1672.  
The Exchequer shut.

<sup>k</sup> Arlington's Letters.

paid.



C H A P.  
III.  
1672.

paid gradually, as the money levied upon the public came into the Exchequer. One million four hundred thousand pounds had been, at eight *per cent.* lodged in the treasury, upon the faith of the money-bills passed in the last session of parliament<sup>1</sup>. This sum had already been expended upon the preparations for a war. To apply the funds, as they came in, to the same purposes, was the object of a measure that was adopted with such secrecy, that the suddenness of the evil prevented its being preceded by fear.

Reflections.

THE murmurs of the people, the consternation of the citizens, the stagnation which distrust created in commerce, were lost on the King and his servants. Clifford was a man whom political danger could not intimidate. Ashley, the adviser of the scheme, enjoyed the confusion. Buckingham, in the absence of all principle, looked forward to the spoils of a country which he laboured to enslave. The King was so much elevated, at his having his wants supplied without the aid of parliament, that he thought himself so sure of success, that he became careless of the complaints of his subjects. The conquest of the Dutch Republic, he supposed, would scarce furnish employment for one campaign; and he could strike off, from that moment, the fetters which rendered him so uneasy at home. He, however, endeavoured to justify his conduct to the world. He signified the necessity of making preparations suitable to those of his neighbours, as the only excuse for a measure, of which he pretended not to approve. He promised repayment, with six *per cent.* interest, at the expiration of the year. He probably intended what he said; for Charles was not, by nature, unjust. But he abhorred pecuniary distress, and sacrificed principle to procure ease. Through the despair of a spendthrift, he became profligate; and justified to his own mind his worst schemes, by the necessities imposed by the parsimony of parliament.

<sup>1</sup> R. Coke, p. 168.

CHARLES,



CHARLES, provided with money, by shutting the exchequer, now seriously applied himself to preparations for a war. To man the fleet, it was proposed in the cabinet, to lay an embargo on all vessels outward bound. The Duke of York opposed this measure, as a stop to trade and a detriment to the revenue<sup>m</sup>. To support his opinion, he undertook to man the fleet without any violence; provided the Newfoundland trade might be suspended for the season. Being destined to command the fleet in person, he required only sixty English ships of the line, twenty frigates, and thirty French men of war to compose the main fleet. He urged that, in that case, a sufficient number of men and ships would be left for convoys; so that the war would create no interruption to commerce<sup>n</sup>. Though the ministry seemed to yield in some degree to his reasons, they afterwards issued a rigorous proclamation for pressing men. The duke, by his indefatigable industry, performed his promise. The fleet was manned, with little restraint on sailors; and without any considerable obstruction to trade. To accommodate the merchants, Charles soon after exerted his prerogative. He suspended the act of navigation, by his royal will and pleasure: a measure of apparent use to commerce, though, as a precedent, dangerous. The King now acted in every thing as if he were absolute. He looked upon the success of the war as certain; and he hoped to become independent of a parliament, whose parsimony was the sole check on his power.

His first measure in the war met with little success; and it deserved no applause. The attempt upon the Smyrna fleet, was called piracy by the Dutch; and few English writers gave it a softer name. To attack an enemy, without a formal declaration of war, was not then justified by example; though it has frequently since been ascribed to spirit, or considered as the result of political prudence. Sir Robert Holmes, with seven frigates, was

Attack on the  
Smyrna fleet.

<sup>m</sup> James II, 1672.

<sup>n</sup> Ibid.



C H A P.  
III.

1672.

ordered to intercept the Smyrna fleet, as it passed through the channel. On the thirteenth of March, he descried them off Portsmouth. They consisted of sixty merchant-men, under the convoy of seven ships of war<sup>8</sup>. They were prepared for defence. The Dutch, suspecting the designs of the court of England, had armed their merchant-men, to prevent a surprise. Holmes being a stranger to their strength, availed not himself of the aid of Sir Edward Spragge, who passed in sight<sup>9</sup>, toward the Downs, with the fleet which he had commanded in the Streights. He entertained also a private pique against Spragge, and he envied him a share in the glory which he hoped to acquire. The event was answerable to his folly. He engaged with courage, but he failed in conduct. The Dutch, in a running-fight, defended themselves with spirit. Their admiral was at length killed, and his ship sunk. Four merchant ships of little value, fell into the hands of Holmes. The rest escaped, in a fog, to their ports<sup>9</sup>; and thus the King lost his reputation, without gaining any solid advantage.

War de-  
clared.

FOUR days after this ineffectual attempt on the Smyrna fleet, war was declared in form against the States<sup>1</sup>. The French King followed the example of his ally, on the seventh of April<sup>2</sup>. Charles advanced some frivolous reasons. Lewis ascribed his conduct to the demands of his glory. The first complained of commercial injuries, of a breach on the honours of his flag, of several infractions of the treaty of Breda. The latter expressed his resentment against the insolence of the Dutch ambaffador, and the impertinence of the Dutch news-papers<sup>3</sup>. The declarations of both were as ill conceived, as their complaints were ill-founded. Without the boldness to avow, or the art to conceal their real views, they rendered their spirit as much suspected as their prudence. Charles, with an insult upon the common sense

<sup>8</sup> James II. 1672.<sup>9</sup> Ibid.<sup>9</sup> Ibid.<sup>1</sup> Kennet, vol. iii. p. 310.<sup>2</sup> Henault, 1672.<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

of



of mankind, declared his adherence to the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle<sup>a</sup>, at the very time he broke through all the ties of the triple alliance. This artifice was intended to amuse the court of Spain; who, he imagined, might be kept in a state of neutrality, from a prospect of their own safety.

CHAP.  
III.

1672.

CHARLES was as unfortunate in the reputation, as he was in the issue of all his measures. Having once fallen under suspicion, his best schemes were ascribed to the worst designs. His tolerant principles were invariably construed into a bias toward Popery; and a fresh exertion of the prerogative, in favour of the Dissenters, was scarce received by themselves, without jealousy and fear. On the fifteenth of March, he published, by advice of his council, a declaration of indulgence. His pretence was to establish union at home, upon the eve of a foreign war. By virtue of the inherent power to which he laid claim, in ecclesiastical matters, he suspended the penal laws against all non-conformists and recusants. He indulged Protestant Dissenters with places of public worship. He restricted the Catholics to the exercise of their religion, in private houses. To mollify the church of England, he declared his own adherence to its tenets; and that no person should be capable of holding any benefice or ecclesiastical dignity, who would not exactly conform to its faith<sup>x</sup>. The manner only of this indulgence was blamable. The King did by proclamation, what the parliament should have done by law. Though Ashley was the adviser of the measure, it was ascribed to the bigotry of the Duke of York; and the nation entertaining that opinion, had some ground for their fears.

Declaration  
of indul-  
gence.

To support the credit of his domestic measures, as well as to strengthen his hands in the war, the King called to his council several noblemen of popularity and reputation. The Marquis of

Promotions  
and honours.

<sup>a</sup> Vide declaration.

<sup>x</sup> Vide declaration, March 15th, 1672.



C H A P.

III.

1672.

Worcester, the Lords Halifax and Falconberg took their seats at the board, on the seventeenth of April, together with the Earl of Effex, whom the King had declared lord-lieutenant of Ireland. The cabal were distinguished with more peculiar favours'. The Earl of Lauderdale was raised to a Dukedom, in the kingdom of Scotland. Lord Arlington was dignified with the title of Earl, Ashley created Earl of Shaftesbury, and Clifford made a Baron by the same name. The garter was given to Lauderdale and Arlington. Buckingham having arrived at the summit of honours, was left to be rewarded by the generosity of France; whose measures he supported to the utmost pitch of his fluctuating abilities. In a perfect submission to the King, in a harmony created by fear, among themselves, the cabal managed the great line of business. Excluded from the secret of affairs, the rest of the council only gave their authority to what they had not advised. The Duke of York was absent with the fleet; and, even when present, his advice was seldom required.

The Dutch at  
sea.

De Ruyter, with seventy Dutch men of war, put to sea, in the end of April. The Duke of York, who lay at the Nore, with forty ships of the line, received, at the same time, advice that the French fleet destined to join him, had sailed from Brest. Judging by the winds, that they were arrived in the channel, he weighed anchor, and was carried down the channel, with a fresh gale at West. In the evening he had sight of the Dutch, off Long Sand Head. He stood to South; and, at night, the gale growing fresher, and bad weather coming on he came to anchor. When morning came, he gave no day-break signal for sailing, on account of the vicinity of the enemy. But the wind coming up at East, he passed in a thick fog by De Ruyter, without being seen; and joined, the next morning, the French, under D'Estrees, at St. Helens. He remained there two days, to adjust matters

† Kennet's Hist. vol. iii.



for action, and then failed in quest of the Dutch. The Duke himself, in the Prince of one hundred guns, commanded the red squadron. Sir Edward Spragge in the London, a first rate; Sir John Harman in the Charles; and the Count D'Estrees in the St. Philip, of between eighty and ninety guns, led on the white squadron, and the Earl of Sandwich, in the Royal James of one hundred guns, was admiral of the blue.<sup>z</sup>

C H A P.  
III.

1672.

DURING the Duke's stay at St. Helens, the Dutch had retired to their own coast. They lay behind the Rumble sands, hoping to draw the English upon that dangerous bank. The Duke perceiving the strong situation of the enemy, stood for the coast of Flanders. De Ruyter, the best seaman of his time<sup>a</sup>, stood in for the banks; and, as his ships drew less water, deprived the English of an opportunity of fighting but to great disadvantage. The weather being very bad, the Duke repaired to Southwold bay, where he anchored to take in water and fresh provisions; declaring first to his admirals, that when the wind turned East, he was determined to put to sea<sup>b</sup>. He gave strict orders, in the mean time, that neither trader nor collier should be permitted to go round, for fear of falling into the enemy's hands; who, by that means, might gain intelligence how his fleet lay. A light ship, however, slipped by in the night. She was taken and carried to De Ruyter, who ordered his fleet to sail at day-break, to attack the English, unprepared for the fight. The Duke perceiving the change of the wind, gave orders for the signal to stand out to sea, to be in a posture to receive the Dutch; but Sir John Cox, his captain, persuaded him that he had received certain intelligence from one of his cruizers, that the Dutch lay, in the same unprepared condition, off the island of Goree. Thus, on the twenty-eighth of May, was the Duke surprised, at two in the morning, by the Dutch fleet.<sup>c</sup>

They sur-  
prise

<sup>z</sup> James II. 1672.

<sup>a</sup> Ibid.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid.



C H A P.  
III.1672.  
the Duke of  
York.

THE captain of a French fourth-rate brought to the Duke the first intelligence of De Ruyter's approach. Having been out on a cruize the day before, his ship, a bad failer, could not get in among the fleet the preceding evening. He had been forced to come to anchor a league to the eastward of the outermost ships, for fear of being driven to the leeward of the fleet, the wind being north-east, and a leeward tide. This circumstance furnished him with an opportunity of having the first knowledge of the enemy. As he was getting under sail, two Dutch scouts fell in with him; and though each was of equal force, they forbore to fire, brought to, and then stood away. He rightly judged that their fleet was not far astern. To give notice of the enemy's approach, he fired all the way as he stood in toward the English. At break of day, the Dutch were seen to the windward, bearing down on the Duke. Their first line and their fire-ships were nearer in with the shore. Their flag-ships were farther to sea. The Duke of York, on the first alarm, got his whole fleet under sail. He endeavoured to place them in their several stations in order of battle; but by reason of the leeward tide and east-wind, few could get in when the engagement began. Not above twenty of the red and blue bore the whole brunt of De Ruyter and Van Ghent's squadrons. The French were scarce charged at all by the Zealand squadron<sup>d</sup>.

Battle of  
Southwold-  
bay.

AT eight of the clock in the morning the battle began, the Dutch fleet having the wind. De Ruyter's squadron bore down on the red, commanded by the Duke of York. Van Ghent opposed himself to the Earl of Sandwich, who led the few ships of the blue that could fall into the line. The Dutch, using their chain-shot, and directing their fire to the rigging, disabled the Prince; and his Royal Highness was obliged to shift his flag on board the St. Michael, commanded by Sir Robert Holmes<sup>e</sup>. Two

<sup>d</sup> James II. 1672.<sup>e</sup> Public Intell.



ships sent to burn the Prince were sunk by the Duke. But the Earl of Sandwich, after performing prodigies of valour, was burnt in the Royal James. In a close engagement with Van Ghent, he flew that admiral, and beat off his ship<sup>c</sup>. He sunk another ship which laid him on board. He sent to the bottom two fire-ships as they advanced. Of one thousand men on board, one half were said to be dead on the deck, before his ship was burnt by a third fire-ship. The Earl himself was drowned in endeavouring to swim to some other ship. There is no reason to suspect that he sacrificed his life to a reflection on his courage, uttered by the Duke of York. A difference of opinion could not have happened between them about putting to sea. The Duke was earnest for that measure<sup>f</sup>; though he suffered himself to be persuaded by the advice of others<sup>g</sup>. Besides, his Royal Highness was too courteous and well-bred to use a harsh expression to a person of such high distinction, and his own second in command. He acknowledged the great merit of the Earl, a little before the battle, in a letter written with his own hand. Besides, the account which he gives of this unfortunate accident precludes every idea of his having any quarrel with the Earl<sup>h</sup>.

C H A P.  
III.  
1672.

THE Duke, a second time disabled, was forced to go on board the London, commanded by Sir Edward Spragge. The battle declining on both sides, the two fleets lay by for the night. The Duke thought it right to retire in the morning. The Dutch, by way of bravado, followed him in his retreat; but he turned upon them, and renewed the fight. Sir Joseph Jordan, in the mean time, gaining the weather-gage of the enemy, De Ruyter fled. The Duke pursued him to his own coast. Fifteen of his disabled ships, left in his rear, could only be saved by a sudden fog. The English hung close on his flight. Foul weather prevented next day a renewal of the fight; and the Dutch retired to their

Dutch defeated.

<sup>c</sup> James II. 1672.

<sup>f</sup> Ibid.

<sup>g</sup> Ibid.

<sup>h</sup> Ibid.

ports.



C H A P.  
III.

1672.

ports. The Duke cruized for a fortnight between the Vly and the Texel, remaining master of the sea; but the weather being uncommonly foul, the Dutch East-India fleet had the good fortune to pass him unseen in a storm. In this battle, where twenty ships<sup>i</sup> only were engaged on the side of the English, the Dutch had manifestly the worst: most of their great ships were miserably shattered; one was sunk by the Earl of Sandwich, and another by Sir Edward Spragge: one vessel of force was taken, another was burnt in their line; and several ships that were missing, were thought to perish in the succeeding storm, through the damage which they had received in the fight<sup>k</sup>. The English lost only one ship, the Royal James; but several were disabled, and more than seven hundred men slain. Their victory, however, was followed by no striking consequence. The fate of states ceased to be decided by naval engagements ever since the battle of Actium<sup>l</sup>.

Character of  
the Earl of  
Sandwich.

THOUGH the English were confessedly victorious, the loss of the Earl of Sandwich might be considered as a partial defeat. To the highest reputation for courage, he joined a coolness seldom annexed to the fervour of personal valour. His knowledge in naval affairs could be only equalled by his address in the business of the cabinet, though his unintriguing disposition rendered him unfit for the secret councils of Charles. He was affable in his deportment, liberal without vanity, and a lover of magnificence without profusion<sup>m</sup>. His turn for mechanics induced him first to engage in a sea life. He served his country, during the republic, without sharing in the councils by which, under the mask of liberty, it was in a great measure enslaved. The great part which he took in the restoration of monarchy, secured to him, throughout his life, the attention of the King, which was even continued to his remains. His body, discovered by the order on his coat, was

<sup>i</sup> James II. 1664.<sup>k</sup> Contin. of Heath, 1672.<sup>l</sup> Parker, p. 151.<sup>m</sup> Henault, 1672.



found floating in the sea after the action, and conveyed to Harwich. Being brought to Deptford on the third of July, it was buried, at the expence of the King, with great funeral pomp, in King Henry the Seventh's chapel, in the same vault with the Duke of Albemarle. He might have escaped from the ship with the captain and many of his crew, who were saved, but he is said to have preferred death to the risk of being taken and carried to Holland in triumph.

C H A P.  
III.

1672.

DURING these operations at sea, a storm more dreadful was fast advancing on Holland by land. The King of France, dividing into three bodies an army consisting of 120,000 men, put them all in motion in the beginning of May. The first he led in person, with the famous Turenne. The Prince of Condé commanded the second; the Count de Chamilli the third. The latter took Maseic on the fifteenth of May. Orsoi fell into the hands of the King on the third of June. Burich yielded to the arms of Turenne. Rhimberg opened its gates on the sixth of the month to Lewis. Beauviré seized Doëtkum on the eighth. Grool was taken on the ninth, by the troops of the Bishop of Munster. The twelfth of June was signalized by the passage of the Rhine. Turenne became, three days after, master of Arnheim. Skenk, which cost a siege of nine months to the Dutch, when they took it from Spain, fell in less than half the number of days into the hands of that great commander. Utrecht submitted on the twentieth to Lewis. Doesbourg, Deventer, and Zuvol surrendered to the Bishop of Munster. On the ninth of July, Nimeguen was taken by Turenne. Naerden, within nine miles of Amsterdam, fell on the twelfth into the hands of the Marquis of Rochefort. The fate of the States hung on the edge of a moment. Had Rochefort taken possession of Muyden, Amsterdam would fall, and with it the republic of Holland<sup>n</sup>.

Progress of  
France.

<sup>n</sup> Henault, 1672.



C H A P.  
III.1672.  
Reduction of  
three provin-  
ces.

THE progress of Lewis, like the course of an inundation, levelled every thing, then covered all. Marching forth to conquest rather than to war, he carried the magnificence and gaiety of a court to the field. With all the triumphs of a victor he entered Utrecht; though he owed more to the unprepared state of the enemy than to his own conduct. Surrounded with flatterers and attended by poets, to celebrate his exploits, he gave scope to that vanity, which in him was a kind of virtue. To men who measure merit by success, there certainly appeared a foundation for fame. In the course of a few weeks, the three provinces of Gueldres, Utrecht, and Overijssel had submitted to the arms of France. Friesland and Groningen were invaded by her ally, the Bishop of Munster. The maritime provinces, Holland and Zealand, only remained free. Forty fortified cities either opened their gates through terror, or, after a faint resistance, surrendered without terms. Europe was struck with astonishment rather than with admiration. The Dutch, unmanned by their fears, left almost a bloodless victory to Lewis. The enemy, by their cowardice, deprived the conqueror of glory; and seemed, by their spiritless conduct, to be even unworthy of their independence.

Unprepared  
state of the  
Dutch.

THOUGH the Dutch had foreseen a tempest, which now broke on them with such violence, their preparations were dilatory and feeble. Divided into factions, every scheme for defence was either opposed, or rendered ineffectual, by being retarded. Terror itself could not establish unanimity among parties embittered against each other by a long opposition. The Louvestein faction, who carried in their very appellation the memory of an injury, were the most numerous, and headed by the Pensionary De Wit. The adherents of the Prince of Orange, weakened by a long minority, began to acquire strength and consequence, from their leader's character and years. These two parties, together with a third, who affected a kind of neutrality, comprehended the whole body of



of the States. The moderate faction, impressed with a sense of danger, or in hopes to regain the favour of the King of England, joined the friends of the Prince of Orange; and on the twenty-fourth of February he was raised to the dignity of Captain-general and Admiral of the United Provinces. The perpetual edict, by which he was excluded from the Stadtholdership, however, remained unrepealed. The opposition of parties continued; and the interest of the public was neglected in their animosities.

C H A P.  
III.  
1672.

THE Prince of Orange began now, for the first time, to display a character as singular in itself as the fortune of his life was extraordinary. To a gravity and silence which distinguished his early youth with the prudence thought peculiar to years, he joined a firmness in all his measures that bordered on obstinacy. Without a constitution for pleasure, his chief object was an ambition for power and a great name. Destitute of those brilliant parts which dazzle the world, he acquired weight with mankind by the solidity of his understanding. His personal courage was tempered with circumspection and coolness; his slowness in action corrected by his perseverance. In his carriage and manner he was rather respectable than dignified, more decent than amiable in his private life. Phlegmatic in his disposition, he was subject to no passion in the extreme; and the same cause that exempted him from vice, obscured the lustre of his virtues. Born with abilities for the cabinet, but with no great talents for the field, his policy, perpetually at war with his fortune, at length prevailed; and though he scarce ever won a battle, he frequently reaped all the advantages of victory from defeat. Though he cannot be accused of wanton tyranny, he was fond of power; he sacrificed his virtue to his ambition; and, without any glaring injustice, frequently descended to meannesses to accomplish his favourite designs. He was happy throughout his life in his opponent. The

Character of  
the Prince of  
Orange.



C H A P.  
III.

1672.

mad bigotry of James the Second might have furnished a field of triumph for abilities more circumscribed than those of the Prince, as the former had at once to contend with the favourite passions of his own people, and the art of his rival. Upon the whole, though great things resulted from the conduct of the Prince of Orange, he was not possessed of those brilliant qualities which are generally deemed necessary to constitute a great man.

Consternation  
of the States.

THE States owed their safety more to the want of conduct in Lewis, than to the abilities of the Prince of Orange. Unprovided with an army, and adding consternation to their weakness, they were actually what they seemed, an easy prey. De Wit, who had governed their councils for many years, carried his private prejudices into his public conduct. In opposition to the power of the house of Orange, he discouraged a land force, and threw the whole strength of the maritime provinces into the navy. Trusting to the weakness of Spain, and fortified by their ancient alliance with France, the States themselves, ever since the peace of Westphalia, had been extremely negligent with regard to their troops. A show of an army was kept up, but it was altogether destitute of discipline, and ignorant of every military duty. Though the troops were increased before the arrival of the French, to seventy thousand men, they were so raw and timid, that the Prince, not daring to shew them to the enemy, retired to the province of Holland; whilst Lewis took at his leisure almost all the fortified towns of the upper Provinces.

Prince of  
Orange de-  
clared Stadt-  
holder.

IN proportion as the danger advanced toward the province of Holland, the vulgar became outrageous through their fears. The States themselves lost their presence of mind. De Wit, declining in his credit, could no longer animate his countrymen to their own defence: on the contrary, they now attributed their misfortunes.



fortunes to his neglect of the army. All persons ran with violence into the party of the Prince of Orange, and seemed to think that the very being of the States depended upon his abilities. Amsterdam alone retained some appearance of spirit. They opened their sluices, and laid the whole country under water. But the safety derived from that barrier against the enemy could not infuse courage into the dejected States. The body of the nobles and eleven towns voted to send ambassadors to implore the pity of the two Kings. They offered to surrender all the frontier towns which lay beyond the limits of the seven provinces, and to pay a considerable sum toward the charges of the war. Lewis, left by Turenne, who had marched into Germany, was led in his councils by de Louvois and de Pomponne. The violence of the former saved the States<sup>p</sup>. His unreasonable demands threw them into a despair, which overcame their fears. The people rose at Dort, and forced their magistrates to sign the repeal of the perpetual edict. The other cities followed their example, and on the fifth of July the Prince of Orange was raised to the Stadtholdership of the unconquered provinces.

C H A P.  
III.

1672.

THE deputies of the States to the King of England arrived at London on the twentieth of June<sup>a</sup>. They carried, in their own appearance, the distress of their country. The people, moved by pity, received them with attention and friendship; but the court treated them with indignity, if not with contempt<sup>r</sup>. Under a pretence that they came without either leave or passport, they were ordered to retire to Hampton-court, till the King should think fit to allow them an audience<sup>s</sup>. Charles, having determined not to treat without the consent and concurrence of Lewis, appointed Buckingham, Arlington, and Lord Halifax, to be his ambassadors extraordinary, to join the deputies of France in of-

Proposals of  
France and  
England re-  
jected.

<sup>p</sup> Henault, 1672.

<sup>a</sup> Kennet, vol. iii. p. 315.

<sup>r</sup> Arlington's Letters, vol. ii. p. 374.

<sup>s</sup> Ibid.

fering



C H A P.  
III.

1672.

fering peace to the Dutch<sup>t</sup>. The commission of the plenipotentiaries was dated on the twenty-first of June. The next day the Duke of Monmouth, then at the court of Lewis, was joined with them in a separate commission; and, on the twenty-third, they sailed from the Buoy at the Nore. Arriving at Maesland-fluys, they were received with the utmost joy by the Dutch. Men, women, and children, in a manner encumbered their journey, by crowding round their carriages. Having passed through the Hague, they waited upon Lewis at Utrecht. The terms required by the commissioners of the two Kings amounted to an annihilation of the independence of the States. They were rejected, at the instance of the Prince of Orange, who was said to have been tempted in vain to sacrifice his country to his own ambition<sup>u</sup>. The English ambassadors returned on the twenty-first of July. Lewis, impatient for the flattery of his subjects, directed his course through Flanders to Versailles.

The De Wits  
murdered.

THE war languished upon the departure of the French King. The Dutch, though safe behind their inundations, were still distracted with terror and torn with faction. The populace, ascribing their misfortunes to De Wit and his brother the bailiff of Putten, placed all their confidence in the Prince of Orange. A barber, in the beginning of August, accused the younger De Wit of having made him large offers for poisoning the Prince. The magistrates, intimidated by the mob, put him to the torture on this improbable charge. He bore it with an undaunted spirit: but he was stripped of his employments, and banished for life. The pensionary, who had resigned his office, supported his brother through the whole proceeding. He resolved to conduct him out of town in his own coach, and to take a part in his disgrace. The mob assembled. They forced open the prison doors. They wounded, mangled, and trod to death the brothers. They dragged their

<sup>t</sup> Kennet, vol. iii. p. 315.<sup>u</sup> Temple.



bodies through the streets, then hanged them by the heels on a gibbet. The utmost barbarity was added to the most savage cruelty. Wretches, who could not approach the bodies themselves, gratified their inhuman revenge, by buying pieces of the flesh from others. A toe sold for ten stivers, an ear for double that sum, and a finger for twelve. This brutal commerce continued throughout the day. At midnight the mangled remains, deserted at length by the mob, were removed and privately buried \*.

C H A P.  
III.

1672.

SUCH was the miserable end of De Wit; a man more remarkable for his activity, and a sincere love for the liberties of his country, than for his extensive talents. A fixed aversion to the power of the house of Orange seems to have been the ruling principle of his mind. His father was one of the six deputies whom William the Second arrested and confined in the castle of Louvestein. The hatred of the parent descended to the son. The connexion of the royal family of England with the Prince of Orange threw De Wit into the arms of France. He was the dupe of her councils for several years. Though he was roused into terrors for his country by the measures which gave being to the triple league, he reverted, in some degree, to his connexions with Lewis. Ill informed of the motions of foreign courts, or swayed by his prejudice against a standing army, he left his country exposed to insult, and even in danger from conquest. His preparations were too late, and they were languid when they began. The first circumstance ought to be ascribed to himself; the latter arose from the difficulty of his situation. He was, upon the whole, an honest, though, perhaps, not a great statesman; and his hard fate proves how little his countrymen deserved his affection and his virtues.

Character of  
the pensionary.

\* Gazette, No. 704.



C H A P.  
III.1672.  
Prince of O.  
range unsuccess-  
ful.

THE first attempts of the Prince of Orange neither answered the hopes of the Dutch, nor gave to himself reputation. The Duke of Luxembourg forced him, on the twelfth of October, to raise the siege of Woerden, with the loss of fifteen hundred soldiers<sup>y</sup>. He met with the same untoward fate at Charleroy. He failed in his attack upon Swartsluys, after losing many men<sup>z</sup>. With troops terrified and unexperienced, he could make no impression upon an enemy elevated with success and disciplined to war. The Dutch, unmanned by their terror, seemed to trust their safety to the fears of other states. The motions of the Emperor, though he was jealous of the progress of France, were, like his genius, undecisive and slow. The march of the Elector of Brandenburg brought the first relief to the States. Turenne moved to oppose him with twelve thousand men<sup>a</sup>. The Bishop of Munster, anxious for his own territories, raised the siege of Groningen, and retired home. No action happened during the whole campaign on the side of Germany. Turenne, with all the movements of an experienced commander, advanced without bloodshed. He stopt the progress of the enemy, and, before the winter, placed his quarters at Hoxter.

Promotions.

The naval operations between the English and the States seemed to have terminated with the battle of Southwold Bay. The Duke of York, unable to force De Ruyter to action, returned to court. Several promotions of consequence were made in the highest departments of the state, in the month of November. Sir Orlando Bridgman, the lord-keeper, resigned the great seal, on account of his infirmities and years<sup>b</sup>. The Earl of Shaftesbury was made lord chancellor of England; being succeeded, as chancellor of the exchequer, by Sir John Duncomb. The office of lord-treasurer remaining void since the death of the Earl of Southampton, was

<sup>y</sup> Henault, 1672.<sup>a</sup> Henault.<sup>z</sup> Contin. of Heath, 1672.<sup>b</sup> Public-Intell.



conferred upon Lord Clifford. The Earl of Arlington was discontented at this latter promotion<sup>c</sup>. He asked the staff of Charles, but he received an answer which hurt his pride. The King told him, that he loved him too well to confer upon him an office for which he had no abilities, and which would occasion his ruin, by exposing him to the malice of his enemies<sup>d</sup>. The disappointment estranged Arlington from the measures of the cabal. He, however, remained in their councils; and suppressed, for the time, his resentment. Sir John Trevor dying in the end of May, was succeeded in July, as secretary of state, by Sir Henry Coventry, who derived his claim to office from his success in detaching the King of Sweden from the triple alliance.

CHAP.  
III.  
1672.

THE affairs of Scotland, during five years, furnish little of importance, and nothing of amusement. They consist of the obstinacy of sectaries, and the impolitic interference of government in the concerns of the church. After the suppression of the Covenanters, in 1666, Charles, willing to humour the people, shewed an inclination to compose the religious differences which distracted their minds. He tried the scheme of comprehension, which had failed in England. He followed it with a declaration of indulgence. Neither had any effect on zealots, who were as intolerant in their own principles as those of whom they complained. Some expelled preachers refused to be settled in vacant churches. The rest rejected an annual bounty offered by the King. Conventicles multiplied daily. The Covenanters met in arms, in their usual places of worship. Preachers preferred their influence over a deluded people to the quiet exercise of their religious service. Confusion, clamour, and fanaticism prevailed. Government being slighted, became enraged; and by resuming a part of its former rigours, increased the flame.

<sup>c</sup> James II. 1672.

<sup>d</sup> Ibid.



C H A P.  
III.1672.  
of Scotland.

LAUDERDALE was appointed commissioner to the parliament, which met on the nineteenth of October, 1669. His speech consisted of two heads. He recommended the preservation of the church, and an union with England. The parliament, offended at the insolence of the sectaries, declared by an act, that the right of governing the church was inherent in the crown. Another act settled the number of the militia at twenty-two thousand men. This force was to be constantly armed, and regularly disciplined. They were to be held in readiness to march to any part of his Majesty's dominions, to establish his authority, and to support his greatness. These two acts rendered the crown absolute in Scotland, and even furnished it with the means of becoming formidable in England. The King, by the first, was rendered master of the church; by the latter, he commanded in all temporal affairs. A severe act against conventicles followed these arbitrary laws. Ruinous fines were appointed to be levied on those who met to worship in houses. But field-preachers and their hearers were to be punished with death. Laws that are too severe defeat their own purpose. The fanatics were outrageous; and became, through persecution, more enamoured of their own tenets.

Affairs of  
Ireland.

THE Duke of Ormonde, removed from the government of Ireland by the intrigues of Buckingham, was succeeded in that department by the Lord Robertes. This nobleman owed his promotion to the new measures, which induced Charles to remove from his councils the old cavaliers. Robertes, who had served against the late King, retained his former political principles, though he had yielded to the change of the times. Morose and fullen in his disposition, and disagreeable in his manner, he was not likely to reconcile to himself the minds of the Irish, after the polite and dignified carriage of the Duke of Ormonde. Having endeavoured in vain to acquire popularity, he resigned the government



vernment of Ireland to the Lord Berkley, in the May of 1670. Robertes, deprived of his office of privy seal, retired to his estate in Cornwall, and led a private life. Berkley supported the measures of Ormonde, and gained the confidence of the people. A kind of tranquillity, which sprung more from a fear of confusion than the absence of discontents, subsisted in Ireland. The Roman-Catholic bishops, depending upon their influence at court, became arrogant. But the house of commons in England, discovering an inclination to animadvert upon Talbot, the titular Archbishop of Dublin, they resumed their former moderation.

C H A P.  
III.  
1672.

To live in times and to read of their transactions, suggest different and sometimes opposite ideas to the human mind. Measures pass without reprehension in common life, that would offend in narration; and those who are deemed bad members of society in history, are often treated, by their own cotemporaries, with a degree of applause. The cause of this is as obvious as the fact itself is true. Public transactions are flow in their succession, and the motives which produced them are unknown. The impression made by one evil is obliterated before another arrives. Mankind are deceived by the speciousness which is generally given to the worst measures. They see but a part of the great machine of government, as it moves before them; and that partiality, which people naturally entertain for their country, justifies to them its most exceptionable conduct toward foreign powers. Time, by unveiling the secret springs of action, opens a field either for censure or applause. But both are frequently ill applied. To judge of the measures of the last age by the feelings of the present, may be as unjust, as it would be unreasonable to expect the same strict adherence to virtue in states, which we commend in individuals.

Reflections

THOUGH the conduct of Charles, in the second Dutch war, pleased not the thinking few, it raised no violent resentment

on the state of  
the nation,



C H A P.  
III.

1672.

among the body of the people. The arbitrary measure of shutting the exchequer created private murmurs, but produced no public remonstrances. The jealousy of trade rendered the city of London cold with regard to the fate of the Dutch. The prior conduct of that people claimed no love from the English in general. Haughty in their prosperity, and unprincipled, as a state, through the love of gain, they had formerly extended their injuries through every channel of commerce. Their moderation of late years was ascribed to fear, and not to justice; and the memory of the insult with which they closed the last, recommended the present war, from a motive of revenge. The inequality in force visible between the contending parties, the manifest injustice on the side of their enemies, entitled the Dutch to pity; but even that passion, notwithstanding the ancient animosity against France, excited no symptom of dangerous discontent.

and the Dutch  
war.

IT is remarkable, that the Dutch war, though it seemed to promise much, was destined to produce neither important event nor great character. The vanity of Lewis saved the States from the efforts of his ambition. His idle parade in entering Utrecht employed as much time as might have reduced Amsterdam. Charles, with all the power of England, made little impression on a people already subdued by their own unmanly terrors. A season uncommonly stormy broke the designs of the English navy, and frustrated an intended invasion<sup>d</sup>. The elements conspired against the ambition of the two monarchs; and a kind of miracle saved a nation, whose timidity seemed to have abandoned them to supernatural protection. Even the Prince of Orange, with all the advantages of his situation, made no striking figure. The firmness with which he rejected the offers of the confederate Kings proceeded from his prudence, as much as from his patriotism. The season for reducing Holland was past, the moment

<sup>d</sup> Earl of Shaftesbury's speech, Feb. 5, 1673.



it was delayed. The empire, though slow in its aid, was already in motion. Winter, it was certain, would continue the inactivity which the inundation had begun. The power which he already enjoyed by the suffrages of his country, was, in every view, less precarious and more honourable than that which should depend on princes, who had already sacrificed faith to their ambition.

C H A P.  
III.

1673.

CHARLES, when he hoped to put an end to his difficulties by the Dutch war, found himself involved in accumulated necessities by that measure. The sums retained in the Exchequer, and the large subsidies remitted from France, were unequal to the vast charge of the navy, and the demands of his own extravagance. He resolved to call together his parliament. They met at Westminster, on the fourth of February 1673, after a recess of near two years. Sir Edward Turner having been made chief baron of the Exchequer, the commons proceeded to the election of a new speaker. Their choice fell on Sir Job Charlton, whom they presented the next day to the King for his approbation. His Majesty's speech partook of the firmness which had hitherto distinguished the councils of the ministry. He mentioned the necessity, the importance and expence of the war; he made no doubt of the effectual aid of his commons to prosecute it with vigour. He informed them, that their last supply had not been found adequate to the discharge of his debts. He therefore recommended them again to their special care. He mentioned the indulgence to Dissenters, and his fixed resolution to adhere to his declaration. He made so light of the jealousy that had spread abroad against the forces raised for the war, that he told them he must levy more in the course of the spring, and that he doubted not but they would consider the charge of them in their supplies. He concluded with assurances that he was resolved to protect the Protestant religion,

Parliament  
meets.



C H A P.  
III.

1673.

Chancellor's  
speech.

ligion, and that no man's property or liberty should be ever invaded<sup>c</sup>.

THE Earl of Shaftesbury, as lord chancellor, enlarged with eloquence upon every article of his Majesty's speech<sup>f</sup>. To much flattery of Charles, and a great deal of abuse on the Dutch, he added some new matter of his own. He excused the shutting of the Exchequer by the necessity of the thing, and the benefit resulting from it to the service of the nation. He informed them, that the King was, in honour and interest, concerned in seeing the bankers repaid, with the six *per cent.* promised upon the money during the stop. But he desired the commons to give only the second place to that business; and first, to settle the necessary supply for carrying on with vigour the war. He defended the declaration of indulgence, with all the obvious arguments. He urged the necessity of augmenting the number of the forces. With a peroration full of rhetoric, he concluded his speech, expressing his hopes, with an assurance suitable to his character, that "the triple alliance of King, parliament, and people, might never be dissolved." Some discontented whispers among the commons suggested a new article, which the King added to his speech. The chancellor, to accommodate some of his creatures with seats in parliament, had issued new writs from his office for the election of members, in the place of those who had died during the recess. The King told the commons, "that though he entertained no doubt that the thing was justified by precedents, he desired them to suspend all other business, till they should examine that particular<sup>g</sup>."

Proceedings  
of the com-  
mons.

THE commons, retiring to their house, took into consideration the matter of returning members since the last session<sup>h</sup>. They

<sup>c</sup> Journals of the lords, Feb. 5, 1673.<sup>f</sup> Ibid.<sup>g</sup> Ibid.<sup>h</sup> Journals of the commons, Feb. 6, 1673.

came



came to a resolution to supersede all the writs issued by the chancellor, for the election of persons to serve in parliament. A motion made for appointing a committee to examine precedents, was overruled by a considerable majority. The seats filled by the artifice of Shaftesbury, were declared vacant. The speaker issued his warrant to the clerk of the crown, to make out new writs; and the right of issuing such warrant, was declared to be inherent in the speaker of the house of commons. Though the ministry seemed to have dropt the measure as indefensible, the minority were more than one hundred, out of two hundred and sixty members that were present. The house went the next day upon the supply. They voted twelve hundred and sixty thousand pounds, by an assessment of eighteen months; and they ordered a bill for that purpose, to be immediately prepared by the attorney-general. This supply, so inadequate to the wants of Charles, was to be accompanied in its progress through the house, by demands for the redress of grievances. To grant no supply, might have occasioned a dissolution; a measure much desired by Buckingham and Shaftesbury, to forward, by the means of confusion, their own private designs<sup>1</sup>.

C H A P.

III.

1673.

ON the tenth of February<sup>k</sup>, the commons began to consider the declaration of indulgence; and, on the fourteenth, an address against it, prepared by a committee, was read and approved by the house. In the most decent terms, they informed the King, that penal laws, in matters ecclesiastical, can only be suspended by act of parliament; and they humbly besought his Majesty to give such directions as might remove the apprehensions and jealousies of his faithful subjects. The chancellor and Buckingham, who, to gain the Dissenters<sup>1</sup>, had advised the measure, were for supporting it with vigour. The King himself, whose pride was hurt by this animadversion on his conduct, was inclined to adhere

Declaration  
of indulgence  
recalled..

<sup>1</sup> Carte's Ormonde, vol. iii.

<sup>k</sup> Journals.

<sup>1</sup> James II. 1673.



C H A P.  
III.

1673.

to his declaration. But the bill of supply had not yet passed into a law; and he must either give up the indulgence or the war. Having endeavoured in vain to soothe the commons, by an indefinite answer, he had once determined to dissolve the parliament, and to make a peace with the States<sup>m</sup>. The King of France, apprized of his resolution. induced him, by his ambassador, to comply with the commons<sup>n</sup>, for the sake of the supply. On the seventh of March, Charles cancelled, with his own hand, the declaration. The people elevated at this victory over the prerogative, expressed with bonfires and illuminations their tumultuous joy.

Bill of ease  
lost in the  
house of  
lords.

To soothe the King, and to please the Dissenters, the commons accompanied the progress of their remonstrances, with a bill for the ease of the Protestant non-conformists<sup>o</sup>. It passed the lower house; but, retarded by amendments, it was lost in the house of lords. The Dissenters themselves seemed less anxious for ease in their worship, than for the revocation of an indulgence, which placed the Papists on a similar footing with themselves. The zeal of the commons proceeded more from their fears of that sect, than from the more serious danger of the King's dispensing power. In their remonstrance of grievances, they make no mention of several acts that had been suspended by proclamation, in the preceding year. The capital faults in the measures of the crown, were also either neglected or forgot. The breach of the triple alliance, the connexion with France, the shutting the exchequer, were passed over like common transactions. Popery was the terror and sometimes the disgrace of the present reign. Had the Duke of York continued Protestant, had Charles himself, like his father, adhered with firmness, and even with enthusiasm, to the church of England, he might have enjoyed all the affluent ease, which seems to have been the sole object of his life. But the folly of the

<sup>m</sup> Colbert to Lewis XIV. Mar. 9, 1673.<sup>n</sup> Ibid. Mar. 20.<sup>o</sup> Journals, Mar. 23.

Duke,



Duke, in avowing publickly the system of religion which his weakness had adopted, gave a just ground of jealousy to the nation. The professions of the King, in favour of a general toleration, were invariably ascribed to his partiality to a particular worship, notwithstanding his professed indifference to all religion.

C H A P.  
III.

1673.

THE apprehensions of Popery which prevailed among the commons, were converted into a political engine against the Duke of York. The strict adherence of that unfortunate Prince to his own narrow opinions, became as dangerous to his enemies as great talents. He suspected the principles of several of the cabal, and he was at no pains to feign for them any regard. Though the declaration of indulgence favoured the Papists, he was averse from the measure, as formed by Buckingham and Shaftesbury<sup>p</sup>, to accomplish their own views. The nation, ignorant of this circumstance, ascribed to the Crown's favour for popery, a scheme framed by a part of its servants to gain influence for themselves. The law for imposing a test on all who should possess any public office, was carried forward by different men, for various designs. The bulk of the nation favoured it, as the best bulwark against Popery. A part of the ministry abetted it in secret, as an expedient to remove, from all their employments, the Duke of York, and the lord-treasurer. The obstinacy of the first was not more the object of their terror, than the daring abilities of the latter. Clifford avowed his attachment to the power of the crown, and he possessed courage to support its most arbitrary measures.

Jealousies  
concerning  
the Duke of  
York

THE Duke of York, though he continued to attend his brother to public worship, had declined to take the sacrament, according to the forms of the church of England<sup>q</sup>. The thin veil which he had thrown over his conversion was removed; and he openly avowed what he could no longer conceal. Against him was chiefly

occasion the  
test.

<sup>p</sup> James II. 1672.

<sup>q</sup> Ibid.



C H A P.  
III.

1673.

Schemes to  
exclude him  
from the  
throne.

levelled the test act. Besides taking the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, together with the sacrament, according to the rites of the established church, those in office were obliged to abjure the doctrine of transubstantiation<sup>r</sup>. Symmons, who had converted the Duke, was as narrow as his proselyte in his principles. He absolutely refused his consent to any conformity with the established religion; and thus he deprived his own church of the benefit of the conquest which he had made. If to change his religion was deemed folly in York, his avowal of that change was construed into madness. Men saw a gloomy prospect before them; and their indignation kept pace with their fears, when they beheld the heir apparent so destitute of prudence, as to own his attachment to a religion which the people abhorred.

THE scheme for excluding the Duke of York from the throne, which was begun in the year 1668, by Buckingham, was now resumed by Shaftesbury, with ardour. In conjunction with the Earl of Carlisle, he went to the King, and urged him to own the legitimacy of the Duke of Monmouth<sup>s</sup>. He made use of an expression upon the occasion, fit only to be uttered by such a minister as himself, or heard by such a monarch as Charles. He desired him but to say that Monmouth's mother was his wife, and he should find persons to swear to the fact<sup>t</sup>. The King answered, that he would rather see James, meaning Monmouth, hanged up at Tyburn, than entertain such a thought<sup>u</sup>. The chancellor, however, continued his schemes. Vaughan proposed to move the house of commons to address his Majesty to put away the Queen, and to marry a protestant wife. A portion of five hundred thousand pounds was at the same time to be offered<sup>x</sup>. On the twentieth of March the proposal was carried to the King at Whitehall, but upon his disapproving of the measure, the motion was never made.

<sup>r</sup> Journals.<sup>s</sup> James II. 1673.<sup>t</sup> Ibid.<sup>u</sup> Ibid.<sup>x</sup> Ibid.



THE chancellor and his party, upon this new disappointment, reverted to their schemes in favour of Monmouth. In their eagerness to exclude the Duke of York from the succession, they resolved to place his rival <sup>u</sup> in a situation which would enable him to seize the crown in the event of the King's demise. In the month of May they endeavoured to raise Monmouth to the regency of Scotland; but the vigilance of the Duke of York defeated their designs. The pride of Charles overcame his affection. He loved Monmouth, but he hated to be deemed the husband of Mrs. Walters. Some writers ascribe to the republican principles of Shaftesbury this violent opposition to the Duke of York\*. Monmouth, highly beloved by the populace, was a fit instrument to carry forward his designs. To a gracefulness which prejudiced mankind in his favour as soon as seen, he joined an affability which gained their love. Constant in his friendships and just to his word, by nature tender, and an utter enemy to severity and cruelty. Active and vigorous in his constitution, he excelled in the manly exercises of the field. He was personally brave. He loved the pomp, and the very dangers of war; but with these splendid qualities, he was vain to a degree of folly, versatile in his measures, weak in his understanding. He was ambitious without dignity, busy without consequence, attempting ever to be artful, but always a tool. Thus, taking the applause of the multitude for a certain mark of merit, he was the dupe of his own vanity, and owed all his misfortunes to that weakness.

THE eagerness of Shaftesbury against the Duke of York shook his credit with Charles. The boldness of his councils, his readiness to adopt any measure, had in some degree overcome the King's jealousy of his principles and his aversion to his person. But when he saw him levelling all the force of his abilities against

Cause of the  
defection

<sup>u</sup> James II. 1673.

\* Carte's Ormonde, 1677.



C H A P.  
III.

1673.

his family, he expressed himself in terms sufficient to suggest a change of conduct to a man less provident than the chancellor. The monarch and the minister had long met upon equal ground. No strangers to their own mutual hatred, each endeavoured to convert the other into a tool. It was a struggle of abilities, as both were regardless of principle. The activity of Shaftesbury was more than a match for the indolence of Charles. The solid understanding of the latter overcame the keen penetration of the former. The feeble side of the minister was vanity. The easiness of the Prince was his most vulnerable weakness. Each was distrustful of mankind, as both were destitute of virtue; and they were afraid of one another, as neither could be restrained by any ties.

of Shaftesbury.

SHAFTESBURY, who had contrived the test<sup>r</sup>, to rid the cabinet of the councils of the Duke of York and lord Clifford, had entertained hopes of commanding Charles through his affection for Monmouth and his dislike to the Queen. When both these projects failed, he knew that resentment remained. His throwing himself on the popular party was necessary as well as prudent. Though the commons had discovered little inclination to animadvert upon the ministry, they might hereafter inquire; and he knew that Charles would willingly sacrifice him to his own ease. There was even some reason to believe, that the King had employed him more to accomplish his ruin, than to forward his own schemes. Besides, the measures of the cabal were already broken, by their having quarrelled among themselves. The timidity of Arlington suited not the violent politics of Clifford. The boisterous precipitancy of Lauderdale was ill-matched with the intriguing, though active, abilities of Shaftesbury. Buckingham, who had first formed the great line of their projects, had sunk,

<sup>r</sup> James II.

through



through his unsteadiness, into the contempt of all. But though the chancellor had abetted the test, he continued obstinate to the last, in favour of the indulgence. His rage against France, for inducing the King to relinquish it, raised his resentment so far, that he proposed, on the twenty-third of March, to adhere to Clifford, if he would join him in breaking the French alliance<sup>z</sup>.

C H A P.  
III.  
1673.

THE King having given his assent to all the bills that were ready on the twenty-ninth of March, ordered the parliament to adjourn themselves to the twentieth of October<sup>a</sup>. The Dutch, who had derived great hopes of peace from the house of commons, found that they had given a supply for continuing the war<sup>b</sup>. They were, however, first at sea. The Duke of York being about to resign all his employments, on account of the test, Prince Rupert commanded the English fleet. The Dutch, arriving at the mouth of the Thames, endeavoured to stop its navigation, by sinking ships in the channel, called the middle ground<sup>c</sup>. When the Prince advanced upon them, they retreated to their own coast. He joined the French fleet off Rye, and sailed in quest of the enemy. On the twenty-sixth of May he came before Schonevelt, where the fleet of the enemy lay. An engagement was prevented by storms till the twenty-eighth, when, in a kind of running fight, one Dutch ship was destroyed, and their fleet forced to retreat. The enemy regained their former station. The English lay by all night under sail. Both sides claimed a victory which was not worthy of being claimed. Rupert retired toward England to refit. De Ruyter repaired at sea the damage which his fleet had sustained.

Undecisive

<sup>z</sup> James II. 1673.

<sup>a</sup> Journals, Mar. 29, 1673.

<sup>b</sup> Contin. of Baker, p. 667.

<sup>c</sup> Heath, 1673.

<sup>d</sup> Kennet, vol. iii. p. 323.



C H A P.  
III.1673.  
battles

THE Dutch were again first at sea, and another undecisive action happened on the fourth of June. Six hours were spent in a distant cannonade. Each side a second time pretended to victory. The advantage, however, seemed to lean to the Dutch; as the project of the English, to land six thousand troops in Zealand, was laid aside<sup>e</sup>. The French performed not their duty in either battle. Lewis, in a fondness for his naval force, as yet in its infancy, gave secret instructions for preserving his ships. The fleets loitered in their respective ports for two months after the second action. The combined squadrons at length sailed for the coast of Zealand; and De Ruyter quitted his station at Schonevelt. On the eleventh of August the fleets met near the mouth of the Texel. De Ruyter and Van Tromp led the Dutch. Count D'Estrees commanded the white squadron of the confederates, Prince Rupert the main line, and Sir Edward Spragge the blue. Van Tromp fell alongside of Spragge, and both fought with their wonted courage. Van Tromp was once forced to shift his flag. Spragge was compelled twice to change his ship; but when he was passing to a third, a shot took his boat, and he was drowned. The death of such a gallant officer was a partial defeat to the English.

at sea.

WHILST some ships were engaged in fight, the rest of both the fleets strove for the wind. The French under D'Estrees got the weather-gage of the Dutch, but they came not to the aid of their allies; Admiral Martel only, with his ship, adhered to the English, and fought with courage. Van Tromp, after the death of Spragge, was repulsed by the Earl of Ossory<sup>f</sup>. Rupert and De Ruyter, left behind by their respective squadrons, were engaged in an obstinate fight. Becoming anxious at last for their fleets, they both, about two o'clock, as by mutual consent, ceased to

<sup>e</sup> Kennet, vol. iii. p. 323.<sup>f</sup> Carte's Ormonde;

fire,



fire, and crowded all their sails to join their friends<sup>g</sup>. They rapidly advanced all the while within cannon-shot<sup>h</sup>. The battle, upon the arrival of the admirals, was renewed with redoubled fury. Rupert, at length, sending two fire-ships, guarded by Captain Legg, among the enemy, they were thrown into confusion<sup>i</sup>. They at once took to flight; and had the French, who were masters of the wind, fallen upon their flank, the dispute with the Dutch, concerning the dominion of the sea, would have been for ever at an end. De Ruyter, with little loss, made good his retreat; and the victory, as usual, was claimed by both sides<sup>k</sup>.

C H A P.  
III.

1673.

WHILST the war remained in this undecisive state at sea, fortune seemed to become favourable to the Dutch by land. Though Lewis took Maestricht<sup>l</sup>, one of their strongest fortresses, after a siege of thirteen days, the operations of their allies seemed to promise relief. The Elector of Brandenburg, deprived of his possessions in Westphalia, concluded a peace with France in the month of May: but the Imperialists, under Montecuculli, after having in vain attempted against Turenne the passage of the Rhine, deceived that able general, and sat down suddenly before Bonne<sup>m</sup>. The Prince of Orange, with a conduct equally masterly, eluded the other generals of France, and joined the Imperialists, with the Dutch and their Spanish auxiliaries. Naerden, ill defended by the French, had fallen again into the hands of the States<sup>n</sup>. Bonne itself surrendered before the end of the campaign<sup>o</sup>. The greatest part of the electorate of Cologne was subdued by the Imperialists and the Dutch. The communication was cut off between the United Provinces and France; and Lewis quitted all his conquests with the utmost precipitation. Holland,

State of the  
war by land.

<sup>g</sup> Heath, 1673.

<sup>h</sup> Ibid.

<sup>i</sup> Ibid.

<sup>k</sup> Heath, 1673.

<sup>l</sup> June 29.

<sup>m</sup> Henault, 1674.

<sup>n</sup> Sept. 14.

<sup>o</sup> Nov. 12.



C H A P.  
III.

1673.

Ineffectual  
congress at  
Cologn.

by an extraordinary fate, was almost conquered, and altogether recovered, without one battle by land.

A CONGRESS opened at Cologn, in the course of the summer, was attended with no effect. The demands of the confederate kings continued almost the same; but the offers of the Dutch were diminished in proportion to the increase of their hopes. The seizure of the person of the Prince of Furstenberg by the Imperialists, afforded a pretence to the French and English to break off a negociation, which furnished no prospect of success. The States, no longer anxious concerning their safety, were now bent on revenge. Their negociations at the courts of Vienna and Madrid were approaching to a happy conclusion. The house of Austria, in both its branches, was alarmed at the ambition of Lewis. A treaty between the three powers was signed on the thirtieth of August<sup>p</sup>. Spain forgot her ancient animosities against Holland, in the recent injuries which she had received from France. She declared war on the fifteenth of October; and by a strange reverse in her policy, defended the Dutch against France and England, by whose aid they had become independent of her power.

Duke of  
York and  
Clifford re-  
sign.

DURING these transactions abroad, the late test began to have effect in England. The Duke of York and Lord Clifford, in their zeal for popery, refused to take the appointed oaths, and resigned all their employments. The Duke had been Lord Admiral and Warden of the Cinque-ports ever since the Restoration. He had been for several years governor of Portsmouth; and, since the death of the Duke of Albemarle, commander in chief of all his Majesty's forces. This latter office he had for some time refused<sup>q</sup>, as a trust too great for any subject: the instances of his brother at last prevailed over these scruples; and

<sup>p</sup> Hist. de France, vol. iii. p. 798.<sup>q</sup> James II. 1670.



he retained that commission till now that he sacrificed it to his zeal for the church of Rome. The King had in vain entreated both the Duke and the Lord Clifford to conform to the established religion<sup>r</sup>. He argued to no purpose against the absurdity of their uncomplying opinions. They remained obstinate, and adhered to their faith. The King retained the Cinque-ports in his own hands<sup>s</sup>. He put the admiralty into commission. He conferred the government of Portsmouth upon Legg, who was recommended to that charge by the Duke of York.

C H A P.  
III.  
1673.

THE resignation of the Duke of York happened on the fifteenth of June, and on the nineteenth of the same month, Clifford delivered to the King his staff, as Lord Treasurer. He was succeeded by Sir Thomas Osborne, who had been joint-treasurer of the navy with Lyttelton for several years. Osborne, in his principles, or more properly by character a cavalier, had gone into opposition to obtain an office<sup>t</sup>. In the prosecution of the Earl of Clarendon, he distinguished himself, as a tool of Buckingham, in the house of Commons; and after the banishment of the unfortunate chancellor, he was rewarded for his services with the half of the treasuryship of the navy. In those reverses of favour and dislike, which his patron owed to his own fluctuating character, Osborne adhered to him with fidelity. He had the good fortune to meet with gratitude, a virtue which the Duke seldom exerted toward his friends. He was brought by Buckingham into the privy-council in May, 1672. He was now raised to the high office of lord-treasurer partly by his recommendation.

Osborne  
made lord-  
treasurer.

OSBORNE, in the singular success attending a long life, owed more to fortune than either to his own virtue or his abilities. Without the advantage of any antiquity of family<sup>u</sup>, and even destitute

His cha-  
racter.

<sup>r</sup> James II. 1673.

<sup>s</sup> Ibid.

<sup>t</sup> Burnet, vol. i. p. 490.

<sup>u</sup> Collins, vol. i.



C H A P.  
III.

1673.

of an ample fortune, he rose to the summit of honours, through the mere force of an undertaking and accommodating character. Plausible in his arguments, though tedious in his eloquence<sup>x</sup>, he acquired in the house of commons that attention which is usually given to a show of patriotism in popular assemblies. In his private conversation, he was more regardless of truth than is consistent with good sense. In his public conduct, he possessed that self-sufficiency, which is often mistaken, by the bulk of mankind, for a comprehensive knowledge of things. Being naturally confident, he foresaw no difficulties in business; and this rendered him a comfortable servant to a prince who loved indolence and ease. Though one hope might fail, another was always in view. His persecution of Clarendon, and his subsequent conduct in his office, had offended the Duke of York. But, before he became minister, he cultivated and obtained the favour of that prince; and he owed, in a great measure, his elevation to the Duke's opinion of his abilities. His character, upon the whole, was placed in that fortunate medium which succeeds best in the world. Great talents, like rapid streams, often create obstacles, which turn them from their course; but those which come smoothly upon mankind, level them first, and then overflow.

Parliament  
meets.

ON the twentieth of October<sup>y</sup> the parliament met, according to their prorogation, and brought back to both houses an increase of the ill-humour which had made its appearance in the preceding session. The Duke of York, having continued more than two years a widower, had, after a series of tedious negotiations, fixed on a second wife; and married her by his proxy, the Earl of Peterborow. This Princess was Mary d'Este, daughter of the Duke of Modena and of Laura Martinozzi. Disappointed of the Princess of Inspruck, whom the Emperor had married after the death of his first wife, some overtures were made for a daughter

<sup>x</sup> Barnet.<sup>y</sup> Journals.

of



of the Duke of Neubourg; but, at the instigation of the King of France, who had promised a portion to the young Princess of Modena, Peterborow was sent to Italy, and the match was concluded in the month of September. The Princess had already arrived at Paris<sup>z</sup>, on her way to England, when the parliament met. The speaker had scarce taken the chair, when the commons voted an address to his Majesty, to prevent the consummation of the marriage between his Royal Highness and the Dutchess of Modena; and that "he might not be married to any person but of the Protestant religion<sup>a</sup>."

CHAP.  
III.

1673.

THE King, previously apprised of this address, prorogued for a week the parliament, to prevent its being delivered. On the twenty-seventh of October, the King opened the session with a speech from the throne. He informed the two houses, that he hoped to have met them that day with an honourable peace; but that the Dutch had treated his ambassadors at Cologne with the contempt of conquerors, and not as might have been expected from men in their condition. To support the safety and honour of the nation, he told them, he was obliged to ask a supply, which, he hoped, the commons would render proportionable to the occasion, and to their own known loyalty. He assured them of his firm adherence to all his professions and promises, for supporting the established religion and the laws of the land; and he earnestly recommended to their care the debt which he owed to the bankers and goldsmiths, through the shutting of the exchequer. Shaftesbury, as chancellor, enlarged upon every article. The part which he had to act was difficult. He abetted the country party in private, though still he adhered in public to the crown. He seemed earnest in continuing the Dutch war, but his secret measures led all to a peace<sup>b</sup>.

Commons  
address a-  
gainst the  
Duke's mar-  
riage.

<sup>z</sup> James II. 1673.

<sup>a</sup> Journals, Oct. 20.

<sup>b</sup> Journals of the lords, Oct. 27.



C H A P.  
III.1673.  
Their vio-  
lence.

THE lords returned an immediate answer to the King. The commons adjourned, for five days, the consideration of his speech<sup>c</sup>. The opposition, offended at the attachment of Sir Edward Seymour to the court, made a motion for his leaving the chair, and for appointing a temporary speaker. The measure was violent, and it met with a negative. It was concerted between Shaftesbury and the opposing party, in the preceding summer<sup>d</sup>. The house, however, resumed their former address, and it was delivered to the King. He answered, that they were too late in their address; and that the marriage was already concluded by proxy, and could not be reversed. The house was kindled into a flame. They voted a committee for preparing a general and severe test, to distinguish between Protestants and Papists. They resolved, that those who should refuse to take this new test should be incapable of enjoying any office, and even to come within five miles of the court. They further resolved, that no supply should be granted, unless it appeared that the obstinacy of the Dutch should render it necessary; and they followed this resolution with a new address against the Duke's marriage with a Roman-Catholic<sup>e</sup>.

Parliament  
prorogued.

To raise the apprehensions of the nation to the highest pitch, the commons, on the third of November, agreed to an address for a general fast, as in times of the greatest calamities. Sir Thomas Clerges, who had so much distinguished himself for the Restoration, was the chairman of the committee appointed for framing this address. Either disappointment or patriotism had, for many years, induced Clerges to oppose the court; and he was now ordered to go up with the address to the lords, and desire their concurrence. The house voted the standing army a grievance; but when they were proceeding in other resolutions, they were suddenly prorogued to the seventh day of January. The unex-

<sup>c</sup> Journals, Oct. 27.<sup>d</sup> James II. 1673.<sup>e</sup> Vid. Journals, passim.

pected



pected arrival of the usher of the black rod broke short the resolves of the commons. Some disagreeable motions were made, even after the usher had knocked violently at the door. But the speaker, favouring the court, left the chair, and prevented the question from being brought to a vote. The commons attended the King in the house of lords. He excused the prorogation, by the necessity of preventing the very appearance of a difference between him and his parliament; and he promised, that "he would not be idle, during the recess, in framing measures that might add to their satisfaction."

C H A P.  
III.

1673.

THOUGH the Duke of York's open profession of the Catholic faith had alarmed the nation, faction was mixed with patriotism, in the resolutions of the commons. The chancellor was long known to have privately joined the country party, and to have even formed the measures which he pretended to oppose. On the ninth of November, the King sent for him, and demanded the great seal; which was instantly delivered into the custody of Sir Heneage Finch<sup>s</sup>. Having obtained a pardon for his past counsels, Shaftesbury threw off all reserve, and became an open enemy to the court. Communicating the secrets of the cabinet to the opposition, and adding to bad measures worse insinuations, he inflamed the minds of men with jealousy and distrust. The transition was easy, from a counsellor of tyranny to a seditious incendiary; and even this conduct was necessary to his own safety. The change surprised none, as his disposition was known to all. In all revolutions during the thirty preceding years, he was the first in every turn of government. Consistent only with his own versatility, he was indifferent about the glaring opposition in his measures and opinions. When chancellor, he was a bold assurer of unlimited prerogative. He had the principal hand in the declaration of indulgence. He promoted the Dutch war.

Chancellor  
dismissed.

<sup>s</sup> Journals, Nov. 4.

<sup>s</sup> James II. 1673.

He



C H A P.  
III.

1673.

Marriage of  
the Duke of  
York.

He advised the shutting of the exchequer. He justified the most arbitrary proceedings of government in parliament. But the current changing, he dexterously tacked about and joined the country party<sup>1</sup>. The abilities which recommended him as a fit tool of despotism, rendered him a proper engine of faction.

THE young Princess of Modena arriving at Dover on the twenty-first of November, was that evening married to the Duke of York. Dr. Crew performed the ceremony, according to the rites of the church of England<sup>k</sup>. She was then little more than fourteen years of age, and of exquisite beauty<sup>l</sup>. Her complexion was very fair, her hair black, her eyes full of sweetness and fire. She was tall in her person, and admirably shaped; dignified in her manner, and graceful in her deportment<sup>m</sup>. During the twelve years she remained Dutchess of York, she seemed to have given herself up wholly to innocent cheerfulness and amusements. The prejudices of the people were gradually removed by her behaviour. The uneasiness conceived on account of her religion was soon forgot; and she was universally esteemed, and even by many beloved. Her beauty rendered her the favourite of the populace, when the bigotry of her husband was most feared.

Charles tries  
to soothe the  
commons,

THE King, during the recess of his parliament, endeavoured to soothe the commons, by suppressing their fears of Popery. He issued orders, on the fourteenth of November, that no Roman-Catholic, or any person reputed to be of the Romish communion, should presume to come into his presence, enter his palace, or appear at his court. To satisfy still further the people, he ordered in council, that no Popish recusant, or any reputed to be such, should presume to come to St. James's house, where the Duke resided, or even into the adjoining park<sup>n</sup>. To prevent the

<sup>1</sup> James II. 1673.<sup>k</sup> Ibid.<sup>l</sup> Supplement to the Life of James II. p. 36.<sup>m</sup> Ibid.<sup>n</sup> Ken. vol. iii. p. 325.



form which threatened to fall at the meeting of parliament, various expedients were proposed to the Duke of York. Some advised him to retire from the kingdom, others urged him to stand for the crown of Poland<sup>p</sup>. His best friends, and even some Roman-Catholic lords, were eager for his complying with the forms and worship of the established church<sup>q</sup>. The Duke, with his usual obstinacy, rejected all their proposals. He refused to retire, without the King's express commands. He exposed the folly of standing for Poland. He deemed it dishonourable, as well as criminal, to comply with a system of faith which he had ceased to believe.

C H A P.  
III.

1673.

THE popular party, urged by the Earl of Shaftesbury, were not, in the mean time, idle. They endeavoured to gain the people, and, above all, the city of London. They long pressed the lord-mayor, Sir Robert Hanson, to call a common-council, under pretence of forming a bill for paving the streets. A common-council accordingly met on the twenty-second of December, and a motion was made to thank the King for what he had done concerning Popery, to desire him to withdraw his protection from the bankers, and to recommend to him to follow the advice of his parliament<sup>r</sup>. Charles had many personal friends in the city of London. His good-humour, his jollity and facetiousness at their public entertainments, highly recommended him to the citizens. He knew them all; he admitted them into his conversation; he treated them with familiarity, and gained their affections by entering into their private concerns. The Duke of York, though distant and stately, was remarkably affable and well-bred. His knowledge in commerce, his almost daily attendance at the meetings of the trading companies, had procured to him the reputation of a man of business; a character calculated to gain the esteem of men who derive their importance from industry. Ignorant of

and the popular party,  
to gain the city.

<sup>p</sup> James II. 1673.

<sup>q</sup> Ibid.

<sup>r</sup> Ibid.



C H A P.  
III.

1673.

Ineffectual  
congress at  
Cologn.

by an extraordinary fate, was almost conquered, and altogether recovered, without one battle by land.

A CONGRESS opened at Cologn, in the course of the summer, was attended with no effect. The demands of the confederate kings continued almost the same; but the offers of the Dutch were diminished in proportion to the increase of their hopes. The seizure of the person of the Prince of Furstenberg by the Imperialists, afforded a pretence to the French and English to break off a negotiation, which furnished no prospect of success. The States, no longer anxious concerning their safety, were now bent on revenge. Their negotiations at the courts of Vienna and Madrid were approaching to a happy conclusion. The house of Austria, in both its branches, was alarmed at the ambition of Lewis. A treaty between the three powers was signed on the thirtieth of August<sup>p</sup>. Spain forgot her ancient animosities against Holland, in the recent injuries which she had received from France. She declared war on the fifteenth of October; and by a strange reverse in her policy, defended the Dutch against France and England, by whose aid they had become independent of her power.

Duke of  
York and  
Clifford re-  
sign.

DURING these transactions abroad, the late test began to have effect in England. The Duke of York and Lord Clifford, in their zeal for popery, refused to take the appointed oaths, and resigned all their employments. The Duke had been Lord Admiral and Warden of the Cinque-ports ever since the Restoration. He had been for several years governor of Portsmouth; and, since the death of the Duke of Albemarle, commander in chief of all his Majesty's forces. This latter office he had for some time refused<sup>q</sup>, as a trust too great for any subject: the instances of his brother at last prevailed over these scruples; and

<sup>p</sup> Hist. de France, vol. iii. p. 798.<sup>q</sup> James II. 1670.



he retained that commission till now that he sacrificed it to his zeal for the church of Rome. The King had in vain entreated both the Duke and the Lord Clifford to conform to the established religion<sup>r</sup>. He argued to no purpose against the absurdity of their uncomplying opinions. They remained obstinate, and adhered to their faith. The King retained the Cinque-ports in his own hands<sup>s</sup>. He put the admiralty into commission. He conferred the government of Portsmouth upon Legg, who was recommended to that charge by the Duke of York.

C H A P.  
III.

1673.

THE resignation of the Duke of York happened on the fifteenth of June, and on the nineteenth of the same month, Clifford delivered to the King his staff, as Lord Treasurer. He was succeeded by Sir Thomas Osborne, who had been joint-treasurer of the navy with Lyttelton for several years. Osborne, in his principles, or more properly by character a cavalier, had gone into opposition to obtain an office<sup>t</sup>. In the prosecution of the Earl of Clarendon, he distinguished himself, as a tool of Buckingham, in the house of Commons; and after the banishment of the unfortunate chancellor, he was rewarded for his services with the half of the treasuryship of the navy. In those reverses of favour and dislike, which his patron owed to his own fluctuating character, Osborne adhered to him with fidelity. He had the good fortune to meet with gratitude, a virtue which the Duke seldom exerted toward his friends. He was brought by Buckingham into the privy-council in May, 1672. He was now raised to the high office of lord-treasurer partly by his recommendation.

Osborne  
made lord-  
treasurer.

OSBORNE, in the singular success attending a long life, owed more to fortune than either to his own virtue or his abilities. Without the advantage of any antiquity of family<sup>u</sup>, and even destitute

His cha-  
racter.

<sup>r</sup> James II. 1673.

<sup>s</sup> Ibid.

<sup>t</sup> Burnet, vol. i. p. 490.

<sup>u</sup> Collins, vol. i.



C H A P.  
III.

the tendency of the motions, the common-council sent privately some of their number to the King; but upon his disapproving of such an address, the affair was dropt.

1674.  
Parliament  
meets.

THE parliament, according to their prorogation, met on the seventh of January 1674. The King told them, that, during their recess, he had done such things as might add to their satisfaction; and that he expected a return of gratitude, in an immediate supply. He urged, that to obtain an honourable peace, it was necessary to be prepared for war; and, therefore, that he relied upon a speedy, proportionable, and, above all, a cheerful aid. He again recommended his debt to the bankers to their care; and to remove their jealousy, he promised to submit, without reserve, all the articles of his alliance with France to the inspection of a small committee of both houses. The lord-keeper Finch enlarged upon every article of his Majesty's speech. He gave a comprehensive deduction of all the negotiations at Cologne; and he, with some degree of reason, ascribed to the insolence of the Dutch the continuance of the war. But the commons were neither to be soothed into temper, nor argued into compliance. They revived the grand committee for religion; they appointed a committee for grievances; and then adjourned for five days<sup>a</sup>.

Proceedings

THIS session, which promised much trouble, and was actually filled with business, carried nothing to a conclusion but the Dutch war. The commons petitioned the King to appoint a day for fasting and humiliation<sup>b</sup>. The lords addressed him to remove Popish recusants from London and its neighbourhood. The lower house requested the King to remove Lauderdale<sup>c</sup> and Buckingham from their employments and his presence. They framed articles of impeachment against Arlington<sup>d</sup>. They petitioned the

<sup>a</sup> Journals, Jan. 7, 1674.<sup>b</sup> Ibid. Jan. 12.<sup>c</sup> Ibid. Jan. 13.<sup>d</sup> Jan. 15.

throne



throne for disbanding the army. Charles made no reply with regard to the two Dukes. The impeachment of Arlington was dropt by the commons themselves. The King complied with their request, in disbanding the army; and even carried his compliance in that respect beyond the limits of what they required. An address for sending back the troops brought from Ireland, received the same favourable answer. The King yielded every thing, in hopes of obtaining a supply. But the commons were determined on a peace with Holland; and they knew that object could not be obtained, should the King be placed in a condition to prosecute the war.

C H A P.  
III.

1674.

THE jealousy against Popery continued to increase in both houses. The commons brought in a bill for imposing a more rigid test to distinguish between Protestants and Papists. The bill was aimed by the popular party, at the instigation of Shaftesbury, against the Duke of York. The test contained a formal renunciation of all the favourite tenets of the Romish church; the supremacy and infallibility of the Pope, the doctrine of transubstantiation, the invocation of saints. A new clause was added, to expel the Duke from the King's presence and councils. It was to have been enacted, that no person who did not take the test should, without leave first obtained under the hands of six privy-counsellors, presume to come to the King's presence<sup>1</sup>. The Duke of York was excepted in this clause, by a majority of two upon a division; and these two, Sir Charles Gaudy and Sir Anthony Deane, had taken only that day their seats in the house<sup>2</sup>. The lords proceeded with equal spirit against Popery. The Earl of Salisbury moved, on the twenty-fourth of January, for a bill to breed the Duke of York's children in the established religion. The Earl of Carlisle made a motion, that neither the King, nor

<sup>1</sup> Journals, Feb. 17.

<sup>2</sup> James II. 1674.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.



C H A P.

III.

1674.

any of the blood-royal to a certain degree, should marry without the consent of parliament. Lord Halifax moved the disclaiming all real and reputed Roman Catholics; Lord Mordaunt, that all English priests should be removed from the Queen<sup>b</sup>.

houses.

THE consideration of all these motions being adjourned, the lords resumed their debate on the tenth of February. Carlisle, seconded by Halifax, moved, that any of the blood-royal marrying a Catholic, should be declared incapable of succeeding to the throne. Peterborough, terming it a horrid motion, reprimanded them with great severity. Shaftesbury, in his reply to Peterborough, endeavoured to soften the motion, by declaring that it was to have no retrospect. He quoted precedents, which the Lord Finch, in an elaborate speech, confuted. He endeavoured to convince the house, that the restricting the succession by acts of parliament, was contrary to the constitution of the kingdom. Several bishops joined the lord-keeper in his arguments. They declared the motion of exclusion contrary to the rules of Christianity, and the doctrine of the church of England. The proposition was at last laid aside, and another substituted in its place. It was resolved in general, that neither the King, nor any of the blood-royal, should marry a Catholic without the consent of parliament; but no penalty was annexed<sup>c</sup>. The King and Duke were present at this important debate<sup>d</sup>.

Peace with  
the Dutch.

ON the twenty-fourth of January, the King communicated to both houses new proposals of peace from the States. Though the parliament had declared their aversion to the war, though Charles might be forced to relinquish it through want of money, the Dutch prudently chose not to depend upon fortune in removing

<sup>b</sup> James II. 1674.<sup>c</sup> Ibid.<sup>d</sup> Journals, Feb. 10.

from



from them a powerful enemy. To carry their obstinacy beyond the bounds of reason, might inflame against them the English nation; for it was not impossible but the latter might forget their jealousy of the power of France in their own pride. The Marquis de Fresno, the ambassador of Spain at London, was empowered to conclude a peace with Charles. He added the influence of his court to the other reasons, which obliged the King to listen to terms. The two houses concurred in their advice for peace. The conditions, though little advantageous, were not dishonourable for England. The honour of the flag was relinquished by the Dutch. They agreed to pay near three hundred thousand pounds for the expence of the war. New regulations of trade were made; and all possessions were mutually restored to the same state as before the war\*.

C H A P.  
III.

1674.

\* Vide Articles in the Journals of the lords.



## CHAP. IV.

*Parliament prorogued.—Campaign of 1674.—The King gains London.—Negociations with the Prince of Orange.—A session of Parliament.—Their proceedings.—Campaign of 1675.—A session of parliament.—They are prorogued.—New secret treaty with France.—Campaign of 1676.—Observations.—A profound tranquillity.—Affairs of Scotland.—Of Ireland.—France offers peace.—Parliament meets.—Proceedings.—Progress of the French.—The commons alarmed.—Reprimanded and adjourned.—Reflections.—Affairs of Europe.—State of France and of the allies.—Views of the King and Prince of Orange.—Marriage of the latter.—They settle terms of peace.—France required to agree.—Duplicity of Charles.—Treaty with the Dutch.—Parliament meets.—Ill humour of the commons.—Popular leaders intriguing with France.—Secret history of parties.—Proceedings of the commons.—Progress of the French.—Money treaty.—Alliance with Holland.—Peace of Nimeguen.—The King and Prince of Orange endeavour to break it.—Its effects on France.—State of England.—The Popish plot.—Otes's narrative.—Coleman's letters.—Death of Godfrey.—A general consternation.*

CHAP.  
IV.

1674.  
Parliament  
prorogued.

THOUGH the peace with Holland relieved the King from many of his difficulties, it soothed not his parliament into any compliance. His measures, for several years, were thought so contrary to the interests of his subjects, at least, so opposite to their opinions, that in pursuing them, he lost almost all his former popularity and influence. Distrust prevailed among the people, and jealousy joined all its force to faction in the house of commons.



mons. The endeavours of the King to ingratiate himself by compliance, were defeated by the folly of his brother, who, with an enthusiasm scarce consistent with the possession of reason, seemed to glory in a system of faith which his country abhorred. The ferment was too high to be settled by any thing but time. The King came suddenly to the house of peers on the twenty-fourth of February<sup>f</sup>, and prorogued his parliament to the tenth of November. No supply was granted, no bill whatsoever passed both houses<sup>g</sup>. During debates of such violence and long continuance, there was but one private bill and two of a public concern sent up by the commons to the lords; and the latter sent down to the lower house but one of each kind<sup>h</sup>. Though the King's party could not prevent spirited resolutions, they were sufficiently numerous to clog the progress of bills that were disagreeable to the crown.

C H A P.  
IV.

1674.

THE summer of the year 1674 produced no events of importance in England. Shaftesbury, with his usual activity, endeavoured to keep up the jealousies of the people till the meeting of parliament. Pretending a fear of being assassinated by the papists, he lay in the city, in the house of one Cook, a fanatic; and exerted all his abilities to promote petitions to the King, for calling a parliament for the redress of grievances. His success rose not in proportion to his zeal. He was about to take a house in the city, but Charles sent him a peremptory message; and he retired to the country<sup>i</sup>. An unexpected tranquillity prevailed; and men seemed to have forgot their terrors for popery and arbitrary power. The war on the continent remained in an undecisive state. The Dutch, joined by Spain and the Empire, were now upon an equal footing with France, though provided with the best generals of the age, and well-appointed armies. The King, to gratify his people, assumed the character of a mediator between

Charles  
mediates a  
peace.

<sup>f</sup> Journals, Feb. 24.

<sup>g</sup> James II. 1674.

<sup>h</sup> Ibid.

<sup>i</sup> Ibid.



C H A P.  
IV.

1674.

the contending powers; but either his sincerity was suspected by the allies, or their hopes of victory rendered them deaf to terms. The court of Spain, with its usual violence, had engaged the Dutch to continue the war till things should be restored to the same situation as at the treaty of the Pyrenees.

Campaign in  
Germany

THE French had three great armies in the field; the first in Germany, the second in Flanders, and the third in Rouffillon<sup>k</sup>. On the side of Germany, the Marechal de Turenne, having passed the Rhine at Philippsburgh, defeated the Count Caprara, at Sintzeim, and possessed himself of the whole Palatinate, by driving the allies beyond the Neckar and the Maine. With twenty thousand men, he fell upon an army of seventy, under the Duke of Lorraine, near Straßbourg, and drove them from the field with great loss. He again defeated the allies at Malhausen, before the end of the campaign. These repeated victories drove the war from the frontiers of France. Franche Comté was in the meantime reduced by her arms. The King in person commanded his troops on that side. There was no enemy in the field; and town fell after town into his hands. The whole province was conquered with little bloodshed; and Lewis, resolving to retain it for ever, transferred the university and the seat of public justice and government from Dole to Besançon.

and Flanders.

ON the eleventh of August<sup>l</sup> was fought in Flanders the famous battle of Senef, a village between Marimont and Nivelles. The Prince of Orange, at the head of the army of the allies, consisting of eighty thousand men, was opposed by an inferior force, under the Prince of Condé. The French attacked the rear of the confederates, in a narrow defile, as they marched toward Binch; and throwing them into confusion, seized a great part of

<sup>k</sup> Hist. de France, vol. iii.<sup>l</sup> Ibid.

their



their cannon and baggage. The Prince of Orange, less remarkable for preventing misfortune than for stopping its progress, acquired some glory, though he obtained no victory. He rallied his troops. He fell upon the enemy. He exposed his own person. In the action, which was not finished with the day, he joined the valour of a young soldier to the conduct of an experienced general. When night came on, both armies, as if by mutual consent, put an end to the fight, and left the victory undecided. The loss was almost equal. Six thousand of each side lay dead on the field. The allies kept possession of the place of battle, but the French had most trophies. The Prince of Orange besieged Oudenarde; but he was forced to quit that enterprise by the Prince of Condé. Graves, however, fell into the hands of the allies, after a very obstinate siege.

C H A P.  
IV.  
1674.

DURING these transactions abroad, some changes happened in the higher departments of the state in England. Buckingham, ever distrusted by the King, had fallen again under his displeasure. Being chancellor of the university of Cambridge, that place was declared vacant<sup>m</sup>, by a letter from Charles; and the Duke of Monmouth was chosen on the fifteenth of July. The pusillanimous conduct of Buckingham, when questioned before the house of commons, his cabals in private with the country party, and, above all, his ceasing to be useful, induced the King to lay him aside. Arlington's timidity rendered his fidelity suspected; and he was removed from the office of secretary of state, and made lord chamberlain of his Majesty's household<sup>n</sup>. Sir Joseph Williamson, who, in conjunction with Sir Leoline Jenkins, managed the treaty of Cologne, succeeded Arlington. Charles, ever since the removal of Clarendon, had ceased to be led by his ministers. He formed his own measures. He wished not for counsellors, but for servants. The administration was

Changes in  
administra-  
tion.

<sup>m</sup> Kennet, vol. iii.

<sup>n</sup> Ibid.



C H A P.  
IV.

1674.

now composed of men who must depend upon the crown, as they were destitute of weight with the nation. Finch was possessed of abilities in his own department, but he was no great statesman. Osborne, who from his first title of Lord Latimer had, in June, been advanced to the dignity of Earl of Danby, was passive to the will of his master. Williamson rose to the head of an office, in which he had been a clerk; and though Coventry was a man of some parts, he was too unpopular to be acknowledged as such by the world.

King gains  
the city of  
London.

THE parliament, which was to have met on the tenth of November, was prorogued<sup>o</sup> by proclamation to the thirteenth of April. This measure was adopted, in concert with the King of France, who was afraid that the commons might force Charles to join against him in the war. One hundred thousand pounds was the price of this prorogation. It saved Lewis from a powerful enemy, and Charles from addresses of clamorous grievances. He, in the mean time, endeavoured to gain the affections of his people, by soothing measures and condescending familiarities. He was resolved to retain the city of London, which the opposition had made several attempts to gain. In the arts of pleasing the multitude, the King was more than a match for any of his subjects. He accepted of an invitation to an entertainment in Guildhall, on the twenty-ninth of October, when Sir Robert Viner was sworn lord-mayor. To flatter the citizens, he expressed a desire of being one of their body; and he accordingly received the freedom of the city, at the chamberlain's office, by the hands of Sir Thomas Player. A circumstance, trivial in itself, was followed by consequences beneficial to the King. The corporation attended him in a body with his freedom, expressing their deepest sense of so unparalleled a favour done to the city, beyond the example of all his progenitors<sup>p</sup>.

\* Journals, Sept. 22.

<sup>p</sup> Kennet.



WHILST Charles sought popularity at home, he shewed an inclination to secure it by his measures abroad. He saw that the nation was exasperated at his connexion with France; and that the parliament might force him to take arms against his ally, should the war continue for another campaign. He resolved to found the Prince of Orange, and to form his own measures upon his views<sup>a</sup>. Though Arlington was in a kind of disgrace, his avowed attachment to the Prince rendered him a fit agent, in any business in which his interest was concerned. Besides, he was married to the sister of Odyck, who was much in the confidence of the Prince<sup>b</sup>. He was sent to Holland in the beginning of December, and the Earl of Ossory was joined with him in a secret commission. Their principal instruction was to offer the Princess Mary, the Duke of York's eldest daughter, in marriage to the Prince<sup>c</sup>. The object of this proffered alliance was to engage the Prince of Orange to enter into the measures of the English court with regard to a peace with France; he having hitherto eluded the proposals of mediation carried from Charles by Sir William Temple<sup>d</sup>.

C H A P.  
IV.

1674.  
Negociation  
with

THE Duke of York objected to the offer of his daughter, as it ought in decency to have come first from the Prince himself<sup>e</sup>. The King told him, that Ossory, chiefly trusted in that business, was to say nothing on the subject, till it should be mentioned to him by the Prince<sup>f</sup>. The Duke, ever submissive to his brother, acquiesced in his pleasure. But the Prince of Orange being bent on the prosecution of the war, the negociation failed for the time. To disguise his aversion to peace, he affected to be displeased with Arlington. He complained, that he had joined with his "good friends"<sup>g</sup> Carlisle and Shaftesbury, in endeavouring to move the King to own the legitimacy of the Duke of Monmouth. Besides, the prospect of succeeding to the crown of

the Prince of  
Orange.

<sup>a</sup> James II. 1674.

<sup>b</sup> Temple.

<sup>c</sup> Temple.

<sup>d</sup> James II. 1674.

<sup>e</sup> James II. 1674.

<sup>f</sup> Ibid. <sup>g</sup> Ibid



C H A P.  
IV.

1674.

England, in the right of Mary, had become less certain, by the advanced pregnancy of the Dutchess of York. A son would cut off all the hopes of the throne, which he might otherwise derive from the marriage. This obstacle was soon after removed. The Dutchess was brought to bed of a daughter, in the beginning of January<sup>2</sup>; and the two brothers were still destined to continue the only males of their family. The Prince, however, formed a secret connexion with the popular party in England, by the means of one Frymans, a man of abandoned principles and a profligate life<sup>3</sup>. His views, which he had formed even at this early period, upon the throne, are said to have been the source of his animosity against France, to please a people over whom he was resolved to reign<sup>4</sup>.

1675.  
The laws enforced against non-conformists.

THOUGH the house of commons were averse from the French alliance, their jealousy on the score of religion was the chief cause of their ill-humour toward the crown. The majority were favourers of monarchy, but they were enthusiasts in the cause of the church. Charles saw that he lost more of the confidence of his people, by his indulgence to sectaries, than even by following political maxims inconsistent with their principles. To regain, if possible, the good-will of his parliament, whose speedy meeting his necessities required, he resolved to put in rigorous execution the laws against Papists and conventicles. To issue a proclamation by his own mere motion, might carry the appearance of courting favour. He, therefore, through his ministers, insinuated to the archbishops and some other prelates, that, upon their requisition, he was willing to execute to the letter the laws against all non-conformists, especially against the Papists. The bishops entered into his views, and advised him to recall all the licences which had been granted for holding conventicles. A proclamation was issued on the twelfth of February, for convicting and punishing all recusants, and requiring all persons born within

<sup>2</sup> Public Intell.<sup>3</sup> D'Avaux, vol. ii.<sup>4</sup> Ibid. vol. i.



the King's dominions, who had taken orders from the see of Rome, to depart the kingdom before the twenty-fifth day of March<sup>a</sup>.

C H A P.  
IV.  
1675.

NOTWITHSTANDING these precautions, the commons brought back to the house a part of the ill temper in which they had been prorogued. The King, on the thirteenth of April, opened the session with a speech from the throne<sup>b</sup>. Though the lateness of the season, a circumstance previously concerted with France, precluded any motion for war, the commons entered upon subjects little less disagreeable to the court. They renewed their addresses against Lauderdale<sup>c</sup>. A motion of accusation was made against the lord treasurer<sup>d</sup>. The King's answer with regard to the first was so unsatisfactory, that addresses were repeated; but the charge against the latter appeared so ill founded, that it was dropt by the commons themselves<sup>e</sup>. Their request to the King for recalling his subjects from the service of France was eluded<sup>f</sup>. Their bills against Popery, and even the whole business of the session, were disappointed by an unexpected quarrel with the lords. One Shirley had brought an appeal into the house of lords against Sir John Fagg, a member of the lower house. A warrant was issued against Shirley. The Lord Mohun forced it from the serjeant at arms. The commons demanded justice, the peers refused it; and the King, on the ninth of June, was obliged to put an end to the dispute by a prorogation.

Transactions  
of the com-  
mons.

THOUGH parliament entered not into the views of the crown, they seemed now more favourable to monarchy than in the preceding session. The Earl of Danby, by character a cavalier and a favourer of the church, was supported in his measures by those who affected his principles in the house of commons<sup>g</sup>. To them he owed the victory, which he obtained over the disaffected party in the articles of his impeachment. In the house of lords, the

Warm de-  
bates

<sup>a</sup> Vide Proclamation.

<sup>d</sup> April 26.

<sup>e</sup> May 3.

<sup>b</sup> Journals, April 13, 1675.

<sup>f</sup> May 8.

<sup>c</sup> April 14.

<sup>g</sup> James II. 1675.



C H A P.  
IV.

1675.

influence of the bishops, all of whom abetted Danby, carried matters high in their zeal for the crown. They began to compare the present conduct of the commons to those violences which had, thirty years before, laid in ruins both the church and the throne. To obstruct such designs, or to remedy the evil, the Earl of Lindsey introduced a bill for a new test. This was little more than extending to all persons in office, and the members of both houses of parliament, the oath imposed upon magistrates by the corporation-act in the year 1662. They were to declare it unlawful, upon any pretence, to take arms against the King; that they abhorred the traitorous position of taking arms by his authority against his person or his officers; and that they would not endeavour to make any alteration in the government of either the church or the state<sup>h</sup>. The abjuring any change in the government was the only article that was new in the bill; and should it be taken in the literal sense, legislation itself were at an end.

in the house  
of lords.

THIS bill, as might have been expected, was disliked by various parties, from different views. The factious opposed it from spleen, the Roman Catholics from their aversion to all tests; and some conscientious patriots, from the dangerous doctrine of non-resistance, which it contained. In the eyes of men who weighed matters with coolness, the absurdity of such a law rendered it nugatory; and they considered it as the means of increasing perjuries, without enforcing obedience to government. The debates, which continued seventeen days, were warm, and even violent. All the arguments that could be suggested by reason, or invented by ingenuity, were used on both sides. That which had most force was, that the bill might deprive some scrupulous peers of their birth-right to vote. To obviate this objection, the lord-treasurer moved<sup>i</sup>, that the refusing the oath might not incapacitate any lord from sitting in the house. The Duke of York followed the motion with another, that it might be general for

<sup>h</sup> Journals.<sup>i</sup> James II. 1674.



all bills. The house agreed, and added it to their standing orders<sup>k</sup>. The bill passing at length with this amendment, was sent down to the commons. It was lost, with all other bills of public concern, in the sudden prorogation of parliament.

CHAP.  
IV.  
1675.

TRANQUILLITY, as usual, succeeded the separation of parliament, and Charles recurred to his amusements and pleasures. The war languished during the campaign in Flanders. In Germany it was attended with some striking, though not decisive, events. In the former, the French took Dinain, in May; Hui and Limbourg, in June. The Prince of Orange, being taken ill of the small-pox, was for some time detained from the field. The marechal de Crequi, in endeavouring to throw succours into Treves, was routed, with considerable loss. George-William, Duke of Brunswick-Zell, had the honour of the first victory obtained over France in the course of fifty years. Crequi despised his enemy; but he was undeceived by his own defeat. He threw himself into Treves, and fell, with the place, into the hands of the allies, on the sixth of September. The prince of Orange, resuming the command of the army, took Binch, in the end of August. Both sides continued in a state of inactivity during the rest of the campaign.

ON the side of Catalonia, Marechal Schomberg made some progress, at the head of the French. The King of Sweden, plunging headlong into the war, in favour of France, met with nothing but misfortune. The Dutch, the Spaniards, the Danes, became at once his enemies. He was served ill by his general. He was defeated by the Elector of Brandenburg. He lost all Pomerania. Bremerfurt was taken by the troops of Brunswick-Lunenburgh; Wolgast, by those of Brandenburg. Wismar fell into the hands of the Danes. During these transactions a congress was opened at Nimeguen; but the season of peace was not

<sup>k</sup> James II. 1672.



C H A P.  
IV.

1675.

yet arrived. The attention of Europe, during actions of inferior note, was called to the Upper Rhine. Two great armies, commanded by the two greatest generals of the age, were opposed to each other on the banks of that river. Turenne guarded the confines of France with all his consummate skill; Montecuculli endeavoured to carry the war into Alsace and Lorraine. Antiquity only could match the operations of these experienced commanders. The contest between such talents could be only decided by fortune.

France and  
the allies.

TURENNE, having assembled his army near Strasbourg in the month of May, passed the Rhine on the seventh of June, to break the designs of the allies upon Alsace. Having spent near two months in all the most masterly movements of war, he thought at last that the happy moment was arrived for attacking Montecuculli with advantage. When he was viewing the position of the enemy, a cannon-bullet put an end to his life<sup>1</sup>. The French, struck with consternation at the fall of their leader, thought of nothing but flight. A dispute for the command between the Count de Lorges and the Marquis de Vaubrun was added to their other misfortunes. They retreated. Montecuculli hung close on their heels. The valour of the English auxiliaries, who brought up the rear, saved the army. The French repassed the Rhine at Altenheim, the allies at Strasbourg. The Prince of Condé succeeded Turenne. He forced the enemy to raise the siege of Haguenau, to quit their designs on Saverne, and, at length, to repass the Rhine. The campaign, though upon the whole unfortunate to France, produced nothing that could decide the fate of the war.

Proceedings  
and

THE recess of parliament had not altered, in any respect, the temper in which the two houses had been prorogued. The King

<sup>1</sup> July 27.

opened



opened the session with a short but soothing speech, on the thirteenth of October<sup>m</sup>. He entreated the houses to forget their former animosities; he recommended the interests of the church of England; he demanded money. He told them of the necessity of building ships, and of removing the anticipations on the standing revenue of the crown. He owned his own want of œconomy in past times; but he declared his unalterable resolution to be more careful for the future. The lord-keeper, in enlarging upon the articles of the speech, commended in vain the King's measures. The commons were not convinced by his arguments. They discovered a continuance of their former jealousy by their proceedings. They resolved to grant no supply for removing the anticipations upon the revenue<sup>n</sup>; and it was with difficulty they were induced to vote three hundred thousand pounds for building twenty ships of war. This aid was appropriated, by strict clauses, to the use for which it was voted; and it was provided by the act, that exact accounts of all outlays should be from time to time submitted to the inspection of the house.

THE commons, in their zeal for religion, passed a bill to prevent Papists from sitting in either house<sup>o</sup>. They resolved, by an express act, to preclude the crown for the future from suspending any law made in favour of the established church<sup>p</sup>. They brought in a bill against sending men prisoners beyond sea. But all were defeated, by a renewal of their former dispute with the lords. Shirley resumed the prosecution of his appeal against Fagg<sup>q</sup>. The two houses flew instantly into a flame. They adhered to their former opinions. Resolutions were bandied from side to side. It was moved in the lower house, that no appeal should lie from equity to the peers. The lords shewed a disposition to address the King to dissolve the parliament. Charles, disappointed

prorogation  
of parlia-  
ment.

<sup>m</sup> Journals, Oct. 13.  
<sup>n</sup> Oct. 19.

<sup>o</sup> Ibid. Oct. 19.  
<sup>p</sup> Nov. 11.

<sup>q</sup> Nov. 8.



C H A P.  
IV.

1675.

in money, offended at some bills passed by the commons, and willing to put an end to disputes so contrary to his own love of ease, came to the house of lords on the twenty-second of November<sup>r</sup>. He gave his assent to three private bills; and, without a speech, prorogued the parliament to the fifteenth of February, 1677. The contest between the houses was ascribed by some to design, as it furnished the King with a specious pretence of riding himself, for some time, of a parliament from whom he heard nothing but complaints. Notwithstanding the seeming patriotism of the commons, the parties were nearly equal upon every vote. Had Charles managed his former expences with address, he might have procured a supply to remove his present necessities.

1676.  
New secret  
treaty with  
France.

THE prorogation of parliament freed Charles from the trouble of addresses; but it deprived him of all hopes of relief from his wants. He applied, in the last resort, to France, for those supplies which he had in vain endeavoured to procure at home. He had adhered to his engagements, in a degree scarce to be expected from his fluctuating politics; and now he expressed a desire of uniting himself more strictly with the French King. The proposal was an expedient to obtain money from that prince, whose generosity required to be roused by a show of new engagements. A formal agreement was signed, in the month of February 1676, by the two Kings, by which they obliged themselves to enter into no treaties without mutual consent. To this promise another article was added on the part of Charles. He agreed to prorogue or dissolve his parliament, should they shew a disposition of forcing him to declare against France<sup>s</sup>. As this treaty contained nothing that was new, it seems to have been one of those many deceptions which Charles played off with such success on the King of France.

<sup>r</sup> Journals, Nov. 22.

<sup>s</sup> Rouvigny to Lewis XIV. Jan. 9. and Feb. 27, 1676.



THE situation of that monarch required a certainty of the friendship of Charles. Though the successes of the allies had not broken his power, they were likely to give vigour to their efforts in the approaching campaign. The opinion of Europe had placed the balance in the hands of the King of England; and, as his aid in the war could not be expected by France, his neutrality became an important object. But the good fortune which had attended the allies in the preceding summer, began now to forsake their arms. The year began with an advantage at sea in favour of the French. De Ruyter, who had sailed from Holland in August with an intention to join the Spanish fleet, fell in with Du Quesne, on the eighth of January, on his way to throw succours into Messina. The French had the advantage. Messina was relieved. Another naval engagement, on the twenty-second of April, was rendered memorable by the fall of the gallant De Ruyter, and the second defeat of the Dutch. The Duke de Vivonne, having a third time defeated the Dutch and Spaniards before Messina, put an end, for the time, to the naval power of both on the coasts of Sicily.

CHAP.  
IV.

1676.  
Campaign of

THE good fortune which attended the French in the Mediterranean, deserted their ally, the King of Sweden, in the Baltic. Van Tromp, having joined the Danes, defeated the Swedish fleet, on the first of June. The King of Denmark entered Sweden with an army, and met with great success. Their martial spirit seemed to have deserted a nation, who had been forty years before the arbiters of the fate of Europe. Charles the Eleventh, however, before the end of the campaign, retrieved a part of the glory which he had lost. He defeated the King of Denmark at Lunden<sup>1</sup>, and forced him to retire to his own country. The French King exerted his whole force in Flanders. His army on the side of Germany observed only the motions of the allies. Having filled his maga-

the year  
1676.

<sup>1</sup> Dec. 12.



C H A P.  
IV.

1676.

zines during the winter, he took in person the field early in the spring. Condé surrendered to him in the end of April<sup>u</sup>. Buchain fell into his hands in the middle of May. The Prince of Orange, ill supported by his allies, and with an army ill appointed, had the mortification to see Aire and St. Omers taken almost in his sight, without his being able to relieve either of those places. He was equally unfortunate in his attempt upon Maestricht. Having besieged that place in vain for near a month, he was obliged to decamp<sup>x</sup>, upon the approach of the French under Schomberg. Misfortune followed him in his retreat. His artillery, ammunition, and provisions, fell in a great measure into the hands of the enemy; and notwithstanding all his efforts, he closed the campaign with disaster, though not with disgrace. The languor of Spain and negligence of the empire left the whole weight of the war on the States; and they began to wish sincerely for that peace which the Prince of Orange had eluded two years before.

Observations.

THE disasters of the campaign changed the state of an alliance, whose efforts had already begun to languish. Feeble councils were added to the natural slowness of the Spaniards; and the Emperor was as destitute of personal abilities, as he was of resources for carrying on with vigour the war. The German princes, with their usual inattention to affairs which respect the whole body, failed in all their engagements upon the side of the Rhine. The war lay with its whole weight on the Dutch. Their coffers were drained, and their spirits were exhausted. These were the reasons which inclined them to the thoughts of a separate peace. Besides, the Spaniards, to whom they were engaged for the safety of Flanders, had, by their negligence, forfeited every claim to the observance of a treaty, with the conditions of which they had ceased to comply. They applied to the King of England, but he was deaf to their entreaties. His connexion with France induced him to adopt

<sup>u</sup> April 26.<sup>x</sup> August 27.

measures,



measures, which were in fact beneficial to his subjects. The commerce of Europe, on account of the war, in which the most of its states were involved, had fallen into the hands of the English. They derived riches from a circumstance which impoverished other nations. Prevented from indulging their favourite system of a balance of power, they were saved from those distresses in which they have been since involved by continental wars.

C H A P.  
IV.  
1676.

A PROFOUND tranquillity prevailed in England throughout the whole of the present year. Charles, tired of his efforts for acquiring power, left government to the common course of the laws, and gave himself up to indolence and pleasure. Discontent seemed to cease with the sitting of parliament. Grievances either existed not at all, or they were borne in silence. The people murmured at the progress made by the arms of France; but their complaints reached not the throne, or they were heard with indifference. Charles either affected a complaisance for the established church, or he thought it necessary to gain the hierarchy, to balance the spirit of limiting his power, which appeared in the house of commons. If ever he entertained a serious design of establishing the Catholic religion, a measure scarce consistent with common prudence, he had now suspended it for a time, or dropt it for ever. The Bishop of London, by his permission, went to the Duke of York. That prelate told his Royal Highness, that as the Lady Mary, his daughter, was of age to think of preparing for receiving the sacrament, he came to ask leave to confirm her. The Duke's answer was suitable to his bigotry, though it exhibited the affections of a father. He was unwilling, he said, that his daughters should communicate with a church whose doctrine he himself had ceased to believe; and, though he had not instructed his children in his own religion, it was to prevent their being taken from under his care. He desired the bishop to go to the King, who instantly ordered both the princesses to be confirmed.

A profound tranquillity.



C H A P. The Duke, with his usual submission, obeyed his brother's com-  
 IV. mands.<sup>y</sup>  
 1676.

Affairs.

The tyranny of Lauderdale and the vehemence of Sharpe continued to harass the Scots in their civil and religious concerns. The love of public liberty had not, for several years, raised any opposition in parliament; but the enthusiasm of the Presbyterians was not to be subdued by the rigours of the church. The flame which rose among the commons of England against the measures of the crown, extended itself, in the year 1673, to Scotland. The Duke of Hamilton placed himself at the head of a formidable opposition to the corrupt administration of Lauderdale. A motion was made by Hamilton for considering the state of the nation. Twenty persons spoke successively after the Duke, and supported his arguments with a long catalogue of public grievances. Lauderdale, with his usual imperiousness, endeavoured to intimidate the members; but that failing, he adjourned the parliament. The chiefs of the opposition repaired to London, to lay their complaints at the foot of the throne. They demanded the removal of Lauderdale, the redress of grievances, and an act of general oblivion. Charles received them with affability, and dismissed them with promises. But the accommodating policy of the minister soon broke the designs of the King, who sacrificed the happiness of his subjects, to an opinion of his being bound to support the measures of his servant.

of Scotland.

TERRIFIED at the resolutions of the commons of England, Lauderdale endeavoured, in the year 1674, to gain the Presbyterians of Scotland. The disaffected in the former were suspected of abetting the religious disturbances which subsisted in the latter. They hoped for a revival of those troubles in the North, which were the source of the misfortunes of the crown in the preceding

<sup>y</sup> James II. 1676.



reign. It was even then supposed, and it is now known<sup>y</sup>, that the Dutch and the Prince of Orange corresponded with the Scottish fanatics. To prevent mischiefs, which might arise from both these circumstances, it was thought necessary to relax the severities of the law against conventicles. Besides, Lauderdale, whose councils were as bold as his measures were corrupt, had formed a scheme to employ the militia, which had been established in Scotland in support of the authority of the King, in his other dominions. The lower sort were almost all of the Presbyterian persuasion; and it was hoped, that an indulgence to their principles might secure their fidelity, on an emergency. New alarms put an end to these lenient measures. The Presbyterians were inebriated by their spiritual pride. The more they were indulged, the greater was their opposition to the civil authority. Lauderdale renewed his oppressions, and Sharpe his persecutions. Political misery was seen in every form; and even the ignorance of the servants of the crown became more fatal than their tyrannies. The year 1676 added the infamy of burning old women to other acts of barbarous despotism. Witchcraft itself was not too improbable for the belief of that age of enthusiasm.

C H A P.  
IV.  
1676.

IRELAND furnished nothing of great importance during the last four years. The Earl of Essex succeeded the Lord Berkley in the government, and managed it with more caution than abilities. Standing in awe of the English faction, and diffident of the Irish, he was languid in his proceedings, and less anxious for doing good, than afraid of becoming the cause of harm. Government went forward in its beaten track. The country was torn to pieces by the quarrels and animosities of factions. But these were private distractions. In public, a shew of implicit obedience was observed by all parties toward the crown. Essex derived from his integrity that weight which his inactivity and limited abilities seemed to deny. Strictly adhering to the constitution, he refused

Affairs of  
Ireland.

<sup>y</sup> D'Avaux.

obedience



C H A P.  
IV.

1676.

France offers  
terms of  
peace.

obedience to the royal orders, when he thought them contrary to law. Charles was not offended with this part of his conduct. In the year 1675, he was permitted to come to England, to lay the state of Irish affairs before the crown; but he was remanded back to his office, with approbation, and even applause. Ireland was rather peaceable than quiet during his administration, which continued till the Duke of Ormonde received, for the third time, the government of that kingdom.

IN the hopes that time had cooled the passions of the commons, Charles resolved to meet his parliament on the day to which they had been prorogued. Some whispers, rather than murmurs, in favour of their sitting, were heard, through the tranquillity which prevailed in the kingdom. On the twenty-third of December, 1676<sup>z</sup>, a proclamation was issued for the two houses to assemble at Westminster, on the fifteenth of February, for the dispatch of important affairs. France, alarmed at their meeting, began seriously to think of peace. Though Lewis had bought the neutrality, and even the favour of the King, he was afraid the parliament would force him to join his arms to those of the allies. He proposed to Don John of Austria to put an end to the war. He promised, upon condition that Spain should cede the Low Countries, to give up Rouffillon, all Sicily, with twelve millions of livres, to enable her to recover Portugal from the house of Braganza. Four millions of livres were to be paid to Don John himself, for his good offices in the proposed treaty. Fribourg, and some places in Alsace, were to be restored to the Empire. Ostend, and other ports in Flanders, were to have been delivered to Charles for his concurrence; and Antwerp resigned for ever into the hands of the States<sup>a</sup>.

1677.  
Various opi-  
nions formed  
of parliament.

THE circumstance which induced Lewis to offer peace, encouraged the allies to continue the war. Their hopes from the par-

<sup>z</sup> Kennet, vol. iii.<sup>a</sup> James II. 1677.



liament of England were equal to his fears of their meeting. But in the issue both sides were deceived. Though Charles might be induced to sacrifice his connexions with France to his love of ease, he entertained, in his own mind, unsurmountable objections to a war. He believed that those who pressed most for his breaking with France, ever since the year 1673, were more the enemies of monarchy, than the friends of their country<sup>b</sup>. They wished, he thought, to plunge him into necessities, that they might impose upon him what conditions they pleased; or to revive those troubles which, from a similar source, had overturned his father's throne. To this impression ought perhaps to be ascribed the backwardness of Charles in entering into any war during the remaining part of his reign. He had no affection for the person of Lewis; he knew it was neither the intention nor the interest of that prince to render him absolute; and there is no room to doubt, that he would have preferred ample supplies from his own subjects, to the pitiful and clandestine subsidies remitted from France. But he believed, that the opposition in the house of commons proceeded either from a republican spirit, or a motive of avarice; and that all those who distinguished themselves against the measures of the crown, wished to ruin monarchy, or to feed on its spoils<sup>c</sup>.

C H A P.  
IV.

1677.

THE parliament meeting on the fifteenth of February<sup>d</sup>, the King opened the session with a speech from the throne. He expressed his hopes, that they had forgot, through the length of their recess, those quarrels and animosities between the two houses which had stopt the progress of the public business. He told them, that he was come prepared to give them all satisfaction with regard to the established religion; and to gratify them, if that was thought necessary, with as many laws as they should propose for the security of liberty and property. For these condescensions,

King's  
speech.

<sup>b</sup> James II. 1677.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid.

<sup>d</sup> Journals, Feb. 15, 1677.

he



C H A P.  
IV.

1677.

he demanded, in return, that they should avoid a renewal of former differences, grant money for building ships, continue the additional revenue of excise, and give such a supply as might make his condition easy, by enabling him to discharge his debts. He recommended to them the peace of the kingdom, in the careful prevention of all differences; the safety of the nation, in providing for some additional force at sea; and the prosperity of the subject, in assisting the necessary charge and support of the government. Should they fail in any of these good ends, he “called God and men to witness, that the misfortune of such disappointment should not lie at his doors.” The Lord Finch, as chancellor, enlarged with eloquence on every article in his Majesty’s speech<sup>e</sup>.

Proceedings  
in the

MEN of republican principles in both houses hoped to obtain great advantages in this session of parliament. They expected that ministers would be impeached, and government in all its departments arraigned. They assured themselves, that grievances would make a great deal of noise, that no money would be given without sacrificing some great officer of the crown, or some favourite branch of its prerogative<sup>f</sup>. The fears of the court were at least equal to the hopes of the country party. The first saw a gloomy prospect before them; but the folly of the latter disappointed their own views. Buckingham, Shaftesbury, Salisbury, and Wharton, who led the opposition in the house of lords, had, before the meeting of parliament, determined to question its legality, on account of the length of the late recess. It had been provided, by a statute of Edward the Third, “that parliaments should be held once every year, or oftener, if need be;” and as the last prorogation had continued fifteen months, they concluded that the present parliament was virtually dissolved. The Marquis of Winchester, the Lords Halifax and Hollis, noblemen of

<sup>e</sup> Journals, Feb. 15.

<sup>f</sup> James II. 1677.



the same party, advised them against this precipitate measure<sup>s</sup>. They urged in vain the imprudence of proposing such a question, as it must be determined by a majority of both houses, who could not be expected to dissolve themselves by their own votes.

C H A P.  
IV.

1677.

THE four lords were obstinate. The motion was made; and after an altercation rather than a debate, it was decided against them; and they themselves, for supporting such a dangerous position, were sent to the Tower. Three of these lords, by making their submissions, were soon after dismissed. Shaftesbury owed to his own obstinacy a whole year's imprisonment. Having sought in vain the remedy of the law, he was at last obliged to own the justice of his punishment, and to petition the lords for his freedom. This impolitic measure disconcerted the popular party. They were frightened at the vigour of the house of peers<sup>h</sup>; and dropt their intended accusation of the Earl of Danby. In the house of commons they lost ground by their rash proceedings and their violence. On the twenty-sixth of February, a sum not exceeding six hundred thousand pounds was voted, by way of land-tax, for building ships<sup>i</sup>; and on the twelfth of March, a further supply was granted, by continuing the additional duty of excise for three years<sup>k</sup>. This latter tax, which had been imposed on beer and ale, in the year 1670, to make up a part of the deficiency in the standing revenue, was to expire on the twenty-fourth of June, in the present year.

house of  
lords,

THE commons, in their attention to the wants of the crown, neglected not the liberties of the subject. Resolving themselves into a committee of the whole house on the twenty-third of February, they came to a resolution, that the extraordinary jurisdiction of the court of chancery and other courts of equity, in

and of the  
commons,

<sup>s</sup> James II. 1677.

<sup>h</sup> Ibid.

<sup>i</sup> Journals, Feb. 21.

<sup>k</sup> Ibid. Mar. 12.



C H A P.  
IV.

1677.

matters determinable by common law, is a grievance to the subject. A bill was accordingly brought in to remedy this evil<sup>1</sup>. A bill was also introduced for preventing Roman catholics from sitting in either house<sup>m</sup>; and another for recalling his Majesty's subjects from the service of France. The popular party were not in the mean time idle. Having failed in their hopes of preventing a supply, they endeavoured to clog the money-bills in their progress, with questions, debates, and divisions. They however prevailed in applying the sum granted to the sole use of building ships: but upon a motion of appropriating the revenue arising from tonnage and poundage to the navy, it passed in the negative, by a great majority<sup>n</sup>. The conduct of the commons, during the first part of the session, was sufficiently peaceable, if not friendly to the court: but the progress of France on the continent soon roused their attention and awakened their fears.

Progress of  
the French.

THE French King, having formed large magazines during the preceding season, took very early the field. On the last day of February, he left St. Germain. Marechal Luxembourg had already invested Valenciennes. The trenches were opened on the ninth of March, and the place was taken on the seventeenth by surprise. Cambray, after a feeble resistance, fell into the hands of the French on the fifth of April. St. Omer was closely besieged. The Prince of Orange, with an army suddenly assembled, marched to its relief. The Dukes of Orleans and Luxembourg covered the siege, and a battle ensued at Cassel, on the eleventh of April. The Prince fought with spirit, but he was attended by his wonted bad fortune. In his talents for war, as well as in the discipline of his troops, he was inferior to Luxembourg. He, however, with his usual dexterity, made a good retreat to Ypres. But St. Omer in a few days surrendered<sup>o</sup> to the

<sup>1</sup> Journals, Feb. 23.<sup>m</sup> Mar. 8.<sup>n</sup> Journals, Mar. 5. 175 against 124.<sup>o</sup> April 20. N. S.



victors ; and Lewis returned to receive the flattery of his court at Versailles.

C H A P.  
IV.

1677.

THE success of France and the languor of the allies alarmed the commons. They saw, that without the interposition of England, Flanders must be lost. They addressed the King to take measures for the preservation of that country. Charles returned a favourable answer ; but their fears increased in proportion to the progress of the French. They addressed his Majesty to enter into a strict alliance with the confederates<sup>p</sup> ; and they resolved, in case of a war, to support him with all necessary aids and supplies<sup>q</sup>. The King, in his answer, expressed his desire of being first placed in a condition to accomplish the design of their address. The commons understood this as a demand of money. They added a clause to the bill for continuing the additional duty of excise, to enable his Majesty to borrow two hundred thousand pounds, at seven *per cent.* upon that fund, which they promised to reimburse<sup>r</sup>. This sum was inadequate to the purpose ; at least it was thought too small by the King. He told them, that without six hundred thousand pounds, or credit for such a sum upon new funds, it would be impossible for him to speak or act so as to answer the end of their several addresses<sup>s</sup>.

Proceedings  
of the commons

THE house were not offended with this answer. But they requested permission to adjourn for the Easter-holidays, as many of the members had left the town. They however made no doubt, but at their next assembling, his Majesty would meet with a compliance in the demanded supply<sup>t</sup>. The King's message, and the answer of the commons, were reciprocally presented on the fifteenth of April. Charles coming in the afternoon of that day to the house of peers, gave his assent to such bills as were ready, and

on that  
subject.

<sup>p</sup> March 20.

<sup>q</sup> Journals, March 26.

<sup>r</sup> Ibid. April 12.

<sup>s</sup> Ibid. April 16.

<sup>t</sup> Journals.



C H A P.  
IV.

10/7.

ordered the parliament to adjourn to the twenty-first of May. During this short recess, it had been whispered abroad, that the King had no serious design of opposing France; and that he intended to apply to other uses any supply the commons should grant for supporting the confederates, either by negotiation or arms. The former conduct of Charles justified the suspicion. To remove the distrust, he sent for the house on the third day<sup>u</sup> after their meeting to Whitehall. He told them that he did not call them together merely to obtain a supply. He assured them, upon the word of a King, that they should have no reason to repent any trust they should repose in him for the security of the kingdom; and he positively declared, that he would neither hazard his own safety nor theirs, until they should place him in a better condition than he was able to place himself.

They are re-  
primanded  
and ad-  
journed.

THE commons, instead of granting the demanded supply, voted an immediate address. They desired the King to enter into a league offensive and defensive with the States of the United Provinces, to check the growing power of France, and to preserve Flanders. They annexed various reasons to this advice; and they assured the King, that when he should be pleased to declare such an alliance in parliament, they would most cheerfully support his measures with plentiful and speedy supplies\*. Though Charles had pledged his royal word to the commons, he had no design of complying with their desires, should they even grant him the supplies required. When he found them refractory, he pretended resentment. He told them, that their address had encroached on the undoubted right of the crown, in its exclusive power of making peace and war. He informed them, he was confident that such a daring invasion on the prerogative had not its example in any age, when the sword was not drawn. He declared, that

<sup>u</sup> Journals, May 23.

\* Ibid. May 25.



no condition, no situation, no misfortune should induce him to depart from such an essential right of the monarchy; and he concluded with assuring them, that, notwithstanding their declining to grant a supply, he would use all the means in his power for the security and satisfaction of his people. He followed this speech with a command to both houses to adjourn themselves to the sixteenth of July<sup>y</sup>.

C H A P.  
IV.

1677.

THIS answer, had the motives which produced it remained unknown, might receive some applause from its spirit. But as it proceeded from the King's secret engagements with France, it furnishes a new instance of that want of sincerity which disgraced his character. The love of money, as the means of procuring pleasure, was the chief characteristic of Charles. To obtain that object, he disregarded his fame, in a degree scarce consistent with common sense. When he urged the commons to strengthen his hands for a war, he had actually sold his neutrality to France for two hundred thousand pounds. Had he obtained the six hundred thousand pounds from parliament, he might probably have found expedients to screen his conduct, without entering into war, or even breaking his private correspondence with Lewis. But to make an offensive and defensive alliance with the allies, as the condition of a supply, would deprive him of the secret subsidy, and throw him upon the mercy of a parliament already averse from his measures. In HIS situation, he acted with prudence: His conduct had deprived him of the confidence of the commons; and all his attempts to regain it, by implicitly following their advice, would be ascribed to want of spirit or to design. Besides, he was no stranger to the motives of many of those who promoted the war with the most vehemence. If HE was bought by France, THEY were bribed by the allies<sup>z</sup>. Men, who sincerely loved their country, fluctuated between the views of a Prince whom

Reflections.

<sup>y</sup> Journals, May 28.

<sup>z</sup> Dalrymple's Append. p. 3.

they

T



C H A P.  
IV.

1677.

Affairs of

they had ceased to trust, and the suspected patriotism of violent party-men.

TRANQUILLITY, as usual, succeeded the adjournment of the parliament in England; and men had leisure to turn their eyes to the affairs of Europe. In Spain, domestic faction had been added to the other misfortunes of a kingdom long declining through the weakness of her councils. Don John of Austria, natural son of Philip the Fourth, had taken arms against the Queen-regent, and advanced toward Madrid\*. Disappointed in his expectation of offers from the young King, he returned to Saragossa. But fortune, soon after, favoured his ambition. Charles the Second, escaping from his mother, ordered her to be shut up in a convent at Toledo, and declared Don John prime minister. The hopes conceived of his abilities were not answered by the event. The misfortunes of Spain increased on every side. In Catalonia, the Count of Monterey was defeated. Bracamonte lost the battle of Tourmina, in the kingdom of Sicily. Flanders, by the capture of Valenciennes, Cambray, and St. Omers, was laid open to absolute conquest. The Prince of Orange, after his defeat at Cassel, sat down before Charleroy; but he was forced to raise the siege on the third of August, at the approach of Mareschal Luxembourg, at the head of the French army.

Europe.

CHARLES the Fifth, who, in the year 1675, had succeeded his uncle, rather in the title than in the territory of Lorraine, commanded a part of the allies on the Upper Rhine. The Prince of Saxe-Eisnach, at the head of another army, endeavoured to enter Alsace. Mareschal Crequi, with an inferior force, defeated the views of the Duke of Lorraine. He obliged him to retire from Mentz; he hindered him from crossing the Maese; he beat up his posts; he cut off his convoys. The Baron de Monclar de-

\* In the end of 1676.

fended



fended Alsace. After various movements, he inclosed the troops of the Prince of Saxe-Eisnach within his own, and forced them to capitulate near Strasbourg<sup>b</sup>. Having defeated a body of the allies near Cokesberg, he sat down before Fribourg, and closed the campaign on that side by the taking of that important place<sup>c</sup>. The King of Sweden was not equally fortunate with his allies the French. Though he took Elsimbourg, in the month of January<sup>d</sup>; though he defeated the King of Denmark in July<sup>e</sup>, he still had the worst in the war. His fleet was twice defeated by the Danes<sup>f</sup>; and the Elector of Brandenburg took the important fortress of Stettin before the end of the campaign<sup>g</sup>.

C H A P.  
IV.  
1677.

DURING the progress of the French arms in Flanders, serious negotiations for a peace were begun between Lewis and Holland. An eventual treaty was actually concluded. All their differences were settled, and nothing was wanting but the concurrence of their respective allies. The misfortunes of the confederates, the natural consequence of their own long negligence, seemed to favour the impatience of the Dutch for peace. The feeble councils of Spain, the want of resources in the Empire, the backwardness of the German princes, together with the hopes which all derived from the eagerness of the English nation against their ancient enemies and rivals the French, concurred to render their efforts languid and undecisive. But France itself was now in no condition to continue the war with advantage. Though victorious in the field, she was exhausted at home. The immense expence of her armies, the profusion of the King, her subsidies to England, to Sweden, and to some princes of Germany, had drained her coffers, and impoverished her people. Lewis himself, though ambitious, unfit for conquest, seemed too fond of the name of victory to reap any of its benefits. With such an

State of  
France, and  
of the allies.

<sup>b</sup> Sept. 24, N. S.

<sup>c</sup> Nov. 14.

<sup>d</sup> Jan. 9.

<sup>e</sup> July 24.

<sup>f</sup> June 11, and July 11.

<sup>g</sup> Dec. 26.

army,



C H A P.  
IV.

1677.

army, with such resources, a prince of less vanity and more perseverance might have extended greatly his dominions, considering the situation of Europe at the time. But the successes, which rendered him the terror of his neighbours, had already deprived him of the power of doing more harm.

Views of the  
King,

THE ignorance of Europe, however, continued her fears. The English nation, by their jealousies against their rivals, rendered them respectable, and France derived more honour from the terrors of her enemies, than ever she lost to their arms. Though this panic was in parliament an engine of ambition to the factious, it was a matter of serious importance among the people in general. Murmurs were heard from every side; and Charles, hating trouble, was willing to put an end to clamours that disturbed his repose. His unfortunate connection with France, the obstinate bigotry of his brother, the pecuniary necessities which had betrayed him into violent measures, had lost to him his popularity, and filled the minds of his people with apprehensions of Popery and arbitrary power. To gain their affections, one measure only remained: To give the prospect of succession to the throne to a Protestant Prince, and to put an end to the fears of the nation, by procuring a general peace. The marriage of the Prince of Orange to his brother's eldest daughter seemed to promise both these desirable ends; and he, therefore, embraced with eagerness a renewal of those proposals which had formerly been made by the Prince.

and of the  
Prince of  
Orange.

THE motives, which Charles derived from his views of ease, the Prince of Orange found in his own ambition. The hopes of male issue, which the Duke of York entertained upon his second marriage, were hitherto frustrated; and though the Dutchess was then with child, and was soon after actually brought to bed of a son, the premature deaths of her former children had rendered it unlikely that any she might bring forth should enjoy a long life.

The



The Lady Mary was the heir-apparent of the crown. Upon the eventual demise of the two royal brothers without issue-male, there was a certainty of her ascending the throne. There was, even then, a prospect of her being preferred to her father, on account of his avowed attachment to the Popish religion. The idea of excluding him from the succession, which was afterwards carried into parliament, was already a topic of disquisition before the public<sup>h</sup>. Swayed by these reasons, the Prince of Orange began seriously to think of a marriage, which had been in negotiation three years before. In the month of June, he dispatched Bentinck, with great professions of friendship and regard to the Duke of York<sup>i</sup>, to obtain his consent to the match. Having thus paved the way, he resolved to come to England at the end of the campaign, with the avowed design of concerting with Charles the plan of a peace for the security of Flanders<sup>k</sup>, and to propose in public a marriage, which had been settled in private some time before.

CHAP.  
IV.  
1677.

THE Prince landing at Harwich on the ninth of October<sup>l</sup>, was received the same evening at Newmarket by the King and the Duke, with every mark of affection and esteem. Charles intended to settle first the plan of the peace; but, at the pressing instances of the Earl of Danby<sup>m</sup>, that business was postponed till after the marriage. On the thirteenth of October, the court returned to London; and on the fifteenth, the Prince of Orange, for the first time, spoke in person to the Duke of York<sup>n</sup> concerning the match with the Lady Mary. No obstruction seems now to have been thrown in the way of an alliance, to which the Duke had agreed in the preceding summer. The King, on the twenty-fourth of October, acquainted an extraordinary council, that he had concluded the marriage between the Lady Mary and the Prince. The agreeable news being carried to the populace, they

His marriage.

<sup>h</sup> Vid. Publications of the times.

<sup>i</sup> James II. 1677.

<sup>k</sup> Ibid.

<sup>l</sup> Kennet, 1677.

<sup>m</sup> James II. 1677.

<sup>n</sup> Ibid.



C H A P.  
IV.  
1677.

filled all London with festivity and noise. On the fourth of November, the marriage was celebrated at St. James's by the Bishop of London, the King himself giving away the bride<sup>o</sup>. The nation was overjoyed at a measure which seemed to promise security to religious and political freedom.

The King and  
Prince agree  
upon terms of  
peace.

THE marriage of the Prince of Orange being accomplished, nothing seemed wanting to the ease of Charles but a general peace. Europe had, for some years, considered him the arbiter of her affairs; and now he hoped to give all the necessary weight to his decision, by the concurrence of his nephew. In a conference between the King, the Duke, the Prince, and the Lord-treasurer, the terms of pacification were suddenly settled. It was agreed, that all should be restored by France to the Empire and the Emperor that had fallen into her hands during the war. The French and Dutch were to remain in the same state as before the rupture. Lorrain was to be returned to its native sovereign; Aeth, Charleroy, Oudenarde, Courtray, Tournay, Condé, Valenciennes, St. Guislain, and Binch, restored to Spain<sup>p</sup>. The Prince of Orange promised his endeavours to procure the consent of the court of Madrid. Charles undertook to reconcile France to the terms proposed. The Prince laboured to comprehend Franche-Comté in the territories to be restored to Spain; but he submitted at last to the reasons offered by the King against the possibility of wresting that province from the hands of the French<sup>q</sup>.

State of the  
belligerent  
powers.

To induce the allies to agree to these terms, seemed less difficult than to reconcile Lewis to the cession of so many conquests. Though France was exhausted by the war, she might find resources for defending herself against the efforts of a spiritless and ill-connected confederacy. Spain, who had suffered most from

<sup>a</sup> Kennet, 1677.

<sup>p</sup> James II. 1677.

<sup>q</sup> Temple.



the progress of the enemy, was the least able, and even the most unwilling, to act with vigour. The Dutch preferred present ease to the evils dreaded from the accession of a part of Flanders to the power of France. The connection of the Emperor with the royal family of Spain, more than jealousy against Lewis, had induced him to continue a war, from which he derived nothing but misfortune. The court of France, being no strangers to the situation of their enemies, could fear nothing but from the junction of the King of England with the allies. But that Prince had already resisted the earnest instances of his parliament, and disregarded the clamours of his people. He continued to receive a subsidy for his neutrality; and his free communication of councils with the French King had, in some degree, deceived the latter into a fixed opinion of his inviolable friendship for his own person.

C H A P.  
IV.  
1677.

THE voyage of the Prince of Orange to England alarmed Lewis. His marriage with the Lady Mary completed his astonishment. The junction of Charles with the enemies of France was the natural consequence of the alliance. His first measure after that event carried the appearance of vigour. The Lord Duras, who had taken the title of Earl of Feversham, since the preceding April, was dispatched to Lewis to demand his concurrence with the terms settled by the court of London. Two days were only allowed to the French King for the acceptance or refusal of the peace<sup>r</sup>. Feversham, at the expiration of these, was to return; being, by his instructions, precluded from all negotiation on that head. The surprise of Lewis had abated before the arrival of Feversham. He treated him with gentleness and complacency, neither granting nor denying his request<sup>s</sup>. He put him off, at length, with a general answer<sup>t</sup>, that his ambassador in England should have full powers to finish the treaty to the satisfaction of the King. Feversham returned. Barillon, the French ambassador, after various procrastinations,

France required to agree to the peace.

<sup>r</sup> Kennet, Hume, &c.

<sup>s</sup> James II. 1677.

<sup>t</sup> Ibid.



C H A P.  
IV.

1677.

consented to yield all the places mentioned in the plan of pacification, except Tournay; and he even agreed to restore that town, upon receiving a proper equivalent for the sums which had been laid out on its fortifications.

Duplicity of  
Charles.

THOUGH peace was the great object of Charles, he was determined, if possible, to obtain it, without breaking with France. The distrust between him and his parliament was mutual and fixed. He depended no more upon their support, than they did on his sincerity. They had promised to grant all the necessary supplies, upon condition of his joining the allies. But their opinions might change with his compliance. He attributed their opposition to France more to faction than patriotism. He therefore resolved not to enter into a war, which would throw him on their mercy<sup>x</sup>. When he sent Feversham to France, he made an apology in private to her ambassador at London<sup>y</sup>. He, at the same time, shewed his adherence to the private treaty between him and Lewis, by continuing the prorogation of parliament, as had been concerted, to the month of April. This latter measure was, however, no more than an artifice to obtain from France the subsidy stipulated to be paid for that long recess. Lewis was not to be deceived by such a slight pretext. He stopt the payment of the money; pretending to indemnify Charles, by the offer of some towns in Flanders, upon condition that he would not interfere in the war<sup>z</sup>.

Treaty with  
the Dutch.

CHARLES, perceiving that he was likely to lose France, resolved to terrify her into his views, by assembling immediately his parliament. On the third of December, he recalled his proclamation, and ordered the two houses to meet at Westminster on the fifteenth of January<sup>a</sup>. To add to the panic which this sud-

<sup>x</sup> James II. 1677.<sup>y</sup> Dalrymple's Append. p. 127.<sup>z</sup> Barillon to Lewis XIV. Dec. 16, 1677, O. S.<sup>a</sup> Journals, Dec. 3. 1677.



den resolution might throw into the councils of France, the King determined to make a treaty with the Dutch, in terms of the triple league, which had, ten years before, received so much applause. The Prince of Orange, pressed with the urgency of affairs at home, had already returned to Holland with his spouse. The King fixed upon Sir William Temple as the most proper person to execute a business of such importance. But Temple knew the inclinations of the Prince, and he declined the employment. The terms proposed by Charles were calculated to force Spain, as well as France, to accept of the concerted peace<sup>b</sup>. The object of the Prince of Orange was to obtain the aid of England against France, and retain the confederacy entire. Hyde, afterwards Earl of Rochester, executed the office which Temple had refused. The Dutch, eager for a peace, accepted of the proposals of Charles. Spain even consented to a league apparently against herself; and the treaty was concluded with such rapidity, that it was signed by the States on the sixteenth of January 1678<sup>c</sup>.

C H A P.  
IV.  
1677.

THOUGH the greatest expedition had been used in finishing the treaty with the States, it was not ready by the day appointed for the meeting of parliament. On the fifteenth of January, the two houses were adjourned till the twenty-eighth<sup>d</sup>, when the King opened the session with a speech from the throne. He told them, that, in pursuance of his promise at the last prorogation, he had made such alliances with the States of the United Provinces, as were calculated for the preservation of Flanders. To prosecute that object, he made no doubt of that aid which they had so often promised; and he endeavoured to convince them, that nothing could obtain the proposed end, but a prospect of their firm resolution to support his arms. Nothing, he informed them, could now be expected from negotiation; France having either eluded or refused the terms which he had offered to establish a general

1678.  
Parliament  
meets.

<sup>b</sup> Temple.

<sup>c</sup> Kennet, vol. iii.

<sup>d</sup> Journals, Jan. 15.

peace.



C H A P.  
IV.

1678.

Ill-humours  
of the com-  
mons.

peace. He therefore demanded ample supplies for the immediate equipment of ninety sail of capital ships, and for levying a land-force of thirty or forty thousand men. He demanded the repayment of the two hundred thousand pounds borrowed, by their appointment, on the additional duty of excise. He insinuated to them his extraordinary expences on the new war with Algiers, and the rebellion in Virginia, together with his engagements to the Prince of Orange for the portion of his niece<sup>e</sup>.

THE popular schemes adopted by Charles produced not the expected effect on the commons. Having so often deceived his parliament, his best measures were suspected the most. The lower house returned him their thanks, for marrying his niece to a protestant prince<sup>f</sup>; but they beseeched him to admit of no treaty of peace, till the King of France should be reduced to the same condition as at the treaty of the Pyrenees<sup>g</sup>. When the address was reported to the house, they added a clause, requesting the King to make all the necessary alliances for maintaining the war; and they gave him the most solemn assurances of their utmost aid and support<sup>h</sup>. Charles was provoked at this conduct, and sent a written answer to the house. He told them, that in the preceding May, they had advised him to conclude a league with the States, for the preservation of Flanders. That they had accompanied their advice with proffers of speedy aids, upon the declaration of such alliance. But now this treaty was declared, they forgot their promise, and offered new conditions upon which they should grant a supply. He informed them, that it was the height of absurdity to desire him to consent to no peace till France were reduced to the same state as at the treaty of the Pyrenees; "a determination fit only  
" for Almighty God, since none can tell the terms of peace, but  
" he who knows the events of war." He assured them, how-

<sup>e</sup> Journals, Jan. 28.<sup>f</sup> Ibid. Jan. 29.<sup>g</sup> Ibid.<sup>h</sup> Journals, Feb. 1.



ever, that, with a proper aid, he was willing to maintain the war till Europe should be rendered independent of any single prince: that if they would have him proceed in further alliances, they must furnish him with speedy supplies, as it was upon these alone he could form his measures<sup>i</sup>.

C H A P.  
IV.  
1678.

THIS answer becoming a subject of debate, it was resolved, by a considerable majority<sup>k</sup>, to go upon a supply. The house voted, that ninety ships were necessary for the support of his Majesty's present alliance with the States of the United Provinces<sup>l</sup>. Twenty-six regiments of foot, consisting each of a thousand men, four regiments of horse, and two of dragoons, were voted for the same purpose<sup>m</sup>. An express clause was annexed to each vote, signifying that the fleet and forces were both intended for preserving Spanish Flanders, and lessening the power of France. The monthly expence of the naval armament was computed to amount to little more than one hundred and eight thousand pounds; that of the land-forces was calculated at near fifty thousand<sup>n</sup>. No contingencies were allowed, no money for the tables of the principal officers. A million was voted for the service, a sum which would barely maintain for four months the force of the kingdom in a state of absolute inactivity. Twenty-five thousand sailors were voted for the use of the navy; and such was the eagerness of the nation for war, that the fleet was manned and the army complete in the space of six weeks. Charles himself seemed to enter into the spirit of his subjects. Though not fond of the trouble of war, he was not averse to its pomp; and he loved an army, as the obvious means of relieving him from his bondage to a parsimonious and, as he thought, an arrogant parliament.

They grant  
a supply.

THE great body of the nation being bent upon a war with France, to promote that measure was the avowed object of the

Popular leaders  
intrigue  
with France.

<sup>i</sup> Journals, Feb. 4.

<sup>k</sup> 193 against 151.

<sup>l</sup> Journals, Feb. 6.

<sup>m</sup> Ibid. Feb. 8.

<sup>n</sup> Ibid. Feb. 14.

popular



C H A P.  
IV.

1678.

popular party. This scheme, however, was privately obstructed by different persons, from various views. Men who loved their country, were afraid that the King might make use of the army to enslave the nation. Some opposed the court through faction, others from private ambition. The eagerness of a few well-meaning men, the avarice of several, and the profligacy of some in the opposition, opened a secret intelligence with France, through Barillon, her ambassador at the court of London. The allies had taught the French King to sway the deliberations of the English parliament, by corrupting its members. Buckingham, Shaftesbury, Russel, and Hollis, from their aversion to Charles and his ministers, fell into the views of Lewis. They held private conferences with his agents<sup>p</sup>, when they declaimed in public against his power. Some descended to the meanness of selling their votes for money; and those who received no bribes themselves, were privy to the corruption of others. Their suspicions of Charles, perhaps, justified their opposition; and men of vehement passions might reconcile corruption itself to honour, when it proved the means of defeating the supposed projects of the King against public freedom.

Reflections.

MEN of undeviating honesty are perhaps, of all others, the least calculated for carrying forward their views in a political line. The strict adherence to virtue, which is a part of their character, is more suitable to private life than to the tumult of public affairs. There must be a kind of want of sincerity in that address which obtains the name of parts. A person whose only view is the good of the people, must sometimes use engines for accomplishing his purpose, of which his own mind cannot strictly approve. To lead a party, one must overlook the selfish views of individuals, and even accommodate himself to passions and prejudices which he may perhaps abhor and despise. The man whose squeamish virtue revolts at the profligacy of some members of his party, is fit only

<sup>p</sup> M. de Barillon, Mar. 14, N. S. 1678.



for mourning over the ruins of his country. Such is the excuse of those who thought it was from principle they joined with France against the King. His own example justified their using the same means which HE was known to have employed. He bought votes in the house of commons with French money; and those who opposed his measures, met him in his own way. This refined reasoning might weigh with a Lord Ruffel. To gratify, by any means, their own resentment, was sufficient for a Buckingham and a Shaftesbury.

CHAP.  
IV.  
1678.

BUT notwithstanding the public professions of the leaders of opposition, there is reason to believe that their chief design was upon office. The new measures adopted by Charles, had deprived them, in some degree, of the ground on which they stood. The marriage of the Prince of Orange, the apparent vigour against the power of France, were calculated to gain the nation. The Earl of Danby was considered as the author of a change which, by being followed, might in time regain to the King and his councils that irresistible popularity which he had once possessed. In the month of January, the Duke of Buckingham found means to have a secret conference with the King<sup>a</sup>. He made offers, it may be supposed, of the service of the faction, and that being rejected, they formed a resolution to ruin the treasurer. In their eagerness to accomplish this point, the Lord Ruffel and other considerable men of the party sent to the Duke of York in the month of April. They acquainted him, that if he would trust them, and join with them in what they should propose for the good of the King and the nation, they would undertake to take off the incapacity under which he lay of being Lord High Admiral, or of exercising any other public office. They promised, in short, to do every thing to his satisfaction; but in return, they expected his concurrence

Secret  
intrigues

<sup>a</sup> James II. 1678.



C H A P.  
IV.

1678.

and aid in ruining the Lord-treasurer. The Duke made answer, that he would heartily concur with them in any measure for the good of the King and the nation, but that he would not fall upon the King's minister, without the King's consent, unless he were visibly guilty of very great misdemeanours<sup>r</sup>.

of parties.

THE resentment of the party against the Lord-treasurer, and the favour of the Duke of York for him, proceeded from the same cause. Charles, in his great affection for Monmouth, had resolved to constitute him commander in chief of all his forces. His vanity induced the Duke to magnify this mark of favour into a matter of much greater importance. In a conference which he had with some of the leaders of the popular party<sup>s</sup>, he told them, that the King had promised to declare him Prince of Wales<sup>t</sup>. Colonel Birch was sent to the treasurer, to induce him to persuade Charles to this measure. The treasurer told Birch, that he was certain the King abhorred such an untruth; and that he would never advise him to adopt a scheme at once dangerous to the kingdom and dishonourable to himself. This declaration enraged the party, while it pleased the Duke of York. They resolved to ruin him<sup>u</sup>; and they were bent so much on their purpose, that they shewed an inclination of gaining the favour of the Duke, who was Danby's great support with the King. That minister industriously cultivated a good understanding with the Duke, though he afterwards endeavoured to sacrifice him to his own safety<sup>x</sup>.

Proceedings

THESE were the private motives which produced the public ferment in the house of commons. The popular party, with all their pretended eagerness for a war with France, clogged with clauses every motion calculated to begin it with vigour. An address to the King, advising him to declare war, was, on the fif-

<sup>r</sup> James II. 1678.<sup>s</sup> Ibid.<sup>t</sup> Ibid.<sup>u</sup> Ibid.<sup>x</sup> Ibid.



teenth of March, carried up to the lords, for their concurrence, by the Lord Ruffel<sup>y</sup>. The peers sent it down with amendments, and it was never presented. On the twentieth of March the King gave his assent to the poll-bill; and seven days after, the two houses adjourned to the eleventh, and afterwards to the twenty-ninth of April<sup>z</sup>. The chancellor, by command of his Majesty, acquainted the parliament, that the Dutch were making preparations for a separate peace, without either the privy or consent of the King; and desired the advice of the two houses<sup>a</sup>. On the fourth of May, the commons resolved, that the league with Holland was not pursuant to the addresses of their house, or consistent with the safety of the kingdom<sup>b</sup>. They at the same time voted to advise the King to join with the confederates, and to enter into an immediate war with France. Charles, offended at these votes, eluded them, by declaring that he could take no notice of what was done by a single house, because the advice he wanted was to come from both houses of parliament.

THE ill-humour of the commons proceeded not entirely from of the the machinations of the leaders of party. That there existed a kind of friendly correspondence between Charles and France was suspected at least, if not known. Men who had no inclination to distress government, were offended at being made its tools, to procure money for a war which was never intended. Several who loved their country abetted the violence of the factious. On the tenth of May, an address was presented, which bore, that they conceived the present inconveniences might have been prevented, had his Majesty accepted of the advice of his commons of the twenty-sixth of the preceding May and the thirty-first of January<sup>c</sup>. They therefore requested, that he would remove from his councils those who had advised his answers to their addresses. A

<sup>y</sup> Journals, Mar. 15.<sup>z</sup> Ibid.<sup>a</sup> Ibid. Apr. 29.<sup>b</sup> Ibid. May 4.<sup>c</sup> Ibid. May 10.



C H A P.  
IV.

1678.

clause was added, for removing the Duke of Lauderdale from the King's presence for ever. The ministry and abettors of the crown opposed with vigour this address. They divided the house upon each of the three paragraphs<sup>d</sup> of which the address consisted; and the opposition gained the first by two votes, the second by one, and the third only by three. The King was highly offended, and prorogued the parliament for ten days.

commons.

THEY met again on the twenty-third of May. The recess had rather increased than diminished the flame. The King, in a speech, acquainted them, that he was resolved either by war or peace to save Flanders; that in either of those cases, he thought it necessary to keep in readiness the army and the navy; that he left it to his parliament to consider of supplies, which were equally wanted, whether the forces were continued or dismissed from the service. It was resolved by the commons to support the King, if he would enter into a war with the French; otherwise they would consider of providing for disbanding the army. Charles informed them, that the French King had proposed a cessation of arms, which he believed would end in a general peace. The commons immediately voted, that all forces levied since the twenty-ninth of the preceding September should be paid off and disbanded. Six hundred thousand pounds were granted for that purpose. The King asked in vain for a fund of three hundred thousand pounds to supply the deficiency in his standing revenue. He demanded, to no purpose, a supply to enable him to pay the portion of the Lady Mary to the Prince of Orange. The ill humour of the commons continued. Altercation, rather than debate, filled their house with noise and tumult. The business of the nation was forgot in passion; and the people, as well as the King, were eased from trouble when the two houses were adjourned, on the fifteenth of July<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>d</sup> I. 176 against 174. II. 170 against 169. III. 169 against 166.<sup>e</sup> Journals.



FRANCE availed herself of the dissensions which her agents had kindled in England. In a good correspondence with Charles, and on the best terms with the popular party, she had little to fear from measures carried on by the first with languor, and obstructed with eagerness by the latter. Whilst the eyes of the allies were turned toward the deliberations of parliament, the French took the field in Flanders. Ghent, invested on the fifth of March, surrendered on the ninth to the Marechal d'Humiers. Ypres, on the twenty-fifth of the same month, fell into the hands of Lewis. Though the commons seemed to be alarmed at these new conquests, no effectual measures were pursued for stopping the progress of France. Had the necessary supplies been granted, Charles, notwithstanding his aversion to war, would have yielded to the voice of his subjects, and joined the allies. But the confederates, long divided in their councils, had at length begun to separate their respective interests. The resources of the Dutch had failed, through the great expence of the war, and the ruin which it had brought on their commerce. They had long discovered an inclination toward a separate peace; and they now resolved upon that measure, as they saw no prospect of any effectual assistance from England to prosecute war.

C H A P.  
IV.

1678.  
Progress of  
France.

LEWIS, perceiving that he had little to dread from the two only powers who could stop his progress, assumed the tone of a conqueror. Instead of yielding to the terms offered by Charles, he formed for himself a plan of peace, which, by placing all the barrier towns of Flanders in his hands, left that country open to his future attacks. Though the King of England was fettered by his parliament, though his disposition to peace was not unknown, Lewis thought it necessary to gain his consent, by tempting his avarice. In the beginning of May, the French ambassador made proposals to Charles, which were, toward the end of that month, carried

Money-  
treaty



C H A P.  
IV.

1678.

carried into a formal treaty<sup>f</sup>. Three hundred thousand pounds were to be paid to the King of France, upon condition of his neutrality, should the allies refuse to receive the terms of peace as already delivered at Nimeguen by the agents of Lewis. To this treaty a separate article was annexed, the execution of which was to have been prior to the first payment of the subsidy. Charles was enjoined to disband his new-raised troops to six thousand men, one half of which was already in garrison at Ostend, and the other destined for the suppression of tumults in Scotland<sup>g</sup>. Besides, he was to prorogue his parliament for four months; Lewis, notwithstanding his connexion with the popular party, being afraid of a change of conduct in an assembly so fluctuating in their opinions.

with France.

THE King hesitated between the proposals of France and the eagerness of England for a war. The conduct of the States put an end to his suspense. They communicated to him their resolution of concluding a separate peace, upon the terms delivered at Nimeguen by the commissioners of France. This change in their opinions proceeded from other causes as well as from the exhausted state of their finances. The eagerness of the Prince of Orange for continuing the war, his late connexion with the royal line of England, the former influence of his family, and their frequent attempts on the liberties of a people whom they were chosen to defend, were placed in the most suspicious light by the agents of France. The Louvestein party, who had been crushed by the terrors of the vulgar, had recovered some of their former spirit, when the danger which gave birth to their fears was removed. Men who loved their country, saw with jealousy the dangerous ascendancy which the Prince had acquired during the war; and they resolved to take advantage of the general inclination for a

<sup>f</sup> Dalrymple's Append. p. 157.

<sup>g</sup> Ibid. p. 168.

peace,



peace, the necessity, or at least the expediency of which was now apparent to all. They insinuated to the King of England, that they were disposed to a peace. They ordered Van Beverning, their ambassador at Nimeguen, to proceed to Lewis at Ghent<sup>h</sup>; and, as a preparatory step to a general peace, to conclude a truce for six weeks with that monarch.

C H A P.  
IV.  
1678.

THE King, apprized of this event, accepted of the proposals of France in a formal treaty. It was signed by himself; the minister having declined to hazard his name to a transaction which might be attended with peril<sup>i</sup>. The article concerning the disbanding of the troops lately raised to six thousand men, and the prorogation of the parliament for four months, was annexed as a condition necessarily prior to the payment of the money, and signed only by the French ambassador. In the mean time, a general peace advanced to a conclusion at Nimeguen. Of all the towns taken during the war by the French in Flanders, six only, and these of no great consequence, were to be restored to Spain. Ypres, Condè, Valenciennes, and Tournay, were to remain to France. Flanders was left exposed by a treaty which placed the whole strength of its frontier in the hands of Lewis. A peace which promised no security to the allies, and which raised the power of France, was received with great murmurs in England. The inactivity and negligence of Charles were blamed, his secret concurrence suspected, and his whole conduct arraigned. He had lost the parliament, and now he was likely to lose the people. He regretted the opportunity which he had neglected; and he began heartily to wish that he had adopted in fact those vigorous measures which he pretended to pursue.

Charles of-  
fended,

AN accident seemed to offer that opportunity which he had lost. The day before<sup>k</sup> the treaty was to have been signed at Nimeguen,

concludes an  
alliance with  
the Dutch.

<sup>h</sup> Hume, vol. vii.

<sup>i</sup> Dalrymple's Append. p. 159.

<sup>k</sup> June 29.

the



C H A P.  
IV.  
1678.

the Marquis de Balbaces, the Spanish ambassador, signified an inclination to know at what time Lewis intended to restore the towns in Flanders which were to be returned to the crown of Spain. The ambassadors of France, without hesitation, replied, that the restitution should not take place till all that was lost by Sweden to Denmark and the Elector of Brandenburg should be restored. The Spanish and Dutch plenipotentiaries refused to sign the treaty, upon such vague and indefinite conditions. Charles, apprized of this circumstance, exhibited symptoms of astonishment and rage. He saw that, from being the umpire of the differences of Europe, he had fallen under the contempt of France. He dispatched Temple to the States. That minister, in the space of six days, concluded a treaty at the Hague<sup>1</sup>, by which England and Holland were mutually bound to prosecute with vigour the war, in case Lewis should refuse to evacuate the six towns within a limited time<sup>m</sup>. The parliament, which was still sitting, did not second this new ardour of Charles. The popular party were less jealous of France than they were of their native sovereign. The commons refused supplies. They even had come to a resolution to permit no motion for money to be made in their house till after a recess<sup>n</sup>.

Treaty of  
Nimeguen.

THE coldness of the commons, and his own fluctuating disposition, soon changed the resolutions of the King. He repented of a treaty which threatened to involve him in a war, for which he was provided with no resources. He took measures<sup>o</sup> to persuade the ambassador of Sweden at Nimeguen not to insist upon the retention of the towns in Flanders, as a pledge for those which his master had lost. He even discovered an inclination to enter, at the expence of France, into an actual war in favour of Sweden<sup>p</sup>. The first measure must be attributed to the necessities of his situa-

<sup>1</sup> July 26.

<sup>m</sup> Aug. 10. N. S.

<sup>n</sup> Journals.

<sup>o</sup> Temple.

<sup>p</sup> Dalrymple's Append. p. 178.

tion,



tion, the latter to his desire of keeping in pay a considerable force. This fluctuation of councils alarmed the Dutch, and terrified the French. The first could not depend on the support of Charles, nor the latter on his neutrality. The States were too weary of hostilities to renew them with such an uncertain ally; and the prize obtained by France by the proposed treaty was too great to be thrown back into the wheel. Both sides made advances in private toward a peace. The eleventh of August was the last day appointed by the treaty of the Hague for receiving the ultimate determination of France. In the morning of that day, the French ambassadors desisted from their resolution of retaining the six towns; and, before twelve at night, a separate treaty was signed between Lewis and the States.

C H A P.  
IV.

1678.

EUROPE exclaimed against a treaty which restored every thing to the Dutch, whilst it deprived their allies of a part of their dominions. Those who lay the whole blame on the fluctuating councils of Charles, have not discovered all the truth. The country-party, if that appellation may be used with regard to Holland, were the makers of a peace, which was to deprive the Prince of Orange of a part of his dangerous power. His eagerness for continuing the war was THEIR chief inducement to bring it to a speedy conclusion. His friends obstructed the treaty with all their influence. He himself took an unjustifiable step to break it after it was made. The French, under Luxembourg, had held Mons for some time in blockade. In a daily expectation of a peace, they made no motion for pushing their operations with vigour. The Prince, having received intelligence of the treaty being signed, was fired with disappointment and resentment. On the fourteenth of August, he fell upon the French with the utmost courage. Their advantageous situation and the conduct of Luxembourg prevented a defeat. The lives of thousands were thrown away to no purpose. The Prince gained no victory, and he lost

Battle of St.  
Dennis.



C H A P.  
IV.

1678.

Charles endeavours to break the peace of Nimeguen, in vain.

reputation by a breach of public faith. His conduct was inexcusable upon the occasion. A copy, or, as some say, the original treaty<sup>a</sup>, was in his pocket when he fought at St. Dennis. But he hoped, if successful, to encourage his countrymen to disavow terms, of which he himself could never approve; or he wished to put an end, with some renown, to a war, in which his success had not been answerable to his assiduity and courage.

CHARLES, when he received information of the peace of Nimeguen, demanded from France<sup>b</sup> the money stipulated to be paid for his neutrality, by his treaty with Lewis of the twenty-seventh of May. He had not kept his part of the terms; and his pension was, with justice, refused. Disappointed by what he deemed a breach of faith, he flew into rage against the French. He dispatched Mr. Hyde to the States, to endeavour to persuade them to disavow their minister at Nimeguen. He promised, if the Dutch would join him, to declare an immediate war; and to support it with the utmost vigour, till France should be reduced to terms of more advantage to Europe. He ordered troops to embark for Flanders. He hastened his ships to sea. The whole nation bore the appearance of instant hostilities. But the States were not to be moved. They approved of the conduct of their ambassador, and they ratified the treaty. The Spaniards and the Empire were soon obliged to accept of peace, upon the terms settled between Lewis and Holland. The allies were highly offended at the conduct of the Dutch. His own subjects, as well as the confederates, blamed the fluctuating councils of Charles. The first sacrificed the interest of their friends to their own ease. The latter, from being the umpire of Europe, became, through a mean love of money, ingloriously subservient to a power whom, by a more politic conduct, he might command. But he made one false step,

<sup>a</sup> James II. 1678.

<sup>b</sup> Dalrymple's Append. p. 180.

which



which he could not recover ; and having lost his consequence at home, he could never regain his importance abroad.

CHAP.  
IV.

1678.

THOUGH the war, which terminated with the peace of Nimeguen, was inglorious to the allies, it threw much less honour on French councils than on the French arms. Successful almost on every side, the King of France seemed only solicitous to over-run countries for the pleasure of evacuating them again. He gained Holland without bloodshed, and he lost it without a battle. Having reduced Sicily, with some actions of renown, he relinquished that island without any apparent cause. The unsteady measures of the King of England, the impatience of the States for peace, the extreme debility of Spain, which added her own want of resources to the feebleness of the government of Charles the Second, presented at last a field for Lewis, which he improved with more prudence than he had employed in conducting the war. His acquisitions in Flanders laid open the remaining part of that country to conquest. The seizure of Lorraine and the cession of Franche-Comté exposed the Netherlands on the one side, and the Empire on the other, to a French invasion. But all these advantages neither answered the expectations of Lewis at the beginning of the war, nor supplied the loss sustained by France during its progress. In subsidies to England, in supporting his ally the King of Sweden, and in the extraordinary expence of his own army, he squandered near twenty millions sterling, while his gains could not be estimated at a twentieth part of that sum. But his chief loss was that of reputation. He gained no fame as a warrior in the field ; and he lost all credit as a King, by his disregard to the faith of treaties.

Reflections  
on the peace  
with regard  
to France.

THE eagerness of Charles for a war with France must, in some measure, be ascribed to a personal resentment against Lewis. However careless he might be in his conduct toward others, he affected

Cause of  
Charles's  
eagerness for  
war.



C H A P.  
IV.

1678.

to treat the French King with the most scrupulous honour. He found, at length, that Lewis ended his attention where his own interest ceased. When the English troops, whose valour had contributed so much to his victories, were recalled, they met rather with indignity, than those generous marks of favour which their service deserved. Though reduced to one half of their number in the war, seven shillings and sixpence only was given to men disbanded in Dauphiny and Burgundy\*. The King was highly offended at this instance of meanness. His brother was enraged. In June, the Duke received letters from the officers, complaining of this unworthy treatment; and, at that very time, intelligence arrived from Nimeguen, that Lewis, by an invasion, had refused to deliver the stipulated towns to the Spaniards. Charles derived spirit from his resentment. The Duke seconded his brother's ardour. He even seems, for this and other reasons, to have harboured an aversion to the interests of France, which, with his usual obstinacy, he entertained for some years†. His close correspondence with the Prince of Orange proves that he entered heartily into his views‡. Besides, he wished to distinguish himself in a popular war, to regain some part of that confidence which had been lost through his ridiculous adherence to the Romish faith.

His neutrality  
ty beneficial  
to England.

THOUGH the neutrality, which Charles observed with so much attention, was inglorious to himself, it was advantageous, in the result, to his people. The sums obtained from France, the money extorted at the peace from the States, the supposed remittances of the latter, and the secret pensions from Spain, were more than an equivalent for the supplies raised on the subject for the support of the war. Besides, by being expended on the navy, the sums granted by parliament reverted to the channels from which they came. Commerce, which had flourished greatly since the Resto-

\* James II. 1678.

† Ibid. 1680.

‡ Vid. James II. passim.

ration,



ration, was both encouraged and protected. The trade of England extended itself through Europe, whilst other powers were exhausting their resources in a fruitless war. Had Charles followed the inclinations of his people, had he studied his own glory, he would have weakened his kingdom with expence, before its prosperity was confirmed by the industry of the people. These advantages were not then seen. The nation, jealous of the power of France, were eager for a war, in which, however, glory might be attended with ruin. The King, it must be confessed, derives no credit from an inactivity which ultimately proved a benefit to his subjects.

NOTWITHSTANDING the vehemence exhibited by Charles for joining himself to the allies, he was never thought sincere. His partiality to France during the war, the obstinacy with which he had resisted the cries of his people, and the addresses of his parliament, had confirmed the nation in an opinion, that he never intended to separate his interest from Lewis. He had used deception so often, that the more popular his measures appeared, the more they were the objects of fear. When he shewed an eagerness for war, it was construed into an artifice to gain supplies. His pacific disposition was invariably ascribed to his cordial union with France. His brother's avowed attachment to the church of Rome implied his own indifference to the Protestant religion. Dark surmises were propagated, and received with eagerness every where. Political distrust was improved by the arts of the factious and the whispers of party-men. Silence, rather than peace, prevailed. Mankind were taught to look up to the Sovereign and his family as the enemies of their religious and civil liberty; and they would even be disappointed, if no symptoms of danger to either appeared from a quarter so much suspected.

State of public opinion.



C H A P.  
IV.1678.  
Popish plot.  
Titus Otes,

SUCH was the state of public opinion when the first reports of a Popish plot were heard. A brief detail of the circumstances, as they have since appeared, will throw more light on the subject, than a narration of the facts as they gradually rose to view. Titus Otes, the chief actor in this pernicious imposture, was the son of a ribbon-weaver, who afterwards became an Anabaptist preacher, and served as chaplain to one of Cromwell's regiments stationed in Scotland. The son was bred at Merchant-Taylors school in the city. He afterwards studied at Cambridge. Having left that university, with neither the reputation of learning, nor the character of virtue, he slipped into orders, and officiated as curate for his father, who possessed a living, having conformed to the church of England at the Restoration. He afterwards enjoyed the small vicarage of Hobbing in Kent. He removed from thence to another in Suffex; and having insinuated himself into the Duke of Norfolk's family, he came to London. In that city he abandoned himself to every vice, and was reduced to every species of distress. He was prosecuted for perjury; but he escaped. He served as chaplain on board a man of war; but he was dismissed for an unnatural crime. He returned to London, the former scene of his wickedness and misery, and was reduced to beggary and rags, when his fortune threw him into the acquaintance of one Dr. Tong, a city divine<sup>x</sup>.

Tong, and  
Kirby,

TONG, whom Otes had chosen for his patron, was scarce less abandoned or less wicked than himself. Under the government of Cromwell, he endeavoured to destroy the two universities, by misrepresenting them to the prevailing powers<sup>y</sup>. He was expelled from the garrison of Tangier, where he officiated as chaplain, for various misdemeanours and evil practices<sup>z</sup>. In his disposition busy and intriguing, by nature credulous, restless, hu-

<sup>x</sup> Echard, Burnet, L'Estrange, James II. Kennet, &c.<sup>y</sup> James II. 1678.<sup>z</sup> Ibid.



mourneful, a lover of mischief, as he enjoyed the misfortunes of mankind. To spread scandal was his great amusement, and to form plots, or suspect them in others, his chief delight. He was possessed of a moderate degree of learning, and he had a turn for chemistry. This latter qualification introduced him to the acquaintance of one Kirby, a broken merchant, whose knowledge in chemical operations opened to him access to the King, who took great pleasure in that study. This connexion with Kirby he afterwards improved, in forwarding his own designs. Averse, from enthusiasm, to the papists, and suspecting, from wickedness as well as prejudice, their designs against the established religion, his whole conversation turned upon their supposed plots, conspiracies, and treasons <sup>a</sup>.

C H A P.  
IV.

1678.

HAVING, under a pretence of charity, entertained Otes for some time, he found him a bold and an impudent man, a person who shrunk from no undertaking, as he was possessed of no solid understanding to foresee difficulties. He told him, that several plots had been formed in England to introduce popery; and that in all probability one existed at present to accomplish the same purpose. He advised him to reconcile himself to the Romish church, to go beyond seas, to enter into the society of the Jesuits. He assured him, that if he could discover the existence of a real plot, or even to procure names upon which an ideal one might be formed, his fortune and preferment were made. Otes followed implicitly the directions of his patron. He became a Papist and a Jesuit. He went in the April of 1677 to Valladolid, in Spain. After six months he returned to England. Having remained one month at home, he repaired to the English seminary of Jesuits, at St. Omers. His bad behaviour soon brought upon him the displeasure of the college; they dismissed him; and he returned to

form a pretended plot,

<sup>a</sup> Echard, Burnet, Hume, James II.

England



C H A P.  
IV.

1678.

which is  
communi-  
cated to the  
King.

England in the July of this present year, having added resentment against the whole order to his own wicked designs<sup>b</sup>.

OTES, repairing to his friend, Dr. Tong, communicated to that credulous and restless spirit all the materials which he had collected abroad. In frequent conferences in the city, and in a retired lodging, at the house of one Lambert, a bell-founder, at Vauxhall, they framed narratives of a popish plot, to murder the King, to subvert the government, and to re-establish the Catholic faith in the kingdom. Having arranged, to their own satisfaction, the particulars of the intended imposture, Tong prevailed on his friend, Kirby, to carry insinuations of a plot to the King, to whom he was personally known. On the twelfth of August, as Charles, according to his daily custom, was walking in the Park, Kirby addressed him abruptly, desired him to keep within the company, assuring him that his enemies had an immediate design upon his life. Charles, who was not to be easily alarmed with a plot, inquiring the reason of such a strange piece of intelligence, was informed by Kirby, that one Doctor Tong knew the whole affair; and whom, if permitted, he would bring in person before the King.

By an arti-  
fice brought  
before

TONG being introduced to his Majesty the next day, delivered into his own hands a narrative of a plot, reduced under forty-three heads. The King, preparing to set out for Windsor, slightly perused the paper, and ordered Tong to carry it to the Lord-treasurer Danby<sup>c</sup>. That nobleman, more credulous than his master, or hoping to derive security to himself from a circumstance which promised to turn the attention of the nation to another object<sup>d</sup>, treated Tong's information more seriously than it seemed to deserve. Encouraged by the countenance of the mi-

<sup>b</sup> Vide Danby's Memoirs, p. 34, &c.<sup>c</sup> Danby's Memoirs.<sup>d</sup> James II.

nister,



nister, the Doctor plied the King with fresh informations and further importunities, till toward the end of September: but instead of gaining credit by additional confirmations and new discoveries, the penetrating eyes of Charles perceived that the whole was a gross imposture. The plot, were it not for an accident, would have sunk in oblivion, through the King's disregard to a tale whose contradictory circumstances had rendered it incredible. Tong, in a letter to the treasurer, informed him, on the twenty-eighth of September, that a packet written by Jesuits, concerning the plot, was sent by the post to Windsor, addressed to one Bedingfield, confessor to the Duke of York. Danby, who was then in Oxfordshire, repaired to court; but before his arrival, Bedingfield communicated the packet, which appeared to be forged, to the Duke, who immediately carried it to the King<sup>f</sup>.

THIS incident confirmed Charles in his belief of an imposture. But the Duke, who had not heard till that hour<sup>g</sup> the least surmise of the plot, insisted upon a thorough inquiry into the pretended conspiracy before the council. Danby, willing to throw the whole into parliament<sup>h</sup>, seconded the vehemence of the Duke. The council sat upon the business. Kirby, Tong, and Otes were brought before them; the plot made a noise, and the whole nation was soon alarmed. On the thirteenth of October<sup>i</sup>, Otes, the chief actor in this pernicious farce, related his whole story before the council. The sum of this impostor's information consisted chiefly of the following articles: he told the board, that he had been privy, both at home and abroad, to many consultations among the Jesuits, for the assassination of his Majesty. Grove and Pickering, the one an ordained Jesuit, the other a lay-brother

the council.  
First narra-  
tive.

<sup>f</sup> James II. 1678.

<sup>g</sup> Ibid. Danby's Mem.

<sup>h</sup> James II.

<sup>i</sup> Ibid.



C H A P.  
IV.

1678.

of the same order, were first appointed to shoot the King; but afterwards it was resolved to dispatch him with poison, by the means of Sir George Wakeman, the Queen's physician, and a papist. Many Jesuits, he said, in disguise, had gone to Scotland, to distract the government of that country, by preaching sedition in the field conventicles. He affirmed, that, in prosecution of the great design, he had visited St. Omers, Paris, and even Spain, by command.

Oates's evidence suspected.

WITH many letters and directions, he affirmed that he himself had returned to England. That in a tavern behind St. Clement's church, in the Strand, he assisted at a consultation of fifty Jesuits; and that he carried their resolutions from room to room. He informed the board, that in this assembly it was determined to dispatch the King by the dagger, by shooting, or by poison. That when he was busy in collecting evidence for a full discovery, he was suspected, and was obliged to separate himself from their meetings to save his own life. This story he related with such circumstances, that on the first day of his examination before the council, he gained some credit<sup>1</sup>. But when he was cross-examined, the villany began to appear. The letters sent to Bedingfield being produced, he affirmed that he knew them to be of the handwriting of those from whom they were pretended to come. But one letter, said to be written by Blundel, an English Jesuit, appeared, to the conviction of all present, to be in the same hand with Dr. Tong's deposition. Besides, the letters carried on their face the evidence of forgery. They were full of false spelling, no points, no marks of distinction, no air of coming from men of business. Treason was written in plain terms. No double meaning was used, nothing tending to deception or to the preven-

<sup>1</sup> James II. 1678.



tion of discovery. It was thought impossible that five persons, and those at different places, and natives of different countries, could agree in the same false English, write on paper with the same mark, of the same size, and use the same expressions, the same affected cant.

C H A P.  
IV.  
1678.

NOTWITHSTANDING these and various other proofs of an imposture, which arose to view from the examination of Otes, the council issued orders for seizing such accused persons as were then in London. A guard, led by the informer, was sent in search of several Jesuits and their papers. During three days he was almost perpetually employed, either in apprehending the accused, or in attending the council. Sir George Wakeman was seized, and Coleman, late secretary to the Dutchess of York. Langhorne, an eminent counsellor at law, was apprehended; eight Jesuits, Whitbread, Turner, Marshal, Ireland, Gavan, Rumley, Corker, and Pickering were seized. These were the principal persons in England who were accused by Otes, in his first examination, of being privy to the Popish plot. The measures of the council in an instant alarmed the nation. The city was all in a ferment. Apprehension and terror flew over the whole country. Every person was now employed either in hearing or telling strange reports. The truth was magnified by the fears of the people. The most gross inventions, the most improbable fictions were received as certain fact. Idle rumours coinciding with the former jealousies of men, were implicitly believed; and the whole people wore the appearance of public misery and distress.

Several persons seized.

In the midst of this terror and suspense, some collateral incidents seemed to place the truth of a plot beyond dispute, in the eyes of a credulous people. Coleman, before his house was searched, found means to convey away his letters for the two last

Coleman's letters.



C H A P.  
IV.

1678.

years, together with his book of entries. In his confusion he left in a drawer some copies of letters, which he had written to Father la Chaize, the French King's confessor, to the Pope's nuncio at Brussels, and to other Catholics abroad. These were found, examined, and published. Coleman, a man of a weak understanding, was a bigot, to the last degree of enthusiasm, in the Romish faith. Sanguine beyond measure, through the fury of his zeal, he insinuated, in a kind of incoherent jargon, the great expectations which he entertained of the conversion of the three British kingdoms, and the total ruin of the Protestant religion, which this foolish zealot called a pestilent heresy. He built his hopes on the zeal of the Duke of York, and spoke in indefinite and obscure terms of aids from abroad, to accomplish what he denominated a glorious work. He insinuated in other letters, that the interests of the French and English royal families, and those of the Romish faith, were inseparable. He proposed to la Chaize to procure a remittance of three hundred thousand pounds from France for the dissolution of the parliament; which measure would greatly forward their views. This busy and weak enthusiast seems to have gleaned hints of the money-negotiations then subsisting between Charles and Lewis, and to have founded upon that circumstance a romantic scheme, which existed only in his own distempered imagination<sup>m</sup>.

Godfrey's  
murder.

THOUGH Coleman's letters bore no relation to the plot discovered by Otes, they seemed to infer, that a design of the same kind had been formerly in agitation. Some concluded they were the beginning of a chain of correspondence, which came down to the present times. They supposed that the subsequent letters contained a full information of a plot, as yet very imperfectly known. This incident was followed by another, which put an

<sup>m</sup> Vid. Coleman's Letters.



end to every doubt. On the sixth of September<sup>a</sup>, Sir Edmond-bury Godfrey, a man of a good character, but of a melancholy disposition, who had acted many years as a justice of the peace in Westminster, was prevailed upon by some of the popular party to swear Otes to the first narrative delivered to the King by Doctor Tong. On the twenty-eighth of the same month, he took again the oath of Otes to the same paper, with what he denominated fresh and further informations. These depositions were presented on the same day to the King and council by Tong. Godfrey, on Saturday the twelfth of October, suddenly disappeared. No tidings were heard of him till Thursday the seventeenth, when he was found dead in a ditch near Primrose-hill, on the way to Hampstead, with his sword run through his body. No blood appeared on his clothes. His money was in his pocket, his rings on his fingers, his shoes were clean. His gloves and his cane lay near him on the ground. His neck, from its limberness and distortion, a circumstance even common in a natural death, and the appearance of stagnated blood all round his throat, confirmed mankind in the opinion that he was strangled<sup>o</sup>.

THE whole city poured round the body, which lay exposed to public view for two whole days. Every one concluded that Godfrey was murdered by the Papists, for taking the oath of Otes concerning a plot in which they were deemed to be all concerned. The passions of the populace were raised to a degree of madness, by the moving sight of the body. The spirits of the better sort were inflamed by terror, surmises, and suspicions. The evidence of Otes, with all its contradictions and absurdities, was implicitly swallowed by all degrees of people. Men, who presumed to reason on the subject, were hated like accomplices in the plot. The whole ran down in one torrent on the side of a Popish con-

Consternation  
of the people.

<sup>a</sup> L'Estrange's Case, &c.

<sup>o</sup> Trials.

spiracy.



C H A P.  
IV.

16, 8.

spiracy. Charles, perceiving that it was dangerous, if not impossible, to oppose the stream, added his own force to its violence. He no longer seemed to form a doubt on a subject which his penetrating judgment could never permit him to believe. He issued a proclamation, offering a reward of five hundred pounds to any person who should discover the murder; and, as it had been insinuated that many might be kept from giving their evidence through fear, he promised all security to the persons of the discoverers. The alarm spread from London through the whole kingdom. The business of life was interrupted by confusion, panic, clamour, dreadful rumours; and the unfortunate Catholics began to be afraid of the massacre, of the design of which they themselves were accused <sup>P</sup>.

Reflections on  
Godfrey's  
death.

NOTWITHSTANDING the temporary belief of a whole people, the death of Godfrey ceased, soon after, to be ascribed to the Papists. That sect could entertain no motive of offence against a justice of the peace, for executing a duty which, from his office, he could not refuse. Instead of officiously inquiring into the matter, it is certain that he was, with much difficulty, prevailed upon to swear Otes. He put no interrogatories to the informer. He only received his oath upon a written narrative, which was already no secret. Besides, Godfrey was known to be on the best terms with the Catholics. He was intimate with Coleman. He never executed with rigour the laws against the sect. The evidence given, soon after, of the murder, is now exploded, with the other perjuries of that disgraceful and profligate period. Those who profited first by the plot might with most reason be suspected of Godfrey's death; yet a charge of so deep a dye must never be admitted, without direct and positive evidence. A great use, it is certain, was made of this incident by the po-

<sup>P</sup> Vid. Auct. citat. passim.



pular party. They carried the body, in a long and melancholy procession, through London. They buried it with every ceremony calculated to excite pity and rouse terror. They tampered with the witnesses, who swore that they were privy to the murder. But as Godfrey was of a disconsolate state of mind, his death may, with more justice, be ascribed to his own melancholy, than to the wickedness of other men<sup>a</sup>.

CHAP.  
IV.

1678.

<sup>a</sup> L'Estrange, Contin. of Baker, et Auct. citat. James II. to the Prince of Orange.

CHAP.



## C H A P. V.

*Popish plot abetted by all.—A session of parliament.—Their violence and fears.—Attack on the Duke of York.—Intrigues of the Prince of Orange.—Bill to disable Papists.—Bedloe's evidence.—Queen accused.—Coleman and others condemned.—Accusation and impeachment of Danby.—Reflections.—Parliament prorogued.—Distracted state of the nation.—Parliament dissolved.—Duke of York withdraws.—Monmouth declared illegitimate.—Intrigues with France.—New parliament.—Difference concerning a speaker.—Violence of the commons.—Danby prosecuted.—A new council.—Proposal of limitations.—Bill of exclusion.—Resolution against Bishops.—Habeas-corpus act.—Condemnation of Jesuits.—Langhorn condemned.—Parliament dissolved.—Affairs of Scotland.—Murder of Sharpe.—Rout at Bothwell-Bridge.—Affairs of Ireland.—State of parties and opinions.—King's sickness.—Duke of York returns.—Monmouth disgraced.—The Duke of York in Scotland.—Monmouth returns, without leave.—Intrigues of the Prince of Orange.—The King's firmness.—Meal-tub plot.—Intrigues of the Prince of Orange.—A change in the ministry.—Some members of the council resign.—Secret views of the Prince of Orange.—Petitioners and abhorrrers.—Whigs and Tories.—Duke of York returns.—He is presented for recusancy.—Intrigues of the Prince of Orange.—Monmouth's progress.—Policy of the King.—The Duke retires.—A parliament.—Violence of the commons.—Prince of Orange's negotiations with the house of Lunenburgh.—Bill of exclusion.—Rejected by the lords.—Violent proceedings of the commons.—They animadvert on the abhorrrers.—Impeach the judges.—Trial and execution of Stafford.—*  
*Extraordinary*



*Extraordinary votes.—Parliament prorogued.—Intrigues of the Prince of Orange.—Parliament dissolved.—Firmness and views of the King.—Negociation with France.—Fitz-Harris's libel.—A parliament at Oxford.—Violence of the commons.—A quarrel between the houses.—Bill of exclusion.—Parliament dissolved.—Consternation of the popular party.*

**T**HOUGH the Popish plot was abetted by the popular party through faction, it received its chief support from the arts of the minister, the Earl of Danby. Suspecting the attachment of the King to his person, he had ceased to act heartily in his service ever since the beginning of the present year<sup>r</sup>. The Duke of Buckingham, to whom he partly owed his place, had added ill offices to the enmity which the proud give in return for favours too great for common gratitude. He had, in the preceding January, found means to be admitted to the King in private, with proposals from the leaders of opposition, promising every thing for the disgrace of the treasurer<sup>s</sup>. Danby, hated by the country-party, and uncertain of the protection of Charles, employed all his thoughts for securing himself. He seized with eagerness the Popish plot, as at once the proof of his attachment to the established church, and the probable means of diverting the storm, which was ready to fall on his own head. When it was proposed in council by the Duke of York and by Lauderdale to put an end to the plot, by a thorough examination, he evaded the motion, and encouraged the King to follow his diversions at Newmarket till the time was past<sup>t</sup>. Had the improbable fictions of Otes been searched to the bottom before the credulity of the nation was alarmed, the ruin which fell on individuals, and the mischiefs that threatened the people, might have been entirely prevented<sup>u</sup>.

<sup>r</sup> James II. 1678.<sup>s</sup> Ibid.<sup>t</sup> Ibid.<sup>u</sup> Ibid.C H A P.  
V.1678.  
Popish plot  
abetted by  
Danby.



C H A P.  
V.1678.  
Parliament  
meets.

BUT the treasurer, having resolved to throw the whole of that intricate business into parliament, was unwilling to remove the veil from the eyes of a credulous people. To continue the delusion, by encouraging the profligate to perjuries, rewards were offered for oaths and evidence. Otes himself was lodged in the palace, where he lived at a considerable expence to the King. Indemnity, money, and even applause, were held forth as incitements to iniquity; and mankind were prepared, by their fears, to give credit to the most improbable lies. In this situation of affairs, the parliament met on the twenty-first of October. The King told them in his speech, that the part which he had acted for preserving the neighbouring powers, and securing Flanders, was sufficiently known, without enlarging on that subject. He excused his not disbanding the army, by the effect which that measure had to support the spirits of his friends, and to lessen the demands of their enemies. He complained of the expence of the troops to his standing revenue. He earnestly demanded an immediate supply. He informed them of the Popish plot; but he forbore to offer his opinion. He said, that he left the whole to the law; that, however, he should take effectual means to prevent foreigners from introducing Popery. He recommended to them his own concerns. He mentioned the deficiency in the poll-bill, and the anticipations on his revenue; and he concluded with a desire that they would consider his necessities with that duty and affection which he was certain of deriving from their loyalty\*.

Their violence

POPULAR assemblies are truly the representatives of the people, in their violence and fears. The madness which had seized the nation raged with redoubled fury in parliament. The two houses went instantly into a flame. The rest of the King's speech was in a moment forgotten. The plot at once engrossed the attention

\* Journals, October 21, 1678.



and awakened the fears of all. The commons voted an immediate address for all papers relating to the discovery made by Otes<sup>y</sup>. The lords sent down a message for the concurrence of the lower house in an address for a day of fasting and humiliation. Both houses joined in a request for removing all Catholics beyond ten miles from London<sup>z</sup>. On the third day of their meeting, the commons began to inquire into Godfrey's murder. They addressed the King to give orders to the lord-chamberlain to permit no unknown persons to come to his presence<sup>a</sup>. They ordered the serjeant at arms to bring Otes before them. They heard with attention an account given by Doctor Tong, relating to the firing of London, twelve years before<sup>b</sup>. They greedily listened to Otes. Contradictions, impossibilities, and absurdities, were swallowed without examination. The reign of reason was past. Passion, credulity, violence, prevailed. The honest and timid were frightened by surmises. Men of penetration were obliged to dissemble, and the factious enjoyed the storm.

OTES, on the twenty-eighth of October, made a new edition of his discovery, at the bar of the house of commons. He saw that his former narrative, wild and incredible as it had been, was received with avidity; and that even the resemblance of truth was no longer necessary to gain credit to his tales. The Pope, he affirmed, had declared England his kingdom, and had actually sent over commissions to several persons to govern his new dominions in his name. He had made, according to this impudent impostor, the Lord Arundel of Wardour, chancellor; the Earl of Powis, treasurer; the Lord Bellasis, general; the Viscount Stafford, paymaster of the forces; Sir William Godolphin, the ambassador in Spain, privy-seal; Coleman, secretary of state; Sir Francis Radcliffe, a major-general; and Langhorne, advocate-general. The famous Lambert, then oppressed with idiotism in his prison at

with regard  
to the plot.

<sup>y</sup> Journals, Oct. 21, 1678.

<sup>z</sup> Ibid.

<sup>a</sup> Ibid. Oct. 24.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. Oct. 26.



C H A P.  
V.

1678.

Guernsey, was made adjutant-general to the Pope's army, in his ideal kingdom. This ridiculous discovery was, on the same day<sup>c</sup>, succeeded by Coleman's letters; which, though they related in no circumstance to the present plot, confirmed its certainty to the parliament. They resolved, without one dissenting voice, that it appeared to the conviction of both lords and commons, "that there has been, and still is a *damnable* and *hellish* plot, contrived and carried on by the Papists, for murdering the King, for subverting the government, and for destroying the Protestant religion<sup>d</sup>."

Their absurd  
fears.

THE vehement zeal of the two houses, presented to their dis-tempered imaginations a new gun-powder plot. On the first of November, a committee was appointed to inquire into some strange knockings and noises that were said to have been heard in the night in the Old Palace-yard. This committee was instructed to search all houses near the two houses of parliament. But though the Earl of Shaftesbury was one of the number, nothing that could be construed into danger was found. The violence of parliament, however, continued. They resolved to sit both forenoon and afternoon<sup>e</sup>. Committees were appointed by the two houses for examining prisoners, and for swearing witnesses. In a rage for intelligence, they were willing to purchase it at the highest rates. A pardon was offered to Coleman for making discoveries. Otes, the most infamous of mankind, was praised, caressed, and rewarded. The two houses recommended him to the King. A revenue of twelve hundred pounds a year was allotted for his maintenance. Guards were placed around him for his protection. Men of the first rank and birth courted his company, and called themselves his friends. He was deemed the saviour of the whole people, and was actually the idol of the nation. The character of informer became honourable. Perjury itself was attended with applause, as well as with advantage; and the public opinion,

<sup>c</sup> Oct. 28.<sup>d</sup> Oct. 31.<sup>e</sup> Nov. 1.



which is usually a check upon vice, became an encouragement to iniquity, in all its forms.

CHAP.  
V.

1678.

Attack the  
Duke of  
York.

The enormous growth to which the seeming absurdity of the nation rose, proceeded from their fears of the Duke of York. Though he was not mentioned by the informers as a party in the plot, those who gave it credit ascribed it to the hopes founded by the Roman Catholics upon his adherence to their faith. Men of sense foresaw danger from his principles and bigotry; and they deemed the present juncture a fit season for securing the civil and religious liberties of the people, against his eventual accession to the throne. The leaders of the popular party had added personal resentment to their prejudices against the Duke. Uncomplying and impolitic in his disposition, he had rejected their offers of service<sup>f</sup>. Besides, they had already gone too far against his interest, to hope to be either forgotten or forgiven. A motion was made in the lower house, on the fourth of November, to address the King to desire his Royal Highness to withdraw from his person and councils<sup>g</sup>. This was the first step toward the exclusion. But the commons were not yet prepared for such an important measure; and the debate was adjourned, without any division, to another day.

The King

THOUGH the bigotted adherence of the Duke of York to the Romish faith was the obvious cause of the uncommon fears which had seized the nation, there were secret springs, which greatly contributed to set the whole machine of opposition in motion. The peculiar state of the royal family of England had already rendered the throne an object of ambition to the Prince of Orange, whose whole attention seems, from this time forward, to have been pointed towards the crown, which his perseverance placed, at length, on his head. The King and the Duke of York had

Intrigues of  
the Prince of  
Orange.

<sup>f</sup> James II. 1678.

<sup>g</sup> Nov. 4.

been



C H A P.

V.

1678.

been long the only males remaining of the house of Stuart. The Prince, as the son of their eldest sister, had, even before he married the daughter of the Duke of York, formed some distant schemes for mounting the throne. As early as the year 1674, he had established, by his agents, a connexion with some discontented members in the English parliament<sup>a</sup>. The ill-humour which had crept into that assembly served, from time to time, to employ his intrigues, and to encourage his hopes. The Popish plot threw, at length, an opportunity in his way, which enabled him to add to the ferment, in the manner best calculated to forward his own views<sup>1</sup>.

The King  
interferes.

THE intrigues of the Prince, however, were hitherto so secret, that their effect must have been feeble and insensible. Time only could raise and bring to maturity the seeds of dissension, which he had partly sown. The King was, in the mean time, alarmed at the motion against the Duke of York, though it had not been brought to a question. He plainly perceived that it tended to a limitation of the succession to the crown, a measure which he was resolved to oppose with all his power. On the eighth of November, he came to a resolution to dissolve the parliament; but he reflected on the state of the nation, and dropt, for the time, that measure<sup>\*</sup>. He ordered the house to attend him on the ninth of November. He thanked his parliament for their care of his person and government. He promised to join them in every reasonable measure for the security of the Protestant religion, not only for the present, but even to the end of the world. He told them, that he was ready to give his assent to any bills to ensure their safety in any future reign, provided such bills limited not the right of succession to the crown in the true line, and so as they restrained neither his own power, nor the just rights of any Protestant successor, in the throne. To gain their confidence,

<sup>a</sup> D'Avaux, 1679.<sup>1</sup> Ibid. 1678.<sup>\*</sup> James II. 1678.

and



and to convince the nation of the sincerity of his professions, he pressed them to expedite their councils, to bring Popish recusants to an effectual conviction. The majority of the commons were satisfied with this condescension; and the most violent thought it prudent to defer for the present their designs. The house, in a body, waited upon the King at Whitehall, and gave him their thanks for his gracious speech from the throne.

CHAP.

V.  
1678.

NOTWITHSTANDING this seasonable respite, the Duke of York found no reason to think himself secure. The commons resolved, on the sixteenth of November, to bring in a bill to disable all Papists from sitting in either house of parliament. Motions of the same kind had been made in former sessions; but as the passions of men were not sufficiently inflamed, they were prosecuted with no vigour. The bill passed without any opposition, and was sent up to the lords. The upper house made an amendment, which excepted the Duke of York; and, on the twenty-first of November, it was returned to the commons. Next<sup>m</sup> day they entered into debate upon the amendment, and sat late. Upon a division, it was carried for the Duke by two votes<sup>n</sup>. The lord-treasurer adhered to him, with all his influence<sup>o</sup>. The church-party supported him to a man. The members attached to the Presbyterian persuasion, and all those who favoured other Protestant sects, joined the republican party, upon a question which, in the Duke's opinion, was to decide the fate of monarchy<sup>p</sup>.

Bill to disable  
all Papists.

DURING these transactions in parliament, another evidence arose, from their encouragement, to corroborate the narrative of Otes. The name of this person was William Bedloe, or rather Beddoe<sup>q</sup>, a man more infamous, and, if that were possible, more profligate, than Otes himself. He rose from a foot-boy, or com-

William Bed-  
loe,

<sup>1</sup> Journals, Nov. 15.

<sup>m</sup> James II. 1678.

<sup>n</sup> 158 to 156.

<sup>o</sup> James II. 1678.

<sup>p</sup> Ibid.

<sup>q</sup> L'Estrange.



C H A P.  
V.

1678.

mon runner of messages, into a livery servant, in the family of the Lord Bellasis. To the baseness of his birth he added the lowest depravity of mind. He was by nature a knave, and followed iniquity from inclination, more than from profit. Active in his person, and a wanderer from disposition, he was a kind of post or letter-carrier beyond sea; and, in that servile condition, he found an opportunity to become acquainted with the names and the more obvious concerns of people of note on the continent. He converted this knowledge into the means of sharpening. He went under false names; he borrowed money by fraud; he forged recommendations; he personated men of figure. Under the character of an Englishman of rank, he traversed Italy, he passed through France, he travelled to Spain; marking his way with frauds, cheatry, robbery, and lies. Habituated to punishments, and seasoned to prisons, he became hardened against the animadversions of the law; and though he fed, half his time, with common felons, out of the alms-basket, he was always prepared for any wickedness that promised temporary profit.

a new evidence.

THE rewards offered by the King, and the encouragement given by parliament to the discoverers of the manner of Godfrey's death, engaged the attention and roused the avarice of this profligate man. In the company of a common trull, he went from London to Bristol; and, in his way, sent a letter to Coventry, one of the secretaries of state, informing him that he was privy to the murder. He was seized at Bristol. He was brought to London. He was dignified with the name of captain. He rivalled Otes in the magnificence of his situation; having his guards, his residence, and his subsistence at Whitehall. When he appeared before the council, he professed that he knew nothing but the particulars of Godfrey's murder, which, he said, was committed by the Queen's Popish servants at Somerset-house, where she

<sup>r</sup> Publications of the times.

<sup>s</sup> Nov. 5.

<sup>t</sup> Nov. 7.

resided



resided at the time. He affirmed, that the body had lain two days in the Queen's back-stairs, and that he was offered four thousand pounds to assist in carrying it away. He disclaimed all acquaintance with Otes. He utterly denied his having any knowledge of the plot. Being properly instructed that night, he became next day more enlightened. When he was examined before a committee of the lords, he told them, that he had now recollected himself, and that he was ready to give an explicit account of the whole plot.

C H A P.  
V.  
1678.

HE accused the Lord Bellasis, the Earl of Powis, the Lord Arundel of Wardour, and Coleman, of a conspiracy to murder the King". He affirmed, that forty thousand men were ready to take arms in London; that ten thousand were to come from Flanders; that forty thousand pilgrims, assembled at St. Jago, in Spain, were to be transported to England. Jersey and Guernsey, he said, were to be seized by a force from Brest. The Earl of Powis and the Lord Petre were to form an army in the county of Radnor; and the Viscount Stafford, Coleman, and Father Ireland, were possessed of funds for defraying the charge of all these armaments. The crown, he added, was to be offered to ONE, upon condition of his holding it of the church; but, as his acquiescence was not expected, a commission was prepared for certain lords to govern the kingdom in the name of the Pope. This evidence was in itself so incredible, that nothing but the force of prejudice could gain for it a hearing, much less give it any credit. Godfrey's body was said to lie two days in the Queen's back-stairs; yet all the servants in the palace passed that way, a centinel stood constantly there, a company of foot was always on guard below. Forty thousand men were said to be prepared to take arms in London; yet all the men, women, and children of that persuasion

for the Popish plot.

<sup>u</sup> Belloe's Narrative.

<sup>x</sup> James II. 1678.



C H A P.  
V.

1678.

He and Otes  
accuse the  
Queen.

amounted not to that number. Flanders, instead of sending armies abroad, was at the time forced to trust her protection at home to English garrisons. The Earl of Powis and the Lord Petre, who were destined for the command of armies, were, of all mankind, the least qualified for military affairs<sup>x</sup>; and a tale affirming, that three private persons in England were provided with treasure to support the expence of more than one hundred thousand men, is too gross for human faith.

Otes and Bedloe were now persuaded, that nothing was too improbable for the belief of the nation. Urged by their own vanity, or swayed by factious men, they proceeded at length to accuse the Queen of being privy to the design against her husband's life. The intelligence being carried to the commons, they broke forth into a new flame. They voted an address for removing her and her whole family from Whitehall<sup>z</sup>. But though Charles was now furnished with an opportunity of ridding himself of a wife whom he never loved, he was shocked at such an instance of glaring injustice. He knew that she was incapable of such an action; and his own neglect of her person rendered her an object of his pity, though not of his respect. He suspected that the accusation came through the suggestions of the popular party<sup>a</sup>. Otes, whom he before affected to cherish, he strictly confined; refusing access to every person, without distinction, except the committees of parliament. The behaviour of Shaftesbury, and the more open conduct of Buckingham, upon a preceding occasion, directed the suspicions of the King to the quarter from which this new evidence arose. The first had urged him to own the Duke of Monmouth as his legitimate son; and the latter had proposed to seize the Queen in one of the passages of the palace, and to transport her to America<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>x</sup> James II. 1678.<sup>z</sup> Nov. 28.<sup>a</sup> James II.<sup>b</sup> Ibid.



THE commons exhibited articles of impeachment before the lords, against the noblemen accused by Otes and Bedloe<sup>d</sup>. The courts of justice were employed in the mean time in trying inferior criminals. Staley, a popish banker, was condemned on the evidence of one Carstairs, a profligate Scotsman; and the day after his execution, the noted Coleman was brought to the bar. To the evidence of the two informers was added that of his own papers. The first accused him of being privy to the conspiracy against the life of the King; the latter proved beyond contradiction, that he had been busy in wild projects to favour the introduction of popery. He was an enthusiast in the Romish faith, and a man of very loose morals. Being employed as an agent of France, in a project of influencing the commons against a war with that kingdom, he was suspected by the court, and dismissed from his office of secretary to the Duchess of York<sup>e</sup>. He diverted to his own use some considerable sums<sup>f</sup>, which he received from the French ambassador, for the purpose of corrupting members of parliament, and lived at a vast expence, his table being much frequented by the country party. But notwithstanding his profligacy, he could not be induced, upon a promise of pardon<sup>g</sup>, to make pretended discoveries; and he died with a considerable degree of spirit and composure.

COLEMAN was no sooner executed, than Father Ireland was brought to his trial. This Jesuit was one of the fifty, who, as Otes had sworn, signed, in the month of August, the great resolve to murder the King. Grove and Pickering, who were accused as the intended perpetrators of the assassination, were also arraigned. Otes and Bedloe were the only witnesses; but the criminals were already condemned by the prejudices of the people. Ireland proved, in vain, that he was in Staffordshire during the whole

C H A P.  
V.

1678.  
Coleman and  
some

Jesuits con-  
demned and  
executed.

<sup>d</sup> Dec. 5.

<sup>e</sup> L. Keeper North's Memoirs.

<sup>f</sup> Journals.

<sup>g</sup> Ibid.



C H A P.  
V.

1678.

month assigned by the oath of Otes for being present at the various consults of the conspirators. Otes produced a woman, who swore that she saw him in London at the specified time. Sentence of death was passed upon all the criminals. The judge, the jury, the populace were all parties. Scroggs, the chief justice, was a man as destitute of principle, as he was ignorant of law. He was raised by Danby, from being an obscure person in his profession, to the head of the first court of justice, to serve his own private designs. He adopted all the vehemence of his patron, in tracing the popish plot. He browbeat the evidence. He spoke of the truth of the charge as undoubted. He insulted with peculiar inhumanity the condemned. His violence was received with applause by a prejudiced people; and the unfortunate men, protesting to the last their innocence, were executed amid the shouts of a vast concourse of spectators <sup>h</sup>.

A supply  
voted on li-  
mited terms.

WHILST the popish plot engrossed the deliberations of the commons, Charles was forced repeatedly to recall their attention to his own necessities <sup>i</sup>. Through their eagerness to obviate all dangers from foreigners, they seemed to forget their jealousy of a standing army at home. The King, however, having refused his assent to a bill, which tended to deprive him of the command of the militia, the house turned their thoughts to the raising of money for disbanding the troops in England and beyond seas. Having found their arrears amounted to one hundred and fifty thousand pounds, they voted that sum to be raised by a land-tax, within a twelve-month, to commence on the twenty-fourth of November. A clause for credit was inserted in the act: but such was the jealousy entertained of the King, that they ordered the money to be paid into the Chamber of London; and appointed three commissioners to superintend the application of the supply, to the sole use of

<sup>h</sup> Trials.<sup>i</sup> Nov. 25.

disbanding.



disbanding the army<sup>k</sup>. The lords, more tender of the dignity of the crown, hesitated to give their concurrence to a regulation which threw dishonour upon the King and his servants. The act remained in suspense, till a prorogation freed Charles from disgrace, while it deprived him of a supply.

CHAP.  
V.  
1678.

IN the midst of these heats in parliament, a new subject of inquiry carried suddenly the attention of the commons to another quarter. Mountague, who had been ambassador for some years at Paris, had, either from private motives or from disgust, quitted his employment without leave<sup>l</sup>; and, obtaining a seat in parliament for the borough of Northampton, joined himself to the cabals of the popular party. Inflamed by disappointed ambition, or gained by Lewis XIV. through the channel of his avarice, he had for some time broke with the Earl of Danby, whose councils were deemed opposite to the interests of France. The spirit exhibited by Charles, before and after the treaty of Nimeguen, was highly resented by the French King. He was resolved to be revenged on both the King and the minister. The connections formed by his ambassador at London with the popular party, in the preceding session, furnished him with hopes of accomplishing his design. But when he hesitated concerning the means, they were offered by Mountague, who, for a valuable consideration, promised to ruin Danby and disgrace his master<sup>m</sup>. The bargain being struck, in the month of October, with Barillon, the French ambassador, a proper opportunity for executing the design only remained to be found.

The Earl of  
Danby

DURING the embassy of Mountague, some of the King's negotiations for money with the court of France had fallen under his care. Danby had committed himself, in several letters upon that

accused before the  
commons,

<sup>k</sup> Nov. 29.

<sup>l</sup> Rapin, vol. ii.

<sup>m</sup> Dalrymple's Append. p. 193.

subject;



C H A P.  
V.

1678.

subject; and Mountague, to serve the purposes of his party, and to earn the stipulated hire from Lewis, resolved to expose the most exceptionable part of the correspondence to the animadversion of parliament. In various consultations between the leaders of the popular party and the French ambassador, it was thought proper to postpone the attack till the army should be disbanded. The heats in parliament, in consequence of the popish plot, retarded this measure; but an incident put an end to any further delay in Mountague's scheme. Jenkins, who still remained in quality of ambassador at Nimeguen, informed the King by letter, that he had discovered that Mountague held private conferences with the Pope's nuncio, when he resided in a public capacity abroad. Danby, who suspected the design of Mountague, probably suggested this information to Jenkins. A warrant was procured for seizing his papers. Prepared against a circumstance which he had foreseen, Mountague had concealed some of Danby's letters; and found in the violence of the latter a kind of excuse for his own breach of faith.

and im-  
peached.]

THE chancellor of the Exchequer, on the nineteenth of December, acquainted the commons, by the King's command, that his majesty had found it necessary to seize Mountague's papers. Mountague informed the house, that notwithstanding the forcible seizure of some of his papers, others that might tend to the safety of his Majesty and the preservation of the kingdom still remained in his hands. He was heard with the utmost eagerness. A committee was dispatched for the box in which the writings were contained. Two letters subscribed by Danby were produced. The first was dated on the seventeenth of the preceding January, the second on the twenty-fifth of March. The last contained instructions to demand three hundred thousand pounds a-year, for three years,

\* Dalrymple's Append. p. 198.

• Burnet, James II.

from



from the French King, in case the conditions of peace should be accepted. Danby appeared to have foreseen the danger of this negociation; and, to remove his fears, the King had subjoined, in his own hand, that it was by his express orders the letter was written<sup>p</sup>. The house flew into an immediate flame. A question was proposed, That there is sufficient matter of impeachment against the lord-treasurer; and it was carried by a great majority<sup>q</sup>. The friends of Danby were abashed. His enemies were intemperate in their triumph. The Lord Cavendish and Mr. Williams were particularly recommended to form the articles, which were sent up on the twenty-first of December to the house of lords.

Thus the storm, which Danby endeavoured in vain to prevent, by encouraging the popish plot, broke at length on his own head. He was perplexed beyond measure. Charles himself was alarmed. His secret connexions with France, before only suspected, were now ascertained. Men thought that all along he had acted in concert with the French King. They deemed his professions in favour of the allies a mere deception. They looked upon his preparations for war as means for procuring money from his subjects, or for establishing over them an arbitrary power. Many who wished to support the crown, were ashamed of the meanness of the Prince; and deserted their principles to save their reputation. The articles against Danby were six in number. They consisted, besides the letters, of various mismanagements in his office. Some were frivolous, others ill founded. The charge of rapacity, though unsupported with glaring instances, seemed to be the least unjust. Danby was poor, and he loved money; but his master was neither full of generosity, nor abounding in wealth. The treasurer, upon the whole, was a cautious minister; and less apt to furnish his

Reflections

<sup>p</sup> Journals, Dec. 19.

<sup>q</sup> 179 against 116.



C H A P.  
V.

1678.

He recrimi-  
nates on  
others, and  
defends  
himself.

enemies with dangerous charges than men of greater abilities and more integrity and virtue.

To alleviate the charge against himself, by recriminating on Mountague, Danby sent two letters written by the former to the commons. One of the letters exposed the correspondence between France and the popular party in parliament; the other tended to shew, that Danby was extremely hated in that kingdom, as the avowed enemy of its interests. The commons rejected both, without being read<sup>r</sup>. They sent the articles of impeachment to the lords<sup>s</sup>. They desired that the treasurer should be sequestered from parliament, and committed. They reserved to themselves the liberty of exhibiting a further charge<sup>t</sup>. When the impeachment was read in the upper house, Danby arose and spoke to every article. He shewed that Mountague, the informer against him, had himself promoted with ardour the money-negotiations with France. He dwelt, with a degree of justice, on his diligence in tracing the popish plot. He cleared himself of the aspersions of alienating the King's revenue to improper purposes. He obviated the charge of rapacity, by assuring the house, that his acquisitions were more moderate than those obtained by others in his office. He chiefly insisted upon his known aversion to the interests of France; and he declared, that he always esteemed a connexion with that kingdom pernicious to his master and destructive to his country<sup>u</sup>.

Parliament  
prorogued.

THE lords went immediately into debate upon the impeachment. A question was proposed, Whether the articles exhibited by the commons should be received as an impeachment of high treason? The friends of the treasurer affirmed, that the utmost

<sup>r</sup> Dec. 20. <sup>s</sup> Dec. 21.<sup>t</sup> Dec. 23.<sup>u</sup> Journals of the lords.

that



that could be said in favour of the charge, was to suppose it true; and had it even been true, the crimes alleged fell not within the statute of Edward III. To this argument the popular party replied, that the commons, who had exhibited the charge, were to be heard on two points; first on the proof, and then on the nature of the crime. They proposed, therefore, that the charge should be received; and that the house, according to the rules of parliament, ought to commit the accused person, and to appoint a short day for his trial. The majority of the peers, upon a division, were against the commitment of Danby. The King found himself under the necessity of supporting the minister, and he used all his influence. The commons however insisted, that Danby should be sequestered from parliament and committed. A violent contest was likely to arise; and Charles, perceiving no hopes of ending the dispute by gentle means, prorogued the parliament<sup>\*</sup> on the thirtieth of December.

C H A P.  
V.  
1678.

THE impeachment of the lord-treasurer diverted, in some degree, the attention of the people from the popish plot. Men, who even profited by his breach of trust, blamed Mountague for his conduct. Many ascribed it to revenge, but scarce any to a love of the public good. The malice of his enemies reached not the meanness of his real motives. They scarce could imagine that he was purchased with the money of France to expose her secret negotiations. Danby himself, when he wished to prove the aversion of the French to his councils, little knew that they had stipulated to give more than twenty thousand pounds<sup>y</sup> to his antagonist, for an information to accomplish his ruin. Charles, though he blamed Mountague the most, had the least reason. He had employed him to betray his country, yet he was surprised at his betraying himself. The loose principles which made him fit for the King's mea-

Reflections  
on Mounta-  
gue's con-  
duct.

<sup>\*</sup> Journals, Dec 30.

<sup>y</sup> Dalrymple's Append. p. 199.



C H A P.

V.

1678.

Prance's  
evidence

fures, ought to have prevented every astonishment at his breach of faith. Even Danby was blamed by his best friends. They could scarce reconcile his professed aversion to the interests of France, to his having concurred in negotiations which sacrificed the public faith of his sovereign to her views.

DURING these transactions in parliament, a new discovery was pretended to be made. Miles Prance, by trade a goldsmith, having had a difference about rent with one Wren, who lodged in his house, was accused by him as privy to the murder of Godfrey. Prance happened to lie out of his house two or three nights in the week immediately preceding that in which Godfrey was missed by his friends. Wren, either forgetting the difference of time, or actuated by revenge, used that circumstance as a ground of accusation. Had the time of Prance's absence agreed with that of the murder, some colour of suspicion might remain. Though he had taken the oaths to prevent his being banished from London, he was known to have been a papist. He was also personally acquainted with Grove, Pickering, and Ireland, the three unfortunate Jesuits, who had been lately condemned upon the evidence of Otes and Bedloe. Besides, he had worked in his business, for the Queen's chapel, in Somerset-house. Bedloe, the original evidence, was commanded to give some account of Prance. This he managed with address. Having first obtained a sight of the man at an eating-house near the lobby of the house of commons, he exclaimed, upon his being afterwards admitted into the room where Prance was examined, "that he was one of the rogues  
" whom he had seen standing with a dark lanthorn near Godfrey's  
" body".

concerning  
Godfrey's  
murder.

PRANCE denied all knowledge of the plot or murder. He was sent to Newgate. He was loaded with irons. He was threatened.

\* L'Estrange, Echard, Burnet, James II. Kennet.

He



He wasfoothed. He was enticed and instructed. The single evidence of Bedloe was not sufficient to condemn some wretched persons, whose conviction was necessary to keep up the flame; and there was a resolution formed, to convert Prance into the second witness required by the law. Some leaders in both the houses attended him, in committees, in Newgate. He at length confessed. He retracted again. He wavered from one tale to another, denying to-day what yesterday he had sworn. A pardon artfully obtained by the means of the Earl of Shaftesbury, fixed him in a circumstantial evidence of the murder. He accused Green, Berry, and Hill, men of a low station, of Godfrey's death. They were brought to their trial. They were condemned and executed. They denied their guilt with their last breath. The prejudices of the nation had extended themselves to the seats of justice. The cries of humanity were drowned in the clamours of party and the terrors of the weak and ignorant. The contradictions, the absurdities, the absolute impossibilities conveyed in some parts of the evidence were overlooked. Men thought, that innocence was incompatible with the delusions of popery. They even deemed a denial of a crime which was never committed, an argument of the last degree of obstinacy and guilt\*.

THE year 1678 closed with proceedings which those who love their country could wish to expunge from her annals. But the terrors of the people, wrought up to a degree of madness, by the joint influence of opposite parties, were far from being yet at an end. The intemperance of the commons in prosecuting the popish plot had communicated a flame to the nation, which blood only could extinguish. Those who had no hopes of deriving benefit from confusion, saw before them a gloomy prospect. They dreaded a renewal of those troubles which had, forty years before,

1679.  
Distracted  
state

\* Auctor. citat.



C H A P.

V.

1679.

exposed the nation to all the miseries of despotism and public confusion. Though the cry of the people was only directed against popery, the attacks of their representatives seemed to point at the throne and the royal line. The conduct of the present commons was compared, with a degree of justice, to the behaviour of their predecessors, in the reign of Charles I. They had refused supplies. They had impeached the minister. They seemed inclined to circumscribe the power, if not to entrench on what was called the inherent rights of the crown. They encouraged the jealousies of the people. They promoted their fears. They adopted their prejudices, and improved their credulity with every art.

of the nation.

THE colour of the times was not unlike the beginning of the misfortunes of the preceding reign: but there was no similarity between the parties that contended in the two periods. The leaders of the present commons were men of less ability, and more dishonest than their predecessors. Charles II. possessed better parts, though less virtue than his father. Having, by his preposterous and even criminal councils, raised the storm, which threatened now to fall upon himself and his family, he was found to be possessed of prudence, and in the event, of firmness sufficient to direct it against the heads of his opponents. He gave line to their fury, till with struggling they fatigued themselves out of their strength. He rendered them suspected for their violence. He gained the people through the folly of his enemies and his own assumed moderation. The profligacy of a Buckingham, the unprincipled intrigues of a Shaftesbury, the vehemence of some weak, though perhaps well-meaning men, in whom virtue was soured into passion, threatened evils more obvious than those they were meant to oppose. Besides, the body of the people were from principle attached to monarchy. They had lately found, that a republic was another name for an abject tyranny, which even derived not a wretched alleviation from the antiquity of its forms.

When



When factious men carried matters too far, they were deserted by the public opinion. The King, by being driven to extremity, found the way to suppress the cabals of a party, by means which almost destroyed the liberties of the subject.

C H A P.  
V.  
1679.

BUT these were consequences which arose from the succeeding events. Charles, despairing of any good from the present parliament, determined to meet it no more. A proclamation for its dissolution was published on the twenty-fifth of January<sup>b</sup>, and at the same time writs were issued for assembling another, on the sixth of March. The King could not in a worse time appeal to the choice of his subjects. The whole body of the people believed the plot, and were incensed against the papists. Though he himself was marked out as a victim, by the evidence which established the existence of the conspiracy, men were accustomed to join the court with the church of Rome. The connection with France, but above all, the avowed popery of the Duke of York, rendered suspected councils which he was supposed to lead. The elections, as might have been foreseen, were made with all the prejudices which inflamed the times. The most violent in the former parliament were rechosen. Others of the same principles were added to their number. The court exerted its influence in vain. The country-party prevailed almost every where; and the King saw, when it was too late, that the new representatives were likely to become even more troublesome and refractory than the old.

Parliament  
dissolved.

THOUGH his own measures had alienated the affections of his subjects from the King, he ascribed, with reason, the greatest part of his misfortunes to his brother's religion. He conjured that infatuated Prince to conform to the established church. He sent to him<sup>c</sup> the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of

Duke of  
York with-  
draws.

<sup>b</sup> Journals of the lords.

<sup>c</sup> Feb. 21, O. S.

Winchester,



C H A P.  
V.  
1679.

Winchester, to persuade him, if possible, to become again a protestant. Their arguments were lost on his obstinacy. He told them, that he could not alter his opinion; and that he disdained to profess what he did not believe. Danby advised the King<sup>d</sup> to desire him to withdraw beyond sea, to appease the people, and to satisfy the new parliament that popish councils no longer prevailed. This also the Duke declined, as he deemed that his retiring would be construed into a confession of guilt. The popish lords in the Tower conjured him to withdraw. They deputed to him the Countess of Powis for that purpose<sup>e</sup>; but he refused to listen to her entreaties. The King at length insisted upon his departure. He wrote him a letter containing his request, assuring him of his affection, and promising his invariable attention to his interests. The Duke, the most submissive of all subjects, obeyed his brother's commands. He left London a few<sup>f</sup> days before the meeting of parliament; and having visited his daughter and the Prince of Orange at the Hague<sup>g</sup>, he fixed his residence at Brussels.

Charles dis-  
avows the  
legitimacy of  
Monmouth.

To satisfy the world, as well as to place at ease the mind of his brother, that he was resolved to adhere to the regular succession to the crown, Charles subscribed a paper, in the presence of his council, on the third of March, that he never was married to any woman except the Queen. The ambition of the Duke of Monmouth was the source of this solemn certificate. Flattered by the popular party, and, from various causes, the favourite of the people, he had long entertained hopes of possessing the crown. Either he himself, or his pretended friends, had frequently circulated reports, that Charles had been actually married to his mother. Upon the removal of the Duke of York from the kingdom, and from the prospect of his being excluded from the succession

<sup>d</sup> James II. 1679. Burnet.

<sup>e</sup> James II. 1679.

<sup>f</sup> Feb. 25, O. S. <sup>g</sup> March 1.



to the throne, through the jealousy of parliament, the legitimacy of Monmouth became again a principal topic of conversation. Notwithstanding his great affection for Monmouth, Charles was highly offended at his presumption. Monmouth, with a degree of folly suitable to his own circumscribed talents, joined himself to the most violent opponents of the court. He even continued, after the first attestation, to encourage the belief of the lawfulness of his own birth. This circumstance obliged Charles to renew his protestation, and make it particular, against Lucy Walters, the Duke of Monmouth's mother <sup>h</sup>.

CHAP.  
V.  
1679.

WHILE the nation was employed in chusing representatives, the King endeavoured to make himself independent of parliament, by drawing a new subsidy from France<sup>i</sup>. But Lewis preferred his connexion with the popular party to the friendship of a prince whose authority had so much declined. He was also informed, that the connexion between Charles and the Prince of Orange had acquired additional strength. He was told by his ambassador in London, who was often ill informed, that the Prince had remitted considerable sums to England, to support the dignity and power of the crown<sup>k</sup>. He rejected, therefore, the proposals of strict union offered by Charles; and that Prince, urged by his necessities, was forced to meet a parliament whose violence he justly feared. The supply voted in the last winter had not passed into a law. Besides, it was connected with such severe and humiliating clauses, that he scarce could regret its being lost. The army was not yet disbanded, and it neither could be retained nor dismissed without money.

Ineffectual  
proposals to  
France.

THE new parliament met at Westminster, on the sixth of March; and the King opened the session with a speech, which seemed to suit the times. He met them, he said, with the most

New parlia-  
ment.

<sup>h</sup> Kennet, vol. iii.

<sup>i</sup> Dalrymple's Append. p. 208.

<sup>k</sup> Ibid.

earnest



C H A P.  
V.  
1679.

earnest desire of uniting the minds of his subjects to himself, and of reconciling them among themselves. He was resolved, he told them, that it should be their faults, if the success should not be answerable to his desires. He dwelt upon many great things, which he had done to accomplish that end. He mentioned, among these, the exclusion of Papists from parliament, the execution of the plotters, and some of the murderers of Godfrey. He had disbanded, he informed them, as many of the army as he could satisfy with respect to arrears. He declared his readiness, upon their giving a supply, to dismiss the rest. He reiterated his recommendation of union. He asked money to pay the fleet, to make up the deficiency in the last poll-bill, to remove the anticipations upon his standing revenue. He derived merit from removing his brother from his councils. He concluded with a wish to find them a healing parliament; and he assured them, that he expected from them to be defended from the machinations of those worst of men, who endeavoured to render himself and his government odious to his people<sup>1</sup>.

Difference  
concerning a  
speaker.

THE expected effect of this soothing speech was blasted by a sudden difference between Charles and the lower house. Seymour, who had been speaker in the last parliament, was chosen again to that office; but he was rejected by the King, when he was presented in the usual form. A prior quarrel with Danby was the source of this affront on Seymour. He had been privately in the pay of the crown, and he carried his gratitude to the court to a degree which merited and received censure. But the payment of the pension ceased with his services, and he, therefore, had herded of late with the popular party. The commons, returning to their house, fell into warm debates. Meres, proposed by the court-party, was rejected with disdain. They agreed that the choice of their own speaker was a right inherent in the

<sup>1</sup> Journals of the Lords, March 6, 1679.

commons,



commons; that the presenting him to the King for approbation was a matter of mere form. They presented an address on that subject; but it was answered by a prorogation. The affair was, at length, compromised. Seymour was, for the time, set aside. The right of the house was, however, ascertained. Serjeant Gregory, recommended by the Lord Ruffel, was chosen speaker, and instantly approved by the King<sup>m</sup>.

C H A P.  
V.

1679.

THE disputes concerning a speaker employed twelve days. On the eighteenth of March, the house of commons sat upon business. Consisting chiefly of the same men, they adopted the measures of the former parliament with unabating vehemence and zeal. They appointed a committee to inspect the journals of the last session. They commanded them to draw up a state of the matters then depending and undetermined, and to lay it immediately before the house<sup>n</sup>. A committee of secrecy was formed to inquire into the Popish plot. Tong, Otes, and Bedloe, were summoned to attend, and were heard. The commons reminded the lords of the impeachment of Danby. They ordered further articles to be exhibited against him. They demanded that he should be sequestered from parliament, and committed to safe custody<sup>o</sup>. An address was presented to the King, to pay the five hundred pounds reward to Bedloe, and to commit him to the care of the Duke of Monmouth<sup>p</sup>. Another address was presented for a solemn day of humiliation, as in times of public calamity and danger.

Proceedings.

BUT the prosecution of the Earl of Danby was the favourite object of the lower house. They reminded again the lords of his impeachment<sup>q</sup>. They demanded justice, in the name of the commons of England, at their bar. Charles, foreseeing the violence

Violence of  
the commons

<sup>m</sup> Kennet, Burnet, James II.

<sup>n</sup> Mar. 19.

<sup>o</sup> Mar. 20.

<sup>p</sup> Mar. 21.

<sup>q</sup> Mar. 22.



C H A P.  
V.  
1679.

of parliament, and determined to save his minister, had already passed his pardon under the great seal. To screen the chancellor from the animadversions of the commons, the King affixed the seal to the parchment with his own hand. It was contrived to be a stamp pardon by creation, that no memorial of it might remain in any public office, being only intended for an emergency. Upon the repeated messages of the commons against Danby, the King came to the house of lords, and avowed publicly the pardon. He declared, that he could not think Danby criminal, as he had acted by his orders; and he assured both houses, that he was resolved, if the present pardon was defective, to renew it again and again, till it should be as complete as the law required. He, at the same time, informed them, that he was determined to dismiss the treasurer from his presence and all employments.

against Dan-  
by.

THE lords seemed to adhere at first to the pardon. The commons flew into a violent flame. They immediately voted an address to the King. They represented the irregularity and illegality of the pardon<sup>r</sup>. They explained the dangerous consequence of granting any pardon to persons lying under an impeachment by the commons of England. The peers, to lessen by flattering their zeal, sent the usher of the black rod to take Danby into custody; but he was no where to be found<sup>s</sup>. The commons instantly brought in a bill to attain him, in default of his surrendering by a certain day<sup>t</sup>. But when it was sent up to the lords, they clogged it with amendments, and destroyed its design<sup>u</sup>. A dispute was kindled between the two houses. Conference followed conference. Altercation, rather than argument, prevailed. The peers were cool, but determined; the commons warm and obstinate. The latter addressed the King to issue a proclamation for apprehending Danby; and that nobleman, dreading the conse-

<sup>r</sup> Mar. 24.

<sup>s</sup> Mar. 25.

<sup>t</sup> April 4.

<sup>u</sup> April 15.

quence



quence of these quarrels, surrendered himself to the black rod, and resolved to plead the King's pardon \*.

CHAP.  
V.

1679.

THE vehemence of the commons, in supporting rather than tracing the Popish plot, was equal to their violence against Danby. They expelled and sent to the Tower colonel Sackville, for disbelieving the existence of a plot. They renewed the vote of the last house of commons, asserting their own firm persuasion of the existence of a conspiracy. They, however, applied themselves at last to the business of the nation, having suspended, for a moment, their animosities, their passions, and their fears. They examined the arrears due to the undisciplined part of the army; and they voted two hundred and six thousand pounds, for the express purpose of paying off and dismissing all the forces then in England, levied since the twenty-ninth of September, 1677<sup>y</sup>. The supply was ordered to be raised by a six months tax on land, to commence at the termination of the tax then in being. The crown experienced from the present commons an instance of complaisance, which the former had denied. Upon a question, that the supply should be paid into the exchequer, and not into the chamber of London, it was carried in favour of the first, by a great majority<sup>z</sup>.

Their vehemence concerning the plot.

THE King, to soothe the commons, made a show of changing his measures. He acquainted both houses, on the twenty-first of April, that he had established a new privy-council, which was never to exceed the number of thirty. He had chosen, he informed them, persons worthy and able to direct his affairs. He was resolved, he told them, to receive their advice in all weighty and important concerns; and next to his great council, the parliament, which he was determined often to consult, he declared his determination to be guided by the council of thirty. Several popular leaders in both houses were admitted into this body.

King chuses a new council,

\* April 15.

<sup>y</sup> April 16.

<sup>z</sup> April 17.



C H A P.

V.

1679.

Shaftesbury, by a strange vicissitude of fortune, was made president. The Earl of Essex, a man of better principles than abilities, being made first lord of the treasury, when it was put in commission upon the resignation of the Earl of Danby, was, from his office, a member of this council. His brother, Sir Henry Capel, conspicuous for the vehemence of his public speaking against the court, was also of the number. The Lord Russel was likewise a member. The Viscount Halifax, a nobleman of considerable talents, was admitted into the council, together with the Earl of Salisbury and the Viscount Fauconberg, who had distinguished themselves against the King's measures in the house of lords. Powle, an orator on the side of patriotism in the house of commons, and even Seymour, whom the King had rejected as speaker, were of the new council. The rest consisted of the principal officers of state, or of such lords and commons as had, from principle, adhered always to the crown.

which has no  
effect on the  
commons.

THE placing of Shaftesbury at the head of the council of thirty furnished a subject of speculation and surprise. He owed his present elevation to the terrors of the Dutchess of Portsmouth, and the precautions of the Earl of Sunderland<sup>a</sup>. The latter, a man of intriguing policy and capacity, had lately succeeded Coventry, by purchase, as secretary of state. To support his influence, he insinuated himself into the favour of the mistress, and, through her, governed, in some degree, the affairs of his sovereign. Afraid of the inquiring abilities of Shaftesbury, he wished to make him a partner of measures which he expected privately to guide. Having terrified the Dutchess of Portsmouth with the idea of prosecutions and impeachments, she overcame the aversion of Charles to Shaftesbury. The King himself entertained hopes, that by placing their most violent leaders in his service, he might regain the affections of his parliament. He was, however, disappointed.

<sup>a</sup> James II. 1679.



The commons received his declaration of a new council with the greatest indifference and coldness. They believed the whole to be a juggle to obtain money, or an artifice to induce the country-party to drop their pursuit of grievances, by disarming with offices the violence of their leaders.

CHAP.  
V.  
1679.

REGARDLESS of the communication made by the King, the commons continued their deliberations with unabating zeal. They resolved, without one dissenting voice, "that the Duke of York's being a Papist, and the hopes of his coming, as such, to the crown, had given the greatest countenance and encouragement to the plots and designs against the King and the Protestant religion." The Lord Russel was ordered to carry to the house of peers this vote for their concurrence. This was plainly a preparatory step to the eventual exclusion of the Duke from the throne. Charles took the advice of his new council upon this alarming vote. He laid before them the limitations, which he communicated, on the thirtieth of April, to the two houses. He told his parliament, that he was ready to consent to any law that, without altering the succession to the crown in the right line, should limit the authority of a Popish successor to secure their religious and civil liberties. The limitations proposed, in a manner, annihilated the power of the crown. A Popish successor was to be deprived of the right of bestowing spiritual promotions, and of either appointing or displacing privy-councillors or judges, without the authority and permission of parliament. That assembly only was to possess the power, either by themselves, or such persons as they should chuse, to appoint and remove lords-lieutenants of counties, and the officers of the navy. To prevent the want of a parliament upon the King's demise, it was settled, "that the parliament then in being might continue; or if there should be no parliament in being, then that immediately preceding

Proposal of  
limitations.

April 27.

might



C H A P.  
V.

1679.

Bill of exclu-  
sion.

might reassemble and sit, without any new summons and elections<sup>c</sup>.”

THESE ample concessions were either received in silence, or treated with contempt. The fury of the commons was not to be satisfied with the most humiliating condescensions. They trusted least the King when he promised the most. A bill for the total exclusion of the Duke of York was introduced on the fifteenth of May<sup>d</sup>; and, on the twenty-first of the same month, it was read a second time, and, by a great majority, ordered to be committed. The commons, in the mean time, followed with vehemence their prosecution against Danby. They resolved, that the pardon which he claimed was illegal and void. They came to a resolution, that commoners who should maintain its validity should be accounted betrayers of the liberties of England. They resolved to go up in a body, and demand justice at the bar of the lords. Several conferences were held between the two houses concerning the manner of his trial. The Popish lords, notwithstanding the prejudices of the times, were less an object of persecution than the fallen minister. His manner had created to him many enemies. Several doubted his honesty. Some were satisfied of his guilt. A day at last was fixed for his trial. He resolved to plead his pardon. They were determined to prove its illegality. An instance of their violence on this subject appears on their votes. They ordered such members of the house as were of the long robe to prepare themselves with reasons against the pardon pleaded by the Earl of Danby.

Resolution  
gainst the  
bishops.

DURING the preparations in the two houses for the trial of Danby and the Popish lords, a new subject of debate arose. It having been usual with the bishops to withdraw from judgments in capital cases, the commons resolved, “that the lords spiritual

<sup>c</sup> April 20.<sup>d</sup> May 15.



ought not to have any vote in any proceedings against the lords in the Tower \*." The cause of this resolution requires to be explained. Danby, throughout his administration, had improved into an affection for his own person the influence which the crown had usually with the church. The validity of the pardon was, in the first place, to be debated; and the commons were afraid that the lords spiritual would decide the case in favour of the crown, to save their political friend. Though the bishops made a rule of retiring before judgment, they generally sat and voted in motions preparatory to trials. The pardon, though a preliminary, was the hinge upon which the whole must turn. The commons, therefore, insisted upon excluding the bishops. The lords were unwilling to make any alteration in the forms of their judicature. Unsurmountable difficulties arose. The houses adhered to their respective opinions. Charles took advantage of their quarrels. He prorogued the parliament, and put an end, for the time, to the bill of exclusion †.

THOUGH the principal attention of the commons was turned toward the exclusion of the Duke of York and the prosecution of Danby, they paid some regard to other securities of public liberty. They passed the *habeas corpus* act, a law which peculiarly distinguishes the freedom of the constitution of England. The personal liberty of individuals is a property of human nature, which nothing but the certainty of a crime committed ought ever to abridge or restrain. The English nation accordingly had, very early and repeatedly, secured with public acts this valuable part of their rights as men. The great charter and many subsequent statutes had provided, that no man should be imprisoned by application or petition to the King, but by legal indictment or process of the common law. The petition of right provided further securities for this necessary freedom; and an act passed in the year

*Habeas corpus act.*

\* May 17.

† May 27.



C H A P.  
V.

1679.

1641 directed, that any person restrained of his liberty should, on demand of his counsel, be brought before the court of King's-Bench or Common-Pleas, who were to determine the justice or injustice of his commitment. The act passed in the present session of parliament explained the manner of obtaining the writ of *habeas corpus*, with such distinctness and precision as reflected honour on the patriotism and penetration of those who carried it into a law. But something still was wanting to render this salutary act complete. The demanding of unreasonable bail or sureties for the appearance of the person under restraint might evade the law. It was, therefore, after the Revolution, declared by statute, "that no excessive bail should be required".

Five Jesuits  
condemned.

THE prorogation of the parliament was succeeded by the trial of five Jesuits, for being concerned in the Popish plot. Charles, though he gave no credit to that ridiculous imposture, continued to yield to the current of the times. The rage of the people had not yet abated; and it would be imprudent, if not impossible, to save the innocent, by the utmost exertion of his authority. He left the unfortunate culprits to the perjuries of Otes and Bedloe, to the intemperate violence of a weak and even profligate chief justice, and the prejudices and terrors of a credulous populace. One Dugdale, who had served the Lord Aston in the capacity of steward, appeared as a new evidence when the Jesuits were arraigned. Carrying the appearance of a man of sense and sobriety, he acquired more credit than either Otes or Bedloe. But he was also an impostor, and his testimony appeared afterwards monstrous and incredible. To invalidate the evidence of Otes, the prisoners proved, by sixteen students from St. Omers, the most of them young men of family, that Otes was in that place at the very time he had sworn he had been in treasonable consultations with the Jesuits in England. The testimony of Catholics had no weight,

\* First of W. and M.

either



either with the court or the jury. The witnesses were, without doors, insulted and beat by the mob. Within, they were reviled and brow-beat by Scroggs. The prisoners, as might have been expected, were condemned. They denied to the last their being guilty. They gained no credit, and they died unpitied<sup>a</sup>.

C H A P.  
V.

1679.

THE day after the condemnation of the five Jesuits, Langhorne, a Roman-Catholic lawyer, was tried at the Old-Bailey. Otes swore, that he had been privy to the consultations for killing the King. Bedloe gave his testimony upon oath, that he had seen Langhorne registering letters concerning the plot. Both joined in affirming, that he had in his custody the papal patents for the lords in the Tower, together with a commission to himself for the office of advocate-general of the army. The improbability of the evidence, the strong proofs produced to invalidate the testimony of the informers, the arguments, the character of Langhorne, his vehement protestations of innocence, had no weight with the court and the jury. Inhumanity itself was added to injustice and prejudice. The prisoner was condemned, amid the acclamations of a crowded audience. The populace almost tore to pieces the witnesses of the unhappy convict, upon their approach to the court. He was reprieved for a month, to make discoveries. The unfortunate man knew nothing of a plot that never existed; and he died, protesting his innocence with his last breath.

Trial of  
Langhorne.

THE reign of delusion was not, however, destined to last long. The people, staggered with the firm denial of so many dying men, began to resume their natural humanity. Their eyes were gradually opened to the truth, and they wondered from whence their fears had come. They now called in question many things, which, in the heat of their zeal, they had believed. They reflected on the infamous character of the informers, and they saw

Sir G. Wake-  
man acquit-  
ted.

<sup>a</sup> Burnet, Kennet, Echard.



C H A P.  
V.  
1679.

the improbability of the evidence. Their minds were, at length, prepared to perceive the truth, and to judge without prejudice. In this state of opinion came on the trial of Sir George Wakeman, the Queen's physician. The perjury of the witnesses appeared in such striking colours, that he was acquitted. Even Corker and Marshal, two priests, who were tried at the same time, escaped, notwithstanding the public aversion to their profession. The chief justice himself, who had exhibited an indecent warmth against former prisoners, seemed to change with the times. He became a kind of counsel for the culprits. He gave a favourable charge to the jury. Otes and Bedloe, with their usual insolence, accused him to his face of partiality. They even carried their accusation to the King and council, where they had been treated with so much attention before<sup>h</sup>.

Parliament  
dissolved.

CHARLES, unwilling to meet his parliament, dissolved it by proclamation on the twelfth of July. On the same day writs were issued for summoning another to assemble at Westminster on the seventeenth of October. Before the King adopted this measure, he consulted his council of thirty. Their opinions were various on the subject. Shaftesbury declared against the dissolution, but he was over-ruled by Essex and Halifax. Essex, though he loved the freedom of his country, thought that the parliament had carried their resolutions too far. Besides, he blamed the violence of Shaftesbury, who, though nominally engaged for the people, seemed only anxious to gratify his own revenge against the royal line. Halifax was gained by Charles to join Essex in advising the same measure<sup>i</sup>. Thus ended a parliament, whose violence can scarce be excused by their best measures. Instead of endeavouring to bring back the heated minds of men to moderation, they added their own fervour to the prejudices of the populace. Their opposition to the measures of the court, their zeal for the

<sup>h</sup> Vid. their Memorial.

<sup>i</sup> Burnet.



Protestant religion, their fears of the accession of the Duke of York to the crown, and, above all, their improvement of the laws of *habeas corpus*, stamped, soon after, their measures with the reputation of patriotism. But since it is now known, that the principal leaders in both the houses were in the pay of France, this age, at least, may cease to admire.

C H A P.  
V.

1679.

THE history of Scotland, during this reign, labours under the want of importance, which attends a nation whose sovereign resides in another country. Enthusiasm on the side of an ignorant populace, and violence on the part of an imprudent government, fill the whole circle of Scottish affairs. These, co-operating together, produced events in the present year, which require a prior detail of facts to be understood. Lauderdale, who secretly affected presbytery, relaxed a part of his severity against the Covenanters, in the year 1677. The presumption of the conventiclers rose in proportion to the indulgence of the state. Present ease was lost upon an unfortunate race of men, still sore from former injuries. Their preachers inflamed them into a kind of madness, in field-meetings, to which their hearers came all armed. They mixed treason with other exhortations in their discourses; and the episcopal party found means to revive those impolitic severities which had been just laid aside. In the month of November 1677, the council came to a resolution to suppress with an army of Highlanders the disturbances created by the Covenanters in the western counties. The noblemen and gentlemen of the nearest Highlands were ordered to assemble their vassals, in the end of the following January, at Stirling. Arms, ammunition, and stores, were sent to that town; and every thing was prepared, as for a campaign against a foreign enemy<sup>k</sup>.

Affairs of  
Scotland.<sup>k</sup> Woodrow, Burnet, &c.



C H A P.  
V.1679.  
Persecution  
and

THE Highlanders, to the number of six thousand, joined the King's regular forces; and, on the second of February 1678, marched westward from Stirling, and dispersed themselves in free quarters through Cunningham and Kyle. The unfortunate people made no resistance to so great a force. Many excesses were committed. The country was, in a manner, ravaged without controul; but the council at length relenting, ordered the Highlanders to march back into their own country. Several of the nobility of the western counties repaired to London, and complained of this outrage. Charles admitted them to an audience, in the presence of the Dukes of York and Monmouth, and the Earl of Danby. He was shocked at their narration. He said, "these were horrid things." He ordered them to commit the whole to paper. He, however, found it necessary to approve of the proceedings of the council; but he put a stop to their barbarous severity. Before the end of the year, he altered his measures in Scotland; and had not the Popish plot interfered, he might have made some amends, by future lenity, for the rigour of former persecutions<sup>1</sup>.

designs of the  
Covenanters.

THE madness which infected the bulk of the English nation, with regard to the Popish plot, extended itself to the Scottish fanatics. A distrust of government, on account of its apparent intentions, prevailed in England; but in Scotland a jealousy of the court arose from actual injuries. The lower sort, from a spiritual pride, were the natural enemies of kingly government. Intolerant in their principles, they abhorred every other system of faith but their own; and, in their particular aversion to the church of Rome, they easily believed that its interests were abetted by a government, of whose rigour they had just cause to complain. The success of the country-party in the English parliament

<sup>1</sup> Burnet.

raised



raised the spirits of the fanatics, and gave life to their hopes. Some of their principal leaders were probably animated to insurrection by the heads of the republican party in England. The conventicles became more frequent and more numerous. Their preachers, with an insolence scarce pardonable, where it is not despised, exhorted their hearers to pay no land-tax, to deny the legality of acts of parliament, to oppose the King's authority. Every field-meeting became, in some degree, an army. Men came provided with weapons, and seemed ready to support by force their opinions, in civil as well as spiritual affairs. They, however, acted only on the defensive, till time should bring to maturity their more extensive designs <sup>m</sup>.

C H A P.  
V.  
1679.

THE enthusiasm of some of the party broke, at length, through the suspense of the rest. Sharpe, Archbishop of St. Andrews, had persecuted with rigour, if not with extreme violence, the Covenanters, ever since the Restoration. This prelate having been deputed by the Scottish clergy, in the year 1660, to General Monk, found means to insinuate himself into the favour of the court, even before the King's departure from Breda. When the resolution of establishing Episcopacy in Scotland was taken, he openly deserted a party whom he had before betrayed. The dignity of Primate was the reward of his apostacy, and the fanatics added personal animosity and enmity to the aversion which his rigours and impolitic zeal had raised. His life had been attempted several years before this period, by one Mitchel, a distempered enthusiast. Mitchel had been executed for that crime in 1678, by means which threw odium and dishonour on Sharpe. The Archbishop, by nature artful and disingenuous, was vindictive in his temper, haughty, and insufferably vain. He was more offended at the reproaches of the fanatics, than even at their doctrines; and, in every one of his measures, private revenge seemed

Murder of

<sup>m</sup> Sidney's Letters, &c.



C H A P.  
V.

1679.

Archbishop  
Sharpe.

to predominate over his zeal for what he called the public good of religion. The most zealous among the covenanters considered him as an unrelenting persecutor; and they reconciled to religion a design of removing him out of the world <sup>a</sup>.

ON the third of May, the primate, on his way to St. Andrews, was attacked by a party of these furious zealots. The most of his servants were absent. His daughter only accompanied him in the coach. Having fired upon him in vain with their carabines, they dispatched him with their swords. His murder was accompanied with circumstances of the utmost barbarity. When he stretched forth his hand for mercy to one of the assassins whom he seemed to know, the inhuman villain almost cut it off with a stroke of his sword. His daughter was wounded in several places, in endeavouring to cover her aged father from the murderers. They even mangled the dead body. They at length left the torn carcase, with every mark of indignity, on the highway. The errors, and even the crimes of his life were forgotten in the barbarity of his death. Men were shocked at an enthusiasm that gave the name of a religious action to the worst of crimes. An universal joy followed the murder of Sharpe among the adherents of the covenant. The pulpits thundered forth the applause of the assassins; and even some, who approved not of the manner of the deed, expressed their gladness at the removal of the arch enemy of their religious forms <sup>o</sup>.

Infurrection  
in the West.

THE council, alarmed at the death of Sharpe, renewed their severities against conventicles. The troops quartered in the western counties received orders to disperse by force all field meetings, wherever they should be found. The fanatics came armed and in great numbers to their places of worship. One Hamilton, and

<sup>a</sup> Woodrow, Burnet, Pub. Intell.<sup>o</sup> Ibid.



a preacher of the name of Douglas, at the head of eighty armed men, came to Rutherglen, a village two miles from Glasgow, and published, with great solemnity, a declaration. They judged the twenty-ninth of May, the anniversary of the Restoration, the most proper day for their purpose. They made use of the bonfires kindled upon the occasion, to burn the acts of parliament and those of the council, which had established prelacy and suppressed conventicles. Graham of Claverhouse, famous afterwards under the title of Viscount Dundee, attacked a conventicle on the thirty-first of May, but he was repulsed with loss. The fanatics, flushed with their success, marched to Glasgow; but being beat back by the regular forces, they formed a kind of preaching-camp at Hamilton. The alarm spread in an instant over the country. The news was carried to London in three days. The King's troops retired from Glasgow, and on the seventh of June they were cantoned in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh<sup>p</sup>.

C H A P.  
V.

1679.

CHARLES, apprized of the insurrection, dispatched Monmouth, then commander in chief of all his forces, to Scotland. The Duke left London, with a few servants only, on the fifteenth of June; and on the nineteenth, he marched at the head of the army from Edinburgh. The insurgents in the mean time were perplexed beyond measure. Few men of any rank had joined them; and the chief talent of their leaders was prayer. Discord, timidity, and confusion prevailed. Some proposed to lay their grievances before Monmouth. Others thwarted that measure, who had nothing themselves to propose. The first however prevailed. They sent commissioners to the Duke. He refused to treat till they should lay down their arms. He gave them but half an hour to determine. The insurgents lay beyond Bothwell-bridge, which

Rout at  
Bothwell-  
bridge.<sup>p</sup> Woodrow, Burnet, &c.

they



C H A P.  
V.

1679.

they had occupied with a strong party. Upon the return of the commissioners their quarrels and debates were renewed. Monmouth in the mean time advanced. He forced the passage of the bridge. A rout, rather than a fight ensued. The fanatics possessed no conduct. They exhibited no valour. Their enthusiasm forsook them when peril came; and though they talked with familiarity of Heaven, they were afraid to die. Seven hundred were killed, twelve hundred taken. Scarce five of the King's forces were either killed or wounded<sup>a</sup>.

Clemency of  
Monmouth.

MONMOUTH, by nature mild, and an enemy to cruelty, used his victory with humanity and moderation. He permitted not his troops to ravage the country, nor to burn the habitations of the insurgents. Such of the lower sort as promised good behaviour, were dismissed without punishment. Some of the spiritual leaders of the rebels were carried to Edinburgh, and afterwards executed. The moderation of Monmouth ought not, however, to be altogether ascribed to his generous disposition. He abetted the opinions of the opposition in England. He endeavoured to become popular in Scotland, the affairs of which he was then destined to guide<sup>b</sup>. He however over-acted his part, and raised the jealousy of the King. Charles was informed, that the Duke had behaved himself toward the Scottish fanatics as if he intended rather to place himself at their head than to repel their progress; and that he was more inclined to court their friendship than to punish their rebellion. Having quashed the insurrection in the space of a few days, Monmouth took leave of the council on the sixth of July, and returned to London. He was received by the King with every mark of affection, and complimented with the title of Highness, an honour which flattered his pride and encouraged his ambition<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Woodrow, Gazette.<sup>b</sup> James II.<sup>c</sup> James II. 1679.



WHILE England was harassed with a popish plot, and Scotland disturbed with insurrections, an unusual tranquillity prevailed in Ireland. His country derived this happiness from the prudent conduct of its chief governor, the Duke of Ormonde. That noble person having been declared Lord-lieutenant in the summer of 1677, received the sword of state from his predecessor, the Earl of Essex, on the seventeenth of August. He applied himself immediately to the arrangement of the revenue. He inquired minutely into all its branches. He examined into the terms of the late farm. He made a new contract. He improved the finances to three hundred thousand pounds a year. With this sum he maintained an army of ten thousand men; he equipped some frigates to guard the coast; he kept the forts of the kingdom in good repair. A surplus of forty-four thousand pounds a-year was allowed for the support of Tangier. In the year 1678 it was thought necessary to call a parliament, for laying a fresh duty upon exciseable liquors, and to confirm by an act the decrees of the court of claims\*.

C H A P.  
V.

1679.  
Affairs of

BUT when Ormonde had made some improvements, and was meditating more, intelligence of the popish plot from England threw the Irish into a general consternation. The council met for the security of the kingdom. All officers were ordered to their respective stations. A proclamation was issued for disarming the papists. The commissioners of array were ordered to prepare the militia for the field. Notwithstanding all these precautions, the Duke escaped not from censure. His life was threatened in Ireland. The enemies of his principles accused him in England. The Earl of Shaftesbury recommended the consideration of Ireland to the lords. He represented the unguarded state of Dublin. He threw reflections on Ormonde. He boasted in public, that he

Ireland.

\* Carte, Leland.



C. H. A. P.

V.

1679.

himself was possessed of proofs of an Irish plot. While the Duke was preparing to come to London, to vindicate himself from these aspersions, the parliament was dissolved. Charles, satisfied with his conduct, resolved to continue him in the government. The discontents in England rendered it an object of the last importance to retain Ireland in faithful hands<sup>†</sup>.

State of

THE dissolution of his second parliament raised the hopes of the friends of Charles, and depressed the minds of his enemies. In the temporary calm which succeeded this event, the nation began manifestly to divide itself into those two parties whose concussion had, some years before, laid the constitution in ruins. The zeal of the most violent on both sides, rose gradually into personal resentment, enmity, and political fury. The dispassionate and peaceable part of mankind foresaw nothing but confusion, distress, and public misery from the present dissensions. No strangers to the anarchy which had succeeded, in a late period, to the subversion of monarchy, they adhered to the crown in their opinions. The body of the people, who had been inflamed by the popish plot, were now becoming more cool. The artful conduct of Charles, had prevented his being involved in the public jealousy which was kindled against his brother. He had fallen down a stream which it was in vain to oppose; and retained the affections of the populace, by pretending to be impressed with their fears. His open, easy, and accommodating disposition was calculated to keep the good opinion which his policy had acquired.

parties,

MANY who disliked the measures of the court were offended at the violence of the popular leaders. The vehemence with which they prosecuted the popish plot, had degenerated from zeal into passion. They seemed in some instances more eager to punish the

<sup>†</sup> Carte's Ormonde.

accused



accused than to ascertain their guilt. The discerning began to suspect, that they carried forward their own private designs under the specious veil of public good. The attempt to exclude the Duke of York from the throne was received with a degree of jealousy, by several who feared his principles and detested his bigotry. To break the line of succession, was esteemed a great step toward the abolition of monarchy. The benefit of making the Prince himself derive his right, as well as his authority, from the laws, was neither understood nor seen. Men formed their judgment of the future from the events of past times. Disputed claims to the throne, had involved their fathers in all the miseries of a long civil war, and they were afraid to entail the like misfortunes upon their posterity.

C H A P.  
V.

1679.

THOUGH these opinions were as yet only cherished in secret, and of they escaped not the penetrating eye of the King. He endeavoured to encourage them by his moderation, and at the same time with an appearance of spirit. Though indolent by nature, and in a great measure destitute of ambition, he was resolved not to sacrifice what HE deemed to be the rights of the crown, to a precarious offer of present ease. He found, that in proportion to the growth of violence on the side of his opponents, the number of his friends increased. The Cavaliers were ready, from their principles, to give him a support to which he had no title from his former gratitude. The commons, by an injudicious attack on the bishops, threw in a great degree the established clergy in the scale of the crown. The protestant sectaries had entered with vehemence into all the views of the popular party. Some of their leaders abetted other religious principles more than those of the church of England. The hierarchy remembered their misfortunes in past times; and they were afraid of the future. They had formerly fallen with monarchy, and, without its support, they now despaired to be able to stand. They dreaded the abolition of



## HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

prelacy, should the King be obliged to yield to the violence of his opponents. Charles wrought upon their apprehensions, and gained their favour. This powerful acquisition of strength, contributed greatly to the victory which he soon after gained.

political  
opinions.

BUT though several of the popular party turned their whole designs against monarchy, the views of others who joined them were only extended to public freedom. Afraid of the political principles, as well as of the religious bigotry, of the Duke of York, they had taken advantage of the present current against popery to exclude him from the succession. They foresaw that no limitations imposed by a predecessor, would be sufficient to defeat the influence which the lineal heir should acquire upon his ascending the throne. They feared every thing to themselves from the Duke's resentment. The stern obstinacy of his character, raised their terrors for their country. They had advanced too far not to go farther still. They were determined to proceed in an avowed and vigorous opposition. They even hoped to gain the royalists to their opinion, through their zeal against popery. They expected at length to obtain, from the indolence of the King, his consent to a temporary breach on the succession. Besides, the expediency of the thing appeared to them as obvious, as that the measure was well timed. A Prince who should owe his crown to the suffrages of the people, would be naturally more careful not to encroach on their freedom, than one who derived his whole rights from his ancestors.

The King  
falls sick.

MANY who were sensible of the justness of this position, were wavering in their opinions, and perplexed with doubts. They saw no certainty of safety to their religion and liberties, should the crown descend to the Duke of York. They could form no expectations, that either that Prince, or a great part of the nation, would tamely submit to his total exclusion. Their only hopes rested



rested upon the event of the King's surviving the Duke. But these hopes seemed to vanish, upon the former's falling suddenly ill. In the end of August, Charles was seized with severe fits of a tertian ague. A general consternation spread instantly through the kingdom. The anxiety of the people for his recovery rose in proportion to their fears for themselves. All the horrors of a civil war came at once on their minds. The enemies of the Duke of York were supposed to be ready to proceed to extremities, for their own safety. The friends of monarchy were determined to preserve the succession to the crown in the right line. The issue of the contest must have proved fatal to the nation. Should the first prevail, the return of confusion and anarchy was justly feared; and despotism must have been the consequence of the success of the latter.

THE Duke of York, who had resided during the summer at Brussels, received letters from the Earl of Feversham and others, that the King was in danger\*. Essex, Halifax, and Sunderland were then at the head of affairs. Their aversion to the Earl of Shaftesbury had induced them to favour the Duke. Sunderland wrote to him privately to hasten his return. He accordingly left Brussels on the eighth of September, accompanied by the Earl of Peterborough and by Churchill. He passed in a French shallop from Calais to Dover. He rode post with Churchill to London, without being known; lodged privately for the night at Sir Allan Apsey's, in St. James's Square, and next morning arrived at Windsor, before the King awaked. He found his brother almost restored to health, by the use of the Jesuits bark. Charles received him with every mark of affection. He however told him, that neither the situation of his affairs, nor the inclinations of the ministry, rendered it proper for him to remain in England. To gra-

The Duke of York returns.

\* James II. 1679.

tify



C H A P.  
V.

1679.

Monmouth  
disgraced.

tify the Duke for this seeming severity, and to remove his suspicions concerning Monmouth, the King dismissed the latter from all his employments, and commanded him to retire beyond sea \*.

THE behaviour of Monmouth during the King's illness was, however, the chief cause of his disgrace. Instead of expressing concern for his danger, he avowedly followed schemes to mount his throne. A dupe to the arts of Shaftesbury, and beyond measure ambitious, through excess of vanity, he hoped to gain, by the favour of the people, what he had despaired to obtain through the affection of his father. Charles was more offended at his want of gratitude to himself, than at his attachment to those who opposed his measures. He commanded Monmouth into his presence. He stripped him of the office of general. He ordered him immediately to depart the kingdom, and wait his pleasure. Monmouth heard these orders with heat. He told the King, that as he was not thought worthy of commanding the army, he would no longer remain captain of the guards. He, however, came next morning with more submission. He declared himself ready to obey in every thing the King; and he actually set out that very evening<sup>y</sup> from London. The affection of Charles was conspicuous in the midst of this severity. In a conference with Monmouth before his departure, it was resolved that the Duke of York should also quit the kingdom without delay<sup>z</sup>.

The Duke of  
York retires  
to Scotland.

WHEN the Duke of York was preparing to depart, Secretary Coventry proposed that he should retire to Scotland, rather than beyond sea. The King and Sunderland agreed to the measure; Essex readily assented, and Halifax yielded, after some hesitation. This resolution, however, escaped not the penetrating eyes of Shaftesbury, and the other leaders of the country-party. They were alarmed at a circumstance which seemed calculated to throw

\* James II. 1679.

<sup>y</sup> Ibid.<sup>z</sup> Ibid.



the weight of the Scottish nation in the scale of their greatest foe. The Duke took leave of his brother on the twenty-fifth of September, and, by the way of Holland, joined his family at Brussels. He wrote, according to a prior concert, from that place, on his arrival, to ask the King's leave to retire to Scotland; and to carry the Ladies Anne and Isabella, who had been lately permitted to visit the Dutchess, to see their sister the Princess of Orange. The yachts were sent to bring him from Holland. Some frigates were ordered to carry himself and his family to Scotland. Upon his arrival in the Downs, he returned to London. The season of the year was improper for a voyage by sea. The Dutchess was so ill that she vomited blood. His two daughters were indisposed. A week after his arrival at London, he began his journey northward. The crowds that attended his departure mortified his enemies, and flattered his own hopes<sup>a</sup>. The fate of Monmouth was different. When he was deserted by the King, he was forsaken by his friends. Lord Brandon only, of all those who paid their court to him when in favour, was his companion in disgrace<sup>b</sup>.

THE day after the Duke of York's departure for Scotland, Monmouth made his public appearance in London. Though he seemed to have been deserted in his disgrace, his return was announced with public demonstrations of joy. He sent to Charles; but the affection of that Prince had given way to his pride. He declared that he would not admit him into his presence, and he adhered to that resolution. He commanded him instantly to depart. Monmouth's folly was the cause of this severity. When he made a merit of yielding to the King's pleasure in quitting the kingdom, he continued his correspondence with the country-party. He held a private meeting with Mountague, and other disaffected persons, on the evening of his departure. His very

Monmouth  
returns.

<sup>a</sup> James II. North.

<sup>b</sup> James II. 1679.



C H A P.  
V.

1679.

Refused ad-  
mittance to  
the King.

words were carried to the King. He informed his friends, that the cause of his disgrace was his advising Charles to make up matters with parliament; and, above all, his being firm to the Protestant religion, the doctrines of which, he affirmed, were by no means favoured by the King. Many of his friends, several of the nobility, even the Dutchess of Monmouth, solicited the King in his favour in vain. He peremptorily ordered him to be gone. Roused from his natural indolence by the violence of opposition, Charles began to assume that firmness, which soon after levelled all the designs of his enemies<sup>c</sup>.

MONMOUTH, as his last resource, sent a letter to the King by the Lord Fauconberg. It was returned unopened. He was stripped that instant of all his employments. The Duke of Albemarle was made captain of the guards. The Earl of Mulgrave was appointed governor of Hull, and lord-lieutenant of the East-riding of the county of York. Shrewsbury was placed in the lieutenancy of Staffordshire. The office of master of the horse was taken from Monmouth, but not given away. Armstrong, who had been assiduous in all his schemes, was deprived of his commission; but a thousand pounds, which he had paid for it, were refunded. His implicit submission to all the proposals of Shaftesbury brought upon Monmouth this fresh disgrace. He returned at his desire. He listened to a new scheme for proving the marriage of his mother with the King. Shaftesbury amused him with such tales, to favour his own designs. Having been turned out of the office of president of the council, he added his rage for a recent injury to his old and settled resentment. He was disappointed in the meeting of parliament, which the King, against the advice of the council, had prorogued for three months, with an insinuation that it should not meet in less than a year. These measures the popular party ascribed to the influence of the Duke

<sup>c</sup> James II.



of York; and resentment, as well as policy, induced them to exalt his rival <sup>d</sup>.

CHAP.  
V.

1679.

DURING the contest in the mind of the King, between his affection for a son whom he loved, and a brother whose rights he revered, the nation considered the two Dukes as the only rivals for the throne. There was, however, another Prince, who had long extended his views, with undeviating perseverance and attention, to the same splendid object. Though the exclusionists, to soften the opposition of the King to their schemes, flattered Monmouth, they held secret connexions with the Prince of Orange. Sir William Temple encouraged his expectations<sup>e</sup>. Sidney proposed to manage his negotiations in England<sup>f</sup>. They assured him, that should the King, by any means, be thrown into the hands of parliament, there was a probability of his being forced to resign the crown<sup>g</sup>. The Prince, buoyed up by these assurances, and placing great confidence in his own secret intrigues in England, hoped that the parliament would invite him to the vacant throne; and he was resolved to obey their call<sup>h</sup>.

Secret designs of the Prince of Orange.

WHEN the Prince was in this disposition of mind, the Duke of Monmouth arrived at the Hague. He was very coldly received in public by the Prince and Princess of Orange<sup>i</sup>. He, however, obtained a private conference with the former, and had the address to reconcile him, in appearance, to his views. He informed the Prince, that the King had sent him from England, not from any dislike to his conduct, but to form a pretence for removing the Duke of York from the kingdom. He assured him, that he never had set up any pretensions to the crown; and that his only object was the safety of his own person, and the interests of the Protestant religion. The Prince told him, that unless he

His engagements with Monmouth.

<sup>d</sup> James II. 1679.

<sup>e</sup> Ibid.

<sup>f</sup> D'Avaux, 1679.

<sup>g</sup> Ibid.

<sup>h</sup> Ibid.

<sup>i</sup> Ibid.



C H A P.  
V.

1679.

relinquished all schemes of ambition, and every design on the throne, he himself must not only not be his friend, but oppose him with all his influence and power. Monmouth agreed to the proposals of the Prince with the most solemn promises and assurances; and they entered into mutual engagements to aid one another in their respective schemes\*. Such were the beginnings of a connexion which afterwards actually brought Monmouth to the block, and paved the way to the throne for the Prince of Orange.

The King's  
firmness.

THOUGH the Duke of York laid it down as a maxim in his politics, never to gain an avowed enemy, there is no reason to ascribe to his councils the new and more spirited conduct of Charles. Pliant in his character, and immoderately fond of ease, he had, during near twenty years of his reign, changed his measures and his servants, when the opinions of the nation seemed to change. He had hitherto derived nothing but misfortune from this accommodating principle, as it marked his councils with an appearance of unsteadiness, in the eyes of the people. He encouraged some of his enemies, by his supposed timidity of mind. The Earl of Shaftesbury had, at two different times, when in the highest offices of the state, herded with those who opposed the measures which he himself ought to guide. The conduct of that lord, upon the first disgrace of Monmouth, convinced Charles, that no benefit could result from his continuance in office. He knew that both he and his party hoped every thing from parliament. He, therefore, assumed at once that firmness of conduct which he followed during the rest of his reign. He told his council, on the fifteenth of October, that he was resolved to prorogue his parliament for a whole year; and, that very evening, he dismissed Shaftesbury from the office of president. No measure, in his situation, could be more prudent. He saw a party rising

\* D'Avaux, 1679.



gradually in his favour throughout the nation; and he secured their attachment, by shewing that he himself could be firm.

C. H. A. P.  
V.

1679.

THE encouragement given by parliament, and the public credulity, had rendered the office of informer profitable, and, in some degree, honourable, in the eyes of profligate men. One Dangerfield, whose wickedness had just reached the border of every capital felony, now aspired to the prize which Otes and Bedloe had obtained. This infamous person had been transported for larceny, pilloried for perjury, fined for frauds, and outlawed for flying from justice. To sum up his character, he had been the bosom-friend of Bedloe, and his companion upon the highway. When he could not obtain the money of others, he passed fictitious coin of his own. He was, in short, guilty of every base enormity; and as hardened by habit against punishment, as he was insensible of shame. His total want of veracity was his most harmless vice; for his excessive impudence and folly deprived of all credit his lies. Being handsome in his person, he was harboured by one Mrs. Cellier, a Roman-Catholic midwife; a woman of vivacity, and of an ungovernable passion for men. Having formed the outlines of a pretended plot by the Presbyterians against the government, he was introduced by Cellier to the Countess of Powis, who, by the means of the Earl of Peterborow, procured for him access to the Duke of York, and then to the King<sup>1</sup>.

Dangerfield.

THE improbability of Dangerfield's tale, his clumsy artifice of concealing ill-forged papers, in order to be found, his profligate character, and his being seized by an officer of justice for counterfeiting the current coin, threw a total discredit on his information. No warrant could legally be issued on his evidence. He was left to the law, and confined to Newgate. To extricate him-

The Meal-  
tub plot.

<sup>1</sup> Ralph, Burnet.



C H A P.

V.

1679.

self from his perilous situation, he became the author of a new Popish plot, as suiting best with the prejudices and credulity of the people. He wrote a circumstantial narrative of his being tempted by the Earl of Castlemaine, the Lady Powis, and some other Catholics, to assassinate the King, and to murder the Earl of Shaftesbury. He even accused Mrs. Cellier, his patroness and bosom-friend; and, from the place where some papers were found in her lodgings, this fictitious conspiracy was denominated the Meal-tub Plot. This change in Dangerfield's evidence was abetted by Shaftesbury, and it alarmed, in some degree, the timid and credulous part of the nation. Charles, however, taught by the bad consequences of the former plot, resolved to nip this in the bud. He took advantage of the legal invalidity of Dangerfield's evidence, as a person that had been pilloried. All inquiry was stopt; and this plot vanished, together with the fears of the nation<sup>m</sup>.

Remarkable  
burning of a  
Pope.

THE popular party, during the interval of parliament, endeavoured to continue the ferment among the people till the next session. Shaftesbury, with all his fertile invention, laboured to accomplish a point so necessary to his designs. At the head of a society of desperate and profligate persons, called the Green-ribbon Club, he projected a public show, to impress the minds of the populace with horror and fear for the Popish plot. On the seven-teenth of November, the anniversary of Queen Elizabeth's coronation-day, it had been usual in the city of London to burn a pope, with his inseparable companion the devil. This ceremony was performed in the present year with uncommon solemnity and expence. In the front of a long procession, the principal figure was a dead body carried on horseback before a Jesuit, representing that of Godfrey, as he was supposed to be conveyed by the assassins to Primrose-hill. Before the body walked a bellman,

<sup>m</sup> Burnet, Ralph, James II. &c.

crying



crying out with a loud but melancholy voice, "Remember Justice Godfrey." In a vast bonfire within Temple-Bar, the figure of the Pope, which had closed the procession, was burnt, amid the acclamations of the populace; and the night illuminated with magnificent fireworks, and disturbed with other demonstrations of joy.

C H A P.  
V.

1679.

BUT the impression made upon an ignorant populace by this sight, was not worth its expence to Shaftesbury and the Green-ribbon Club. Sober men, who loved their country, were persuaded that it could not be served by such paltry means. Though they entertained some apprehensions of the present government, they were averse from exchanging it for the anarchy of a mob. They perceived that resentment, more than the love of public liberty, actuated the most vehement of the public leaders. Their violence threw a total discredit on their professions. Indignation against their conduct attached many to the crown; and, fortunately for Charles, several persons, who liked not his measures, thought it their own interest to support his authority. Shaftesbury, however, was not discouraged. He held a secret correspondence with the Prince of Orange, whom he flattered with the hopes of an almost immediate possession of the throne. In concert with that able, intriguing, and ambitious Prince, he formed a project, in conjunction with nine other peers, to petition the King to permit the parliament, which had been prorogued to the twenty-sixth of January, to sit at the time appointed. The scheme was to throw Charles into the hands of parliament, and eventually to deprive him of his throne. Thus far the views of the Prince and of Shaftesbury were one. But while the first wished to transfer the crown to his own head, the latter looked forward to a republic, in which he himself might exercise an unlimited authority, under the specious name of public freedom.

Intrigues of  
the Prince of  
Orange.

\* Vid. An Account, &c.

° D'Avaux, 1679,



CHAP.  
V.  
1679.

Petitions of the same import with that of Shaftesbury and his associates were encouraged throughout the kingdom. Some were prepared, and others presented. Charles affected to receive them with a mixture of indignation and contempt. He published a proclamation against these tumultuous, and, as he called them, unlawful proceedings. He commanded the lord-mayor of London to suppress such petitions as were formed in that city, and to punish as vagrants the persons who went about to solicit subscriptions<sup>p</sup>. The Prince of Orange was not, however, of a disposition to be terrified from his schemes by partial disappointments. He continued to make a tool of Monmouth and his party<sup>q</sup>. He was at the bottom of all the disturbances in England<sup>r</sup>, while he affected to be on the best terms with the King. To prosecute with more advantage his schemes, he proposed to Charles to come to England, under a pretence of mediating between that Prince and the popular party. The King, perhaps suspecting his designs, thanked him without accepting his offer<sup>s</sup>.

Essex resigns,

SOME resignations in the principal departments of the state, had encouraged the popular party in their measures to harass the crown. The Earl of Essex, under pretence of the Duke of York's breach of promise to follow his advice, quitted the office of first commissioner of the treasury, on the nineteenth of November. The Earl of Halifax, feigning indisposition, retired from the council; and Sir William Temple, though he had entered into the views of the Prince of Orange<sup>t</sup>, had long preferred the quiet pleasures of the country to the tumult and hurry of public affairs. The new council, from whom the nation had expected so much, had been for some time virtually dissolved. Charles took his most important resolutions without asking their advice, or he confined his communications to two or three of their number. The factions which prevailed in the nation had subsisted in the council.

<sup>p</sup> James II, Proclamation, &c.

<sup>s</sup> Ibid.

<sup>q</sup> D'Avaux, 1679.

<sup>r</sup> Ibid.

<sup>t</sup> Ibid.

Shaftesbury,



1679.

Shaftesbury, followed by Monmouth, avowedly abetted the popular cause. Essex, Halifax, and Sunderland, adhered to the interests of the crown. The places of the two first were supplied, in the confidence of the King, by men of better parts, though not of such splendid name. Lawrence Hyde, the second son of the famous Earl of Clarendon, became, by the resignation of Essex, first in the commission for executing the office of lord treasurer; and Sidney Godolphin, though not admitted a member of the council till the fourth of the following February, had been, since the fall of Danby, a principal adviser in the secret affairs of state.

BUT though Essex resigned his office, he entered not into the violent measures of the popular party. He suspected the patriotism of Shaftesbury. He loved freedom, but detested confusion. Besides, the intemperate rage of Shaftesbury had fixed on Essex a part of the blame of disappointing the bill of exclusion, by a prorogation. His threats upon that head had been conveyed to Essex; and some ascribe to his terror the advice which he gave to the King, when sick, to recall the Duke of York. To avoid the suspicion of his joining with Shaftesbury, he continued, after his resignation as first commissioner of the treasury, a member of the council<sup>\*</sup>; but he seldom attended, and he never was trusted with the secret of affairs. Petitions were, in the mean time, promoted with great assiduity and eagerness. The majority of the common-council of London were gained by the management of the popular party. They presented a remonstrance in favour of the meeting of parliament<sup>y</sup>. Charles received them with the utmost coldness. He reprimanded severely the persons who brought the remonstrance. He commanded his chancellor to answer it in terms expressive of his highest displeasure.

but joins not  
the opposi-  
tion.

1680.

<sup>u</sup> James II.

<sup>\*</sup> Public Intell. Nov. 17, 1679.

<sup>y</sup> Jan. 13, 1680.

THOUGH



C H A P.  
V.1680.  
Parliament  
prorogued.

THOUGH the twenty-sixth of January was the day appointed for the meeting of parliament, the King's resolution to prevent their sitting was universally known. He, however, thought proper, in person, to give the reasons of his conduct. He informed them, in a speech from the throne, that he had declared in council his intention of putting off their meeting to a time so remote as November. This resolution, he told them, was formed on grounds, which were as yet by no means removed, with regard to the internal state of the kingdom. But, as a prorogation so long might discourage his allies, already threatened with danger, he acquainted them, that, for that SINGLE reason, he thought fit to appoint a day for their meeting in April. He advised them, however, not to flatter themselves with the hopes of sitting, while the nation is inflamed with distractions and jealousies by the arts of profligate and designing men. "I am resolved," he said, "that after your day of meeting in April, there SHALL be a prorogation, unless the condition of our allies should require our immediate assistance." Having finished this determined speech, he commanded the chancellor to prorogue the parliament to the fifteenth of April<sup>2</sup>.

Some mem-  
bers of the  
council re-  
sign.

THE firmness exhibited by the King encouraged the court-party, and exasperated those who opposed the crown. Some members of the council of thirty, who had distinguished themselves for the bill of exclusion, perceiving the fixed determination of Charles to support his brother, asked permission to resign. These were the Lord Ruffel, Sir Henry Capel, and Mr. Powle. The King, contrary to his usual good-humour, granted their request with peevishness and symptoms of contempt. He seemed henceforward to have changed, in some degree, his character. Soured by opposition, and roused, by the pressure of danger, from his indolence, he became sullen and untractable. The facility of his

<sup>2</sup> Journals of the lords, Jan. 26, 1680.

temper



temper was succeeded by obstinacy; and a line of resolution passed through all his conduct, in a degree that surprised those who affected to know him the best. But his appetite for pleasure, which rendered him formerly averse from trouble, had diminished as his years increased. His judgment rose as his passions declined. Experience had taught him, that concessions produced nothing but new demands. Things were driven too far to be mended by expedients; and he was therefore resolved to bring the matter to a decision, by meeting the enemy half way.

C H A P.

V.

1680.

THIS firmness deprived the popular party, and even the Prince of Orange, of almost every hope of ruining the King by the means of his parliament. The Prince, ever eager and persevering in his schemes for mounting the throne, expected, perhaps from his want of knowing the state of parties in England, an insurrection, which he was determined to support<sup>a</sup>. He, in the mean time, urged the popular party to offer petitions, to rouse, by the bustle and confusion of opposition, the terrors of the people for themselves, and their indignation against the King. But when he pretended to rely entirely on the leaders of the faction without, he extended, with much address, his intrigues to the members of the cabinet. He gained Godolphin and Hyde to his views<sup>b</sup>. He procured the influence of the Earl of Sunderland to his interest with still greater facility. The Duke of York himself seemed to favour, either through inadvertence or ignorance of his secret designs, the ambition of the Prince of Orange<sup>c</sup>. He promoted his influence with the King. He was even at the bottom of a new Protestant league, from which his nephew derived every advantage to his schemes and reputation<sup>d</sup>.

Secret intrigues of the Prince of Orange.

BUT of all the intrigues of the Prince of Orange for mounting the throne destined for his father-in-law, that which became ulti-

He gains Sunderland.

<sup>a</sup> D'Avaux, Jan. 1680.<sup>b</sup> Ibid.<sup>c</sup> Ibid.<sup>d</sup> Ibid.



C H A P.  
V.  
1680.

mately of most advantage to his views, was his gaining the Earl of Sunderland. This lord, though he afterwards was the great favourite and sole adviser of King James, had been invariably the enemy of the Duke of York<sup>e</sup>. Notwithstanding his abilities, he was implicitly under the guidance of his wife<sup>f</sup>. She was under the influence of Sidney, and Sidney was devoted to the Prince of Orange<sup>g</sup>. Through this obvious and unfailing channel the Prince assailed Sunderland. He added advantages to the Earl himself to the instances of a favourite wife and HER friend. A pension at present, and great promises in future, were the price of Sunderland's expected services. He adhered to his bargain, it must be confessed, with fidelity and perseverance. He found means, under the mask of friendship and attachment, to ruin the rival of the Prince in the channel of ambition; and, by a line of conduct more able than honourable, paved his way to the throne.

Petitioners,  
Abhorers,  
Whigs, and  
Tories.

DURING these secret intrigues for his crown, the King of England turned himself with some vigour to his more public opponents. The same arts which were used by its enemies against the court, were adopted by Charles to counteract their designs. THEY assiduously procured subscriptions to petitions for the sitting of parliament; HE encouraged addresses, expressive of an entire submission to the prerogative of the crown. The eagerness of the two parties, into which the nation was divided, carried their virulence against each other into names of reproach. The adherents of the King, in their addresses, expressed their abhorrence of the seditious manner in which the petitions were procured; and their opponents gave them, from this circumstance, the name of ABHORRERS. The latter thought the appellation of PETITIONERS a sufficient retaliation on their enemies. Though these epithets sunk soon after into oblivion, this year began the names of WHIG and TORY, which have invariably distinguished

<sup>e</sup> D'Avaux, April 1680.

<sup>f</sup> Ibid.

<sup>g</sup> Ibid.

the



the two political parties that have ever since divided between them the nation. It is remarkable, that these ridiculous appellations derived their origin from Scotland and Ireland. The fanatical conventiclers of the first kingdom had been distinguished by the name of Whigs, and the Popish rabble of the latter country were called Tories. The court-party found a similitude between the Petitioners and the Scottish covenanters; and the opposers of the crown compared the principles of the Abhorrrers to those of the wild Irish.

C H A P.  
V.  
1680.

THOUGH the addresses against petitions were abetted with little secrecy by the King, they contributed to strengthen his influence in the nation. Wythens, one of the members for the city of Westminster, procured the first address; and Charles, to shew his approbation of his conduct, conferred upon him the honour of knighthood, at a time that he treated the Petitioners with haughtiness, severity, and contempt. The spirit of addressing soon spread from Westminster to the country. In Norfolk, the grand jury, instead of presenting a petition, presented those by whom subscriptions were promoted. In the county of Somerset, the same attachment to the crown appeared. The address of Norfolk thanked the King for recalling the Duke of York. Several corporations expressed their abhorrence of any breach on the right line of succession to the throne. Encouraged by the favourable change in the minds of the people, Charles determined to permit his brother to return <sup>h</sup>.

The first encouraged by the King.

ON the twenty-eighth of January, the King acquainted his council, that he had commanded the Duke of York to come back to England, having found no effect from his absence that could justify its being longer continued. He told them, as they had lately seen, and were likely to see again, questions started of so

The Duke of York returns.

<sup>h</sup> James II. Kennet, Burnet, Ralph, Hume, &c.



C H A P.  
V.

1680.

high a nature, and to him particularly of so great concern, it was agreeable both to reason and justice that he should be present at the next session of parliament. He informed them, that though it should be always his care to preserve to the Duke his right, yet that he thought it might be for his own satisfaction, as well as conducive to his interest, to be near, if any debate should again arise. He assured them, in the mean time, that he promised to himself a compliance from his brother in all things that should be thought necessary for the general quiet and security of the kingdom, and that none should have reason to be alarmed at his return, or to apprehend that his being near the throne could have any bad influence upon the conduct of public affairs. Having thus announced his resolution to the council, he wrote to the Duke of York; and that Prince, having embarked at Leith, arrived at Privy-stairs on the twenty-fourth of February<sup>1</sup>.

His conduct  
in Scotland.

THE Duke, during his residence in Scotland, behaved with the degree of prudence which suited the untoward situation of his affairs. Having retired into that kingdom in a private capacity, he carefully avoided to interfere in public affairs. He heard the complaints of factions, without becoming a party in their quarrels. He behaved himself with dignity, without any portion of that stateliness, which was, in his prosperity, one of the defects in his character. Persecuted in England, he thought it necessary to gain the Scottish nation. He told the privy-council, when he took leave at his departure, "that he would acquaint the King that he had in Scotland a brave and loyal nobility and gentry, a regular and wise privy-council, and the courts of judicature filled with learned and upright judges: That the disaffected party were not so considerable as the faction in England affirmed; and that the animosities between particular families in the Highlands being removed, they were now firm and united in his Majesty's

<sup>1</sup> James II. 1680.

interest."



interest." The chancellor answered the Duke by assuring him, that they were highly sensible of the honour of his presence, the advantages of his conduct, and the benefit of his advice. He assured him, that the Scottish nation was entirely devoted to the King, and attached to the interest of his Royal Highness<sup>k</sup>.

C H A P.  
V.  
1680.

THE presence of the Duke in England damped not the spirit of his adversaries. Shaftesbury, with his usual activity, flew through his party, and animated them with an ardour equal to his own. He had gone already too far ever to be forgiven; and he was resolved to harass, if he could not subdue. Gained by his arts, or fired by his zeal, some men of patriotic principles joined him, with more vehemence than prudence. In the month of March, six lords, Shaftesbury, Huntingdon, Gray, Cavendish, Brandon, Ruffel, and nine gentlemen, delivered to the grand jury at Westminster an information against the Duke of York, for being a Popish recusant. When they came to the court, they found the jury on their way to the King's Bench, carrying a petition in favour of the sitting of parliament. The foreman having delivered the petition, the chief justice ordered it to be read. The court asked them, whether they had all their presentments ready? They replied, that a short time would finish all. The court, apprized of Shaftesbury's design, told them, that they had spent their time in things not within their province, and totally neglected things which they ought to have done. They were immediately discharged. Their petition was offered to be returned. They, however, refused it, affirming that they had done their duty; and so left it with the court<sup>l</sup>.

An attempt  
to present  
him as a re-  
cusant.

WHILE Shaftesbury and the popular party persecuted the Duke of York, Monmouth, by their advice, was endeavouring to pave his own way to the crown. He made a progress through different

Duke of  
Monmouth  
makes a pro-  
gress.

<sup>k</sup> James II. 1680.

<sup>l</sup> Ibid.



C H A P.  
V.  
1680.

parts of the kingdom, with a magnificent train and equipage. Handsome in his person, and captivating in his manners, and besides, being created an object of public attention, from his almost avowed pretensions to the throne, the whole country flocked around him to pay their respects. He was every where considered as a candidate for the crown; and men were flattered by his seeming to solicit it through their favour. His claims to legitimacy were again revived. A report was propagated, that the King had been married, or at least contracted to his mother; and that Cosens, late Bishop of Durham, had placed a writing, contained in a certain BLACK BOX, in the hands of Sir Gilbert Gerrard, which proved the fact to the satisfaction of many persons of distinction and name. Charles called Gerrard before the council<sup>m</sup>. He denied all knowledge of the writing and the *box*. The King, soon after, in the most solemn manner, again declared to the world, that he never was either married or contracted to Mrs. Walters, or any person whatsoever except the Queen<sup>n</sup>.

Popular sheriffs chosen.

THOUGH the popular party had not altogether succeeded in gaining the Lord Mayor, aldermen, and common council of London, they, in the course of the present year, obtained a majority of the livery. Their conduct being likely to subject them to the animadversions of the law, they thought it necessary to guide its operations. The sheriffs, chosen annually at Guildhall, return the juries for the city of London and the county of Middlesex. Their office, being attended with great trouble and expence, had always been deemed a hardship rather than an object of ambition. The sheriffs had been usually put in nomination by the Lord Mayor, and invariably approved by the common hall. When the election came on, the livery rejected the persons nominated by the Lord Mayor. He adjourned the common hall, and made a

<sup>m</sup> April 16, 1680.

<sup>n</sup> June 8, 1680.

second



second nomination on the fifteenth of July. The livery continued obstinate. A poll, for the first time, was demanded. The city was all in a ferment. After a contest of five weeks, the popular party prevailed. Bethel and Cornish, men devoted to the councils of Shaftesbury, were chosen, though the King exerted his personal influence, as well as the weight of the crown, on the other side °.

C H A P.  
V.  
1680.

DURING these heats in the city, the Earl of Shaftesbury came to Westminster, and made a remarkable speech to the grand jury. He enlarged on the dangers of popery. He openly attacked the character of the Duke of York. He offered an indictment against him, for recusancy. He produced witnesses to prove his hearing mafs. He desired them to reflect, how unsafe it was, that a person of his delinquency should continue in the management of the post-office; and so become master of the secrets of individuals as well as those of the kingdom. He at the same time spoke much against the Dutchess of Portsmouth. He represented her dangerous influence, her attachment to popery, her intrigues with France. He, upon the whole, desired that they would declare her a common nuisance. The accusation of the Dutchess was only calculated to gain her to the party through the channel of her fears. She accordingly made her peace with Monmouth, and became reconciled to Shaftesbury. She added an animosity against the Duke of York to the terrors which she entertained of his enemies. The Dutchess of York had not shewn her any respect; and the Duke himself seemed to approve of his wife's stately conduct<sup>p</sup>.

Another attempt to present the Duke of York.

THE combustions in the city of London escaped not the vigilance of the Prince of Orange, who kept his eyes perpetually fixed on the crown of England. Under the pretence of keeping

Prince of Orange foments disturbances.

° Ralph, Kennet, Burnet.

<sup>p</sup> James II.



C H A P.

V.

1680.

up an appearance of friendship with the Duke of York, he dispatched Van Lewen, with open assurances of his regard for the interests of that Prince; but in fact, to carry on negotiations with his enemies<sup>a</sup>. With every art he added fuel to the flame which raged in the kingdom. He hoped, that at length an opportunity might offer, to justify an open avowal of his designs. Judging of the nation in general by the noise of particular men, he still looked forward to an insurrection; and he formed hopes, that should his service be either accepted by the insurgents, or by the King, he could become with ease master of the kingdom. But the negotiations of the Prince were not confined to Van Lewen. He at the same time held a connexion with the most abandoned and lowest persons of the party, through the means of one Frymans, a profligate and desperate villain<sup>b</sup>, whom he had employed in England six years before in the same dishonourable service<sup>c</sup>.

Policy of  
the King.

THE whole summer of the year 1680 was employed in the counteracting schemes of the different parties. The parliament was in the mean time prorogued from time to time. But the King thought it prudent to acquaint the Lord Mayor of London and the judges, that he was determined to meet it in the month of November<sup>d</sup>. The judges, on their different circuits, carried this intelligence to the people; which put an end to petitions that were no longer thought necessary. Every art was used, in the mean time, to reconcile the minds of the nation to the measures of government. The King affected the greatest zeal against popery. The laws were executed with precision, if not with great rigour, against popish recusants. Charles endeavoured to acquire popularity to his conduct in foreign affairs. Though he had made in the preceding year advances to France, he had broken off the treaty upon a slight pretence. He formed an alliance with Spain.

<sup>a</sup> D'Avaux, June, 1680.<sup>b</sup> Ibid.<sup>c</sup> Ibid. 1679.<sup>d</sup> James II.

He



He offered to enter into a strict connexion with Holland. The Dutch, either terrified by the power of France, or swayed by the Prince of Orange, who began to derive hopes of gratifying his own ambition through the troubles in England, declined his offers. They even, with some degree of presumption, as their conduct was termed by the King, interfered with the domestic affairs of the kingdom. They solicited Charles to call his parliament. Their ambassador openly abetted the popular party; a circumstance which confirmed him in the resolution of not yielding to their request". This conduct in their ambassador was not, however, authorised fully by the States. The Prince of Orange, undeviating in the prosecution of his own views, had persuaded the minister of the republic, to go beyond his instructions from his masters \*.

THOUGH the King was persuaded that the majority of the new house of commons were determined to oppose the measures of the crown, he thought proper to try by one other experiment to compose the minds of his subjects. The parliament had been prorogued on the twenty-third of August, to the twenty-first of October; and he resolved to permit it to enter on that day on business. To prepare for its meeting, he thought it prudent to command his brother to retire. On the ninth of October, Hyde informed the Duke, that the Earl of Sunderland and Mr. Godolphin judged it necessary that he should retire abroad. Essex and Halifax, who had in some degree returned to favour, joined in the same opinion. The Dutchess of Portsmouth was employed by the latter noblemen to persuade the King into the measure. An incident, which happened some months before, rendered her a zealous instrument against the interests of the Duke of York. Charles had been attacked in the preceding May by some slight fits of an ague; and she, upon that occasion, insisted with the Duke to give her

The Duke  
retires.

" Kennet. Burnet. James II.

\* D'Avaux, 1680.



C H A P.

V.

1680.

assurances of an ample provision in case of the King's demise. The Duke waved her importunities, by representing to her the indecency of his entering into engagements upon his brother's life. She was highly offended at his refusal. She came from Windsor to London. She opened a correspondence with Monmouth and Shaftesbury, through the means of the Lord Howard of Escric; and soon after, when she was presented as a common nuisance, before the grand jury, she avowedly joined the popular party, and promoted their measures<sup>y</sup>.

to Scotland.

BUT neither the solicitations of his favourite mistress, nor the advice of his cabinet council, could induce Charles to command his brother to quit the Island. He began to consider his own interest as inseparably connected with that of the Duke of York; and he deemed his expulsion as perhaps a prelude to his own. He knew that the fears entertained of his successor were a good security to his own safety. He however signified to his brother, that his affairs required his absence; and he advised him to repair to Scotland, where he had been treated with so much distinction and respect before. Some of the Duke's friends in council proposed that a pardon for him should pass the great seal, as Shaftesbury threatened an impeachment. Charles gave his opinion, that the commons would proceed by bill, and not by impeachment. He was averse to a prior pardon, as irregular; at the same time assuring the Duke, that in case of their proceeding to extremities, he would dissolve the parliament. He wrote to his council in Scotland, that he had ordered his brother to repair thither, to look after the affairs of that kingdom. The Duke of York accordingly left London on the twentieth of October. Relying on his brother's assurances, he embarked in the river with his family, the King himself accompanying him as far as Leigh<sup>z</sup>.

<sup>y</sup> James II. 1680.<sup>z</sup> James II. 1680.



ON the twenty-first of October the parliament met at Westminster; and the King opened the session with a plausible and judicious speech. He excused with a degree of art the several prorogations, by informing them, that he had filled that interval of time, in concerting measures with Spain and Holland, for mutual succour and defence. He told them, that he was ready to concur with them, to their satisfaction, in any measure to secure the protestant religion; and to agree to any new remedies that might be proposed, consistent with the preservation of the succession to the crown in its due and legal course of descent. He desired them to pursue the further examination of the popish plot. He requested, that the lords in the Tower should be brought to their trial. He represented to them the insupportable expence of Tangier, long closely besieged by the Moors. He recommended in the most earnest terms union at home, as absolutely necessary to sustain the importance of the nation abroad. He appealed to the world, that the consequences resulting from division had not proceeded from his conduct. He told them, by way of compliment, that he expected every benefit to the nation and every ease to himself, from their great prudence, and their known affection to his person <sup>a</sup>.

THIS speech was more calculated to gain the nation than to mollify the sentiments of parliament. The people were manifestly divided in their opinions; but the majority of their representatives had already pledged themselves in the great questions which had been agitated against the court. The commons displayed all the violence of their predecessors in prosecuting the popish plot. They addressed the King for a pardon to all such persons as should within four months give any evidence of any treason or conspiracy against his Majesty's person and government <sup>b</sup>. They resolved

Violence of  
the commons.

<sup>a</sup> Journals of the lords.

<sup>b</sup> Journals, Oct. 25.



C H A P.

V.

1680.

to proceed effectually to suppress popery, and to prevent a popish successor<sup>c</sup>. Dangerfield, the infamous author of the meal-tub-plot, was examined with care, and treated with distinction. They began to animadvert upon such persons as had promoted the late addresses. They voted, that it was the undoubted right of the subjects of England to petition the King for the sitting of parliament and the redressing of grievances. They resolved, that to traduce such petitioning is to betray the liberty of the people, to contribute to subvert the ancient constitution, and to introduce arbitrary power. A committee was appointed to inquire concerning persons that had offended in this case against the rights of the subject<sup>d</sup>. Jefferies, recorder of London, was accused. Sir Francis Wythens, member for Westminster, was expelled. North, chief justice of the common-pleas, was attacked<sup>e</sup>.

Intrigues of  
the Prince of  
Orange  
abroad.

THE violence of the commons was regarded with an eye of satisfaction by the Prince of Orange, who had long extended all his attention and intrigues to the affairs of England. He had the address to persuade the King, that he wished for nothing more than a perfect reconciliation between that prince and his parliament<sup>f</sup>. But he at the same time continued his connexion with the popular party, and increased the ferment in the kingdom. The Prince confined not his secret negotiations to Britain. He formed a scheme of strengthening himself independent of the States, for an eventual expedition into England. He endeavoured to render the family of Brunswick-Lunenburg dependent on himself, by proposing a marriage between the Bishop of Osnaburg<sup>g</sup> and his wife's sister, the Princess Anne. He proposed to name that Prince his successor in all his own honours and preferments; and as he had no expectations of issue himself, he hoped to flatter the house of Lunenburg into his views, from a near

<sup>c</sup> Oct. 26.<sup>d</sup> Oct. 27.<sup>e</sup> Oct. 28.<sup>f</sup> D'Avaux, Nov. 1680.<sup>g</sup> Geo. I.

prospect



prospect of the crown of England<sup>h</sup>. A settled aversion to the Prince of Nassau-Friezland, his nearest male-heir, had perhaps rendered the Prince of Orange at the time sincere in his offers to the family of Lunenburgh, at least with regard to the eventual succession of his offices in Holland.

CHAP.  
V.  
1680.

NOTWITHSTANDING the schemes formed by the Prince abroad, as well as in England, the times were not yet sufficiently prepared for the execution of his purpose. Van Lewen, after having remained several months in London, found himself<sup>l</sup> unable to spirit up the faction into an actual insurrection. The Prince had not the good fortune to be deemed sincere in his professions in favour of the popular party<sup>k</sup>. They formed their judgment of his conduct as the nephew of the King, and the son-in-law of the Duke of York; and they imagined, notwithstanding the bold assertions of his agents, that he himself was actually in the interest of the court of England. He was therefore far from being popular<sup>l</sup>. But when he was in a manner deserted by the enemies of government, his views were favoured by a part of the ministry. Sunderland<sup>m</sup> promised him every thing, from the certainty of the exclusion of the Duke of York. Though the Prince found his secret friends too sanguine, he pursued his own designs. He wrote to the King to agree upon any terms with his parliament, even though they should divest the crown of all its prerogatives; and this he did with the greater certainty of success, as he was assured by Sidney, that Charles would be forced to agree to the exclusion, and a pension for the Duke of York<sup>n</sup>.

He is unsuccessful in England.

THE commons, in their zeal for the Popish plot, animadverted severely upon those who presumed to give it no credit. Sir Robert Canne was expelled for declaring that there was no Popish conspiracy.

Bill of exclusion.

<sup>h</sup> D'Avaux, Nov. 1680.

<sup>l</sup> Ibid.

<sup>k</sup> Ibid.

<sup>l</sup> D'Avaux, 1680. James II. 1681.

<sup>m</sup> D'Avaux, 1680.

<sup>n</sup> Ibid.



C H A P.

V.

1680.

Doctor Tong was recommended to the King for preferment<sup>o</sup>, as being the first who gave evidence of the plot. One Francisco Ferria, together with a new witness whose name was Dugdale, and the noted Prance, were examined<sup>p</sup>, and their evidence committed to writing. On the second of November, they renewed a vote of the former house, in laying the whole blame of the Popish plot on the religion of the Duke of York<sup>q</sup>. All these resolutions were only preparatory steps toward the exclusion, the favourite object of the popular party. Notwithstanding the vehemence of the commons, the bill seemed to languish in passing through the house. But though several members distinguished themselves in favour of the Duke of York, the slow progress of the bill proceeded more from an artifice of the popular party, than from the arguments of the adherents of the crown. The common-council of London, led by Shaftesbury, endeavoured, by an address, to prepare the lords in its favour. On the eleventh of November, the bill of exclusion was passed by the commons, and carried by the Lord Russel to the peers. A great body of the members, who attended Russel, shouted by way of triumph when the bill was received<sup>r</sup>.

Rejected by  
the lords.

THE lords, however, seemed not to be guided by the same spirit which animated the commons. It even became a question, whether the bill should be at all committed; and this instance of respect to the lower house was only carried by two votes. When the matter came to a debate, several lords distinguished themselves on both sides. Shaftesbury seemed to be unanswerable in his arguments for the bill, till the Earl of Halifax opposed him on the part of the Duke. The latter nobleman bore the whole weight of the argument. He answered Shaftesbury, Essex, and Sunderland. He spoke at least sixteen times<sup>s</sup>, for having prepared himself for the occasion, the court-party left the whole debate to his abilities.

<sup>o</sup> Oct. 30.<sup>p</sup> Nov. 1.<sup>q</sup> Nov. 2.<sup>r</sup> James II. 1680.<sup>s</sup> Ibid.

When



C H A P.  
V.  
1680.

When the house divided, the bill was rejected by a great majority. Fourteen bishops, of seventeen that were present, were observed to have voted against the exclusion. Halifax, to convince the world that his conduct proceeded from no partiality for the Duke, moved, the next day, for a bill to banish him for ever from the King's presence. Shaftesbury and his party turned the motion into ridicule; the friends of the Duke were silent, and the affair was dropt. Shaftesbury, in the course of the debate, observed, that since they were determined not to exclude the Duke, he saw no means of safety for the nation, but by the King's divorcing the Queen, and marrying a Protestant wife. The Earls of Salisbury and Essex, together with the Lord Howard of Escric, seconded this motion. Halifax and others opposed it; and the whole fell, without effect, to the ground. The Duke of Monmouth excused his voting for the exclusion by his concern for the King's life, which, he affirmed, the Duke of York designed to take away. Halifax was severe upon this imprudent speech.

THE bill proposed by Halifax, though it preserved the succession, annihilated the power of the crown. The Duke of York was to have been banished, during the King's life, five hundred miles from England. He was to forfeit his revenue, if he came nearer; and his life, if he returned to any part of his Majesty's dominions. In this clause, the independence of Scotland, which kingdom had certainly a right, if she chose, to entertain the heir of her crown, was either neglected or forgotten, through the vivacity of Halifax. Whoever should receive the Duke, either in England or Ireland, was to be declared guilty of treason, even after his accession to the nominal possession of the throne. The whole government was to have been vested in a council of forty-one members. All foreign treaties and negotiations were to be concluded or transacted by commissioners chosen out of their own number by the council. Ireland was to be governed by the same council.

Halifax's expedient.

<sup>1</sup> James II. 1680.



C H A P.  
V.

1680.

They were to fill up vacancies in offices, and to remove persons at pleasure from their employments. This part of their power was subjected to the control and disallowance of parliament, which, when sitting, was to exercise all the authority vested in the council, during the interval of sessions. It is difficult to say why Shaftesbury rejected an expedient which seemed to answer all his own views. Sidney, and other men of republican principles, justly termed the proposed bill "a gentle way of dropping the government into a commonwealth".

Resentment  
of the com-  
mons.

THE rejecting the bill of exclusion threw the commons into the utmost fury. An address was instantly voted to remove for ever the Earl of Halifax from the King's presence and councils\*. This measure was deemed imprudent in the house, and unconstitutional in itself. It was animadverting upon the freedom of debate, without which public assemblies meet in vain. They seemed themselves to be sensible of their error, though their passions overcame, in this instance, their reason. The cause which they assigned for their address was Halifax's advising the late frequent prorogations of parliament. Though no friend of the Duke, he had certainly taken an active part against the bill, before it was sent up to the lords. He procured a message to the commons, to destroy a report propagated by the popular party, that the King had consented to the bill. To this circumstance the favourers of the exclusion were no strangers. Besides, Halifax had always affected to adopt their principles; and they persecuted him with virulence, as a betrayer of his political friends. Charles, in answer to their address, acquainted the house, that he found not sufficient ground to induce him to remove Halifax either from his councils or presence; but he promised to protect none of his servants in the commission of any real crime†.

They perse-  
cute the Ab-  
horrrers.

THOUGH the house of commons had sufficient reason to be alarmed at the prospect of a Popish successor in the throne, they

\* James II. 1680.

† Nov. 17.

Nov. 26.

permitted



permitted violence to disgrace, in other instances, their patriotism. Their animadversions upon the Abhorrrers was, in fact, a breach upon that privilege which they meant to secure, by asserting the right of petitioning in the subject. If some men were intitled to complain of grievances, others had an equal claim to the privilege of approving of the measures of the crown. But reason had long since yielded to passion. Parties were inflamed against one another to a degree that precluded forgiveness. Besides, the most active among the Abhorrrers were as unprincipled as the worst of the country party. Jefferys, the recorder of London, began even then to display those vehement qualities which rendered him afterwards odious. The house voted, that by traducing and obstructing petitioning, he betrayed the rights of the subject<sup>a</sup>; and they addressed the King to remove him from the office of chief justice of Chester, which he then enjoyed<sup>b</sup>.

CHAP.  
V.

1680.

THEY turned their attention from the Abhorrrers to the courts of justice. Scroggs, chief justice of the King's Bench, had, in an irregular manner, dismissed the grand jury, who had prepared a presentment against the Duke of York, as a Popish recusant. As a preparatory step to his impeachment, they voted, that the discharging of a grand jury before the end of the term was arbitrary, illegal, and subversive of public justice; a manifest violation of the oath of a judge, and ruinous to the laws of the kingdom<sup>c</sup>. They resolved, that the court of King's Bench favoured Papists, and persons popishly inclined; and upon these grounds, they voted, without one dissenting voice, that Scroggs should be impeached<sup>d</sup>. Their rigour descended from the court of King's Bench to that of the Common Pleas. Sir Francis North, who presided on that bench with reputation, fell under the displeasure of the popular party, for being concerned in framing the proclamation against petitioning<sup>e</sup>. That paper, however, was so cau-

Impeach the  
judges.

<sup>a</sup> Nov. 13.

<sup>b</sup> Nov. 19.

<sup>c</sup> Nov. 23.

<sup>d</sup> Dec. 23.

<sup>e</sup> Nov. 14.



C H A P.  
V.

1680.

Prosecute the  
Viscount  
Stafford.

tiously worded, that sufficient grounds were not found for prosecuting the chief justice with effect. The commons proceeded in their persecutions of all those who were deemed the most intimate friends of the Duke of York<sup>e</sup>. They impeached Seymour for a pretended misapplication of a supply for the navy. They expelled Sir Robert Peyton for corresponding with the Duke of York. Peyton suffered for his apostacy from the party, more than for the alleged crime. He had been a principal name at the Green-ribbon club; and, either through conviction or from views of interest, had deserted his old friends<sup>f</sup>.

THE violence of the commons was least excusable in their vehement prosecution of the Popish plot. After the passions of the people were cooled, their representatives flew into a new flame. Their disappointment with regard to the bill of exclusion carried their resentment into acts of absurdity, puerility, and injustice. On the tenth of November, they had resolved to proceed against the lords in the Tower<sup>g</sup>, and to begin with the Viscount Stafford; but he was not brought to his trial till the thirtieth of the same month. Their first design was to begin with the Lord Arundel of Wardour; but the evidence against him was not sufficiently full. The age, the limited capacity, the natural timidity of Stafford rendered him an easy victim to a violent party, who were determined to be satisfied with nothing but blood. The Earl of Nottingham, as Lord High Steward, presided at Stafford's trial. This nobleman, to abilities in his profession, joined a credulity, which proved fatal to the unfortunate criminal. His charge to the peers contained expressions of his thorough conviction of the reality of the Popish plot; a circumstance which greatly strengthened the testimony of very exceptionable witnesses.

<sup>e</sup> James II. 1680.<sup>f</sup> Ralph.<sup>g</sup> Nov. 10.



BEFORE Stafford was brought to the bar, the bishops waved their claim of being present at his trial<sup>h</sup>. A committee of the commons, consisting of the most able members, were appointed to manage the impeachment. Otes, Dugdale, and a new evidence, one Turberville, were the witnesses. Otes swore that he had seen several letters, signed Stafford, to the Jesuits, expressing his assiduity and zeal in promoting the Popish plot. He gave in evidence, that, in his own presence, his Lordship had received a commission to be paymaster-general of the Pope's army in England. He affirmed, that Stafford was privy to a design on the King's life, and that he was the person who urged Grove to the commission of the assassination. Turberville swore, that he had been, five years before, engaged by his Lordship to commit the same crime. Dugdale's evidence contained, that he had an express offer from Stafford of five hundred pounds for dispatching the King; and that, as a further inducement, he promised to him a free pardon for all his sins, and also to be fainted for such a meritorious deed<sup>i</sup>.

C H A P.  
V.  
1686.  
He is tried,

THE improbability of the evidence, the profligate character of the witnesses, the age, the former life, even the infirmities of the prisoner, might have acquitted him at any other period; but the passions of mankind were roused against the unfortunate lord by the address, abilities, and eloquence of Sir William Jones, Sir Francis Winington, and Serjeant Maynard, who managed the impeachment, in the name of the commons of England. The innocence of Stafford was supported by none of those talents which were conspicuous in his opponents. Though he stood on the best ground, he made but a feeble defence<sup>k</sup>. He, however, invalidated some particulars, and threw discredit on others. He proved his being at Bath and its neighbourhood on the very day which Dugdale swore he employed in a great consult of Papists in

condemned,

<sup>h</sup> Dec. 29.

<sup>i</sup> Vid. Trial.

<sup>k</sup> James II.



C H A P.

V.

1680.

Staffordshire. He made it apparent, by good witnesses, that so far from employing Turberville, he had never seen him; and he insisted upon the profligate manners and former perjuries of Otes, as sufficient reason to deprive of all faith his present evidence. His efforts, however, were all in vain. The populace were outrageous, his prosecutors violent, and his judges either prejudiced or timid. He was found guilty by a great majority<sup>1</sup>; and, on the seventeenth of December, he received sentence to be hanged and quartered, with the other circumstances of severity which accompany the punishment of treason.

and

THE peers interceded with the King to remit the more ignominious part of the sentence of Stafford; and that circumstance furnished a fresh opportunity of malice to his enemies. The popular sheriffs, Bethel and Cornish, presented a petition to the commons, expressing a doubt whether the King was legally invested with power to alter the sentence. This behaviour was as destitute of prudence as it was void of humanity. Should the power of the crown to change the manner of execution be disputed, the King, in defence of his prerogative, might be induced to save the criminal's life. The leaders of the party in the house possessed more wisdom. They procured a vote, in answer to the sheriffs, that the commons were CONTENT "that the late Viscount Stafford should be executed by severing his head from his body only." Many efforts were in the mean time made to induce the unfortunate prisoner to confess the treason for which he was condemned. Reports of his having actually confessed were propagated by the popular party. He was brought before the peers. He acknowledged that he had been concerned in some schemes for obtaining, in a legal way, a mitigation of the penal laws against Catholics; and that he knew of no other treason<sup>m</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> 55 against 31.<sup>m</sup> Publ. of the Times.



To add to the misfortunes of Stafford, his nearest relations were among his greatest enemies. His kinsmen, the Earls of Carlisle and Suffolk, and the Lord Howard of Escric, had voted him guilty; and they used afterwards unjustifiable means to induce him to make discoveries. They asked leave of the house of lords to visit him in his prison, under pretence of carrying the Bishop of London and Dr. Burnet to converse with him upon matters concerning his soul. The lords would not permit them to see him, without a person appointed by the house to record whatever should be said. Their design was to procure some discoveries against the Duke of York<sup>a</sup>; but the jealousy of the lords, in ordering them to be attended, disappointed that project. Stafford's behaviour under condemnation, and at the place of execution, was decent and undisturbed. His reiterated and earnest asseverations of his innocence on the scaffold, changed in his favour the minds of the populace. His venerable years, his fortitude in the last extremity, his apparent sincerity, touched all with pity, and melted many into tears. A silent assent to his protestations was observed over the vast multitude of spectators; whilst some expressed with faltering voices, their firm belief of all that he said. The executioner himself seemed to share in the sympathy of the people. He twice suspended the blow, after raising the fatal ax; and, when, at a third effort, he severed the head from the body, an universal groan was heard on all sides<sup>b</sup>.

CHAP.  
V.  
1680.  
executed.

THOUGH the condemnation of Stafford gratified the prejudices of the commons, it diminished not their violence. In their eagerness for the bill of exclusion, no common victim was sufficient to appease their fury for being disappointed in their views. In considering of ways and means to secure the kingdom against Popery and arbitrary power, they formed a bill for disarming the Papists, and removing them twenty miles from London<sup>c</sup>. To

Violence of  
the popular  
party.

<sup>a</sup> James II. 1680.

<sup>b</sup> Burnet, &c. Dec. 29.

<sup>c</sup> Dec. 13.

call



C H A P.  
V.

1680.

call their attention to his wants, the King put them again in mind of his alliance with Spain and Holland, and the necessity of placing him in a condition to serve his allies, by an immediate supply. Instead of considering his speech, they brought in, on the same day, a bill for an association to prevent the Duke of York, or any Papist, from succeeding to the crown<sup>a</sup>. Having adjourned but four days for the Christmas holidays, they met again on the thirtieth of December. They began their deliberations with an extraordinary instance of self-denial. They resolved, that no member should accept any office or place of profit from the crown, without the express leave of the house. To shut up every channel of influence, they prohibited all members, under the penalty of expulsion, to receive even the promise of any place of profit or trust<sup>b</sup>. These resolutions bore certainly the appearance of patriotism; but they were scarce necessary, in the present poverty of the crown.

Their designs  
on the city of  
London.

DURING these transactions in parliament, the leaders of the popular party endeavoured to get the total possession of the city of London. The lord-mayor, his wife, the two sheriffs, and the sword-bearer, had each a right, once a-year, to recommend one freeman of London. This privilege they generally sold<sup>c</sup>. But the sheriffs, Bethel and Cornish, resolved to convert it to the service of their party. Bethel proposed the Duke of Buckingham. The court of aldermen, though at first they inconsiderately approved of this noble freeman, refused afterwards to make a precedent, which might throw the real citizens entirely out of the magistracy of London. Had Bethel's recommendation succeeded, Cornish was to have proposed the Earl of Shaftesbury. They were both to have been chosen common-council-men, on St. Thomas's day. Next year they were to serve as sheriffs, become aldermen when vacancies should happen, and so rise to the office of

<sup>a</sup> Dec. 15.<sup>b</sup> Dec. 30.<sup>c</sup> James II. 1680.

mayor.



mayor<sup>r</sup>. Though the populace of London were clamorous and factious, Charles preserved in his interest the majority of the aldermen; and the merchants favoured the Duke of York, on account of his indefatigable attention to their commerce<sup>s</sup>.

C H A P.  
V.  
1680.

ON the fourth of January, the King sent to the commons, by Sir William Temple, a message calculated to soothe their vehemence, and, if possible, to gain their favour. He expressed his sorrow that their minds were so much fixed on the bill of exclusion, as to deem all other remedies for suppressing Popery ineffectual. He told them, however, that he himself was confirmed in his opinion against the bill, as it had been rejected by the house of lords. He therefore recommended to them the consideration of other means for the preservation of the Protestant religion; and he promised his concurrence, whenever such means should be presented to him in a parliamentary way. He begged that, in the mean time, they would consider the present state of Europe, and enable him to preserve Tangier, and secure his alliances abroad and the peace of the nation at home<sup>t</sup>. This soothing message had not the least effect on the commons. They voted, that there was no safety for religion, and none for the King's life, but by the exclusion of the Duke of York; and that to rely on any other remedies or means, without a bill to that effect, was not only insufficient in itself, but dangerous to the kingdom<sup>u</sup>.

1681.  
Votes off

THIS determined resolution was followed by several votes of the same peremptory and alarming kind. They resolved, that till a bill to exclude the Duke of York should pass, the commons could grant no supply to his Majesty, without danger to his person, peril to religion, and a breach of their own faith to their constituents. They voted, that all persons who advised the King in his message to the house were promoters of Popery, and ene-

the commons.

<sup>r</sup> James II. 1680.

<sup>s</sup> Ibid.

<sup>t</sup> Jan 4, 1681.

<sup>u</sup> Jan. 7.



C H A P.  
V.  
1681.

mies to the King and kingdom. They declared it their opinion, that the Earl of Halifax was one of those persons. They voted an address for the removal of the Lord Hyde, the Marquis of Worcester, the Earls of Halifax and Feverham from the King's presence and councils. They resolved, that whoever should thereafter advance any money on the customs, excise, or hearth-money; or whoever should accept or buy any tally of anticipation upon any part of the King's revenue, should be adjudged to hinder the sitting of parliament, and become responsible for his conduct at their bar. Intelligence of these violent resolutions being brought to the King, he determined to prorogue the parliament \*.

Parliament  
prorogued.

WHEN the house met on Monday, the tenth of January, they were informed of the King's design. They resolved, that whoever advised his Majesty to prorogue his parliament, for any other purpose than to pass the bill of exclusion, was a betrayer of the King, an enemy to the protestant religion, and to the kingdom of England, a promoter of the French interest, and a pensioner of France. They voted, that the city of London was burnt in the year 1666 by the papists. They resolved, that it was the opinion of the house, that the Duke of Monmouth was removed from all his places by the influence of the Duke of York; and they ordered an address to restore him to all his offices. They at the same time voted, that the prosecution of protestant dissenters upon the penal laws was a grievance to the subject, a weakening of the protestant interest, an encouragement to popery, and dangerous to the peace of the kingdom. When the house was proceeding to other votes of the same kind, the usher of the black rod arrived; and the parliament was prorogued to the thirtieth of January †.

\* Jan. 7.

† Journals, Jan. 10.



THE fury of the commons, it must be confessed, was in some respects unjustifiable. But they voted several resolutions, and passed a few laws extremely favourable to public freedom. Their self-denying vote, though perhaps impracticable, was highly suitable to the independence of parliament. The bill for rendering the judges independent, tended to keep pure the current of public justice. The act for repealing the statute of the thirty-fifth of Elizabeth, for giving ease to protestant dissenters, bore the appearance of a liberality in matters of religion that seldom distinguishes popular assemblies. But this bill owed its existence more to the aversion of the popular party to the papists, than their lenity to protestant non-conformists. Shaftesbury freely owned, in the house of lords, that he wished all dissenters who should subscribe the test, might be exempted from taking the oath of allegiance. A great debate arose on the subject, and all the bishops opposed the bill. It was carried in a committee of the whole house, that the oath of allegiance should remain on the fanatics as well as on the Roman catholics. The opposition, after this amendment, became indifferent about the bill. The King, however, thought it too favourable to sectaries. Though he had endeavoured, by his prerogative, to grant to them an irregular indulgence, some years before, he was unwilling to secure them by an act of the legislature. The violence with which the presbyterians joined the principles of the exclusionists, had given him much offence. Besides, the established church had exhibited, in some late instances, proofs of attachment which deserved to be cherished. He resolved to defeat the act. But the means which he used were neither spirited nor prudent; for he ordered the clerk of the crown to withdraw the bill, hoping to avoid, by that subterfuge, the odium of refusing his assent.

CHAP.  
V.  
1681.  
Observations.

THE Prince of Orange, apprized of the loss of the bill of exclusion in the house of lords, resolved to make his last effort to

Intrigues of the Prince of Orange.



C H A P.  
V.

1681.

ruin the Duke of York<sup>z</sup>. The pensionary Fagel, his ready servant in all his schemes, proposed to the States to request the King of England not to prorogue his parliament. This overture was however rejected, because the deputies of Friezeland and Groninghen refused their consent. Fagel, however, persuaded the States to signify, by way of memorial, to Sidney, the English resident, that as they interested themselves greatly in the welfare of his Britannic Majesty, they begged him to consider, without pretending to offer their advice, whether the continuation of his parliament might not tend to his own happiness and the interest of his allies. The States agreed: but the pensionary went beyond his commission. He framed the memorial which was sent to England, and made a great noise in that kingdom. Sidney transmitted it to Sunderland: and that lord dispersed copies before he performed the duty of his office, by delivering it to the King<sup>a</sup>. Ten copies were at the same time sent to different members of the house of commons. Charles, however, was not to be swayed from his purpose. He complained to the States of their interference with matters beyond their sphere; and when they questioned Fagel, he disavowed in the most solemn manner the memorial which he himself had written<sup>b</sup>.

Dissolution  
of parlia-  
ment.

THE King, perceiving that nothing favourable could be expected from the house of commons, dissolved the parliament on the eighteenth of January<sup>c</sup>. Though he knew that the electing boroughs had been secured by the country party, he hoped to terrify his enemies into more compliance, by shewing his determination to oppose their views. The violence of the lower house had increased the number of his friends among the people. Men began to consider their resolutions as the prelude of actual hostilities against the crown. Many dreaded the immediate renewal of

<sup>z</sup> D'Avaux, 1680.<sup>a</sup> Ibid.<sup>b</sup> Ibid.<sup>c</sup> Journals of the lords.



the miseries of the late civil war. The King himself seemed not to be entirely free from apprehensions of the same kind. He ordered the new parliament to assemble at Oxford, on the twenty-first of March. He chose this place of meeting, to deprive the opposing party of the force and influence which they might otherwise derive from the neighbourhood of the great and factious city of London. The party themselves were sensible of the justice of the King's fears. Sixteen peers presented a petition<sup>d</sup> against the sitting of the parliament at Oxford. They consisted of the most violent exclusionists; and the King was confirmed in his resolution by the reasons which they advanced to alter his design.

CHAP.  
V.  
1681.

AN instance of firmness in the measures of Charles, raised the spirits of his friends and depressed his enemies. When he declared in council, that he was resolved to meet the new parliament at Oxford, the Earl of Salisbury spoke first. He said, "that he was sorry to hear of such a resolution; but that since his Majesty had forbidden the lords to give any advice, he thought himself unfit to serve at that board. He therefore requested the King to dispense with his attendance." Charles, with a smile of scorn, replied, "With all my heart, my Lord, I am ready to grant so reasonable a request." Effex, Fauconberg, and Sir Robert Carr, spoke vehemently against the dissolution. Effex called it a desperate and pernicious council, fatal in its consequences to the people, and dangerous to monarchy. The Earl of Anglesea spoke also against the dissolution; but, according to his usual custom<sup>e</sup>, he ended without giving an opinion. The rest were silent. The result was, that Effex, Sunderland, and Sir William Temple were commanded, on the twenty-fourth of January, to appear no more at the board. The Earl of Conway, for whom Seymour promised to answer, succeeded Sunderland as secretary of state.

Firmness of  
Charles.

<sup>d</sup> Kennet, vol. iii, James II.

<sup>e</sup> James II. 1681.



C H A P.  
V.  
1681.

The Earls of Chesterfield, Ailesbury, and Oxford, all adherents of the Duke of York, were sworn into the vacancies at the council-board<sup>f</sup>. The Prince of Orange was highly chagrined at the dissolution of parliament. He was much disconcerted by the removal of Sunderland, who had betrayed to him all the secrets of the cabinet<sup>g</sup>. He however persisted in his project, and still believed that the King would be forced to abandon the Duke of York<sup>h</sup>.

His views.

THE elections, as might have been foreseen, went every where in favour of the popular party. One hundred new members were chosen<sup>i</sup>, all more hostile, if possible, to the court than their predecessors. In the last parliament, after the bill of exclusion had passed the commons, little opposition was made to the most extravagant propositions of the country party. Charles exerted all his influence in the house of lords. Besides, he stood in reserve, with his own power of putting an end to their violence by a dissolution. He scarce could expect any thing from the new parliament but the opportunity which the place of their sitting offered for dismissing them for ever with safety. These were his views in assembling them at Oxford. But the exclusionists hoped at last, from his necessities and love of ease, that he would yield to their vehemence. They filled therefore the whole kingdom with tumult and noise. They confirmed their friends with a certainty of victory. They intimidated their enemies, by appealing to the known unsteadiness of the King.

Negotiation  
with France.

WHEN the Duke of York heard, in Scotland, of the dissolution, he dispatched Churchill to the King with proposals. He earnestly entreated him not to permit the new parliament to sit till the popular heats should abate. He pressed him not to engage

<sup>f</sup> James II. 1681.

<sup>g</sup> D'Avaux, 1681.

<sup>h</sup> Ibid.

<sup>i</sup> James II. 1681.



in any alliance with Spain and Holland, as the commons would forsake him in his distress, in case of a war. He advised him by no means to break with France, the only country that could enable him to subsist. He told him, that France dreaded a commonwealth in England; that Spain and Holland desired such a change in her government. He insinuated that the Prince of Orange, gained by the popular party, complained of the prorogation, and much more of the dissolution of parliament; and he assured him, from the best authority, that the Prince was zealous for the bill of exclusion. Charles agreed to a treaty with France; but he left it entirely to the management of the Duke of York. He ordered his brother to consent to no article that might preclude him from calling a parliament, or that seemed to leave Holland or Flanders open to a French invasion. He instructed him to press that the first payment of the subsidy might be more considerable than the succeeding and the last. He thought it improper to make any motion in person in the treaty, for fear of disappointing his views by an appearance of eagerness. But the French were slow in the negotiation; and the King resolved to meet the new parliament on the appointed day<sup>\*</sup>.

C H A P.  
V.

1681.

WHILE Charles formed some hopes of his being relieved from his distress by France, she was framing schemes for rendering him still more uneasy at home. The more profligate part of the opposition in parliament were in her pay; and her ambassador at London employed her money in procuring malicious libels, to alienate the affections of his people from the King<sup>1</sup>. The French ambassador received, for this purpose, into his service one Fitz-Harris, an Irishman and a Roman catholic<sup>m</sup>. This man, being the son of Sir Edward Fitz-Harris, a conspicuous royalist, had found means, some time before, to be admitted to the King, who gave him two hundred

Fitz-Harris's

<sup>\*</sup> James II. 1681.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>m</sup> Ibid.

and



C H A P.

V.

1681.

and fifty pounds to extricate him from his necessities. This being only a temporary relief, he hearkened with eagerness to the proposals of the ambassador of France. Being himself unable to write for the public, he applied to one Everard, a Scotsman, who had been an informer, and a partizan to the popular party, to frame the libel. Everard, afraid of a design to trepan himself, placed secretly as witnesses, Sir William Waller, a noted justice of the peace, and two other persons, behind the hangings, to hear what passed between him and Fitz-Harris. The latter was apprehended and committed to prison; and the libel, partly written by himself, and partly by Everard, was found in his pocket, and was secured as a proof to convict him before a court of law. It consisted of severe reflections on the Popery and arbitrary principles of Charles and his family; and concluded with a formal advice to the people to depose the King, and to provide for themselves<sup>n</sup>.

libel.

FITZ-HARRIS, in the possession of the officers of justice, saw no safety but in throwing himself in the arms of the popular party. He sent for Cornish, one of the sheriffs, and informed him, that he was employed by the court to write the libel, to render odious the exclusionists. The intention, he told him, was to send copies of the paper to the leaders of the opposition, and then to arrest them, as conspiring against the King. To ensure the favour of the public, he also became a discoverer of the great Popish plot. Cornish having informed Charles of this circumstance, the two secretaries were sent to examine Fitz-Harris. He said, that Montecuculi, who had been envoy in England from the court of Modena, had offered him ten thousand pounds for murdering the King. He refused he said the offer; but he told him, that the King's death might be procured by poison, at the Dutchess of Mazarine's house. He accused the Duke of York of being privy to the whole design. He affirmed, that an army from France and Flanders

<sup>n</sup> Publications of the times.



was to support that prince; and that many parliament-men, who had distinguished themselves for the bill of exclusion, were to be boiled to death, to make a kind of oil<sup>o</sup>, to anoint him and the succeeding Kings of England at their coronation. The King saw the design of this incoherent nonsense; and, being apprehensive that parliament would apply for a pardon for Fitz-Harris, he issued a special commission of oyer and terminer for his trial; but the parliament met before it was carried into execution.

INCREDIBLE, however, as the tale of Fitz-Harris appeared, it intimidated those who wished to favour the Duke of York. That Prince, upon the oath of the noted Otes, who swore, that he had seen him receiving the sacrament according to the rites of the Romish church, was presented for recusancy at the Old Bailey. An informality in the mode of proceeding furnished the Duke with a pretence to appear after proclamation; but that was neither safe nor practicable. The affair was therefore removed by a writ of *certiorari* into the court of King's-Bench. This being afterwards thought insufficient, the Duke solicited for a *noli prosequi*; which, upon the discovery made by Fitz-Harris, was refused. That misguided Prince saw now the dismal effects of his own folly and obstinacy growing every day. The popular party no longer talked of the bill of exclusion as sufficient. They resolved at their meetings, that, to render it effectual, it must be attended with an act of association. Nothing could, however, overcome his bigotry. Charles, who had so often conjured him to conform to the established church, renewed applications of the same kind in vain. He was neither to be won by entreaty, nor terrified by danger.

Its effect on  
the Duke of  
York.

CHARLES made no secret of his own fixed resolution to yield in nothing to the country party. He publicly told the ambas-

Preparations  
of the King.

• St. Ampoule. James II.

fadors



C H A P.

V.

1681.

fadors of Spain and Holland, that it was in consequence of his promise to them that he permitted his parliament to meet at all<sup>p</sup>. He declared at the same time, that he was determined to dissolve and not to prorogue them, should they resume their former violent measures. He accordingly began deliberately to prepare for extremities. The greatest part of the Earl of Oxford's regiment were quartered on the road, to secure his return. Another body of his guards were ordered to patrol along the way. The opposition of his family rendered colonel Ruffel suspected. His regiment was offered to the Earl of Thanet. The Duke of York recommended the Earl of Mulgrave to the same command. The first declined to pay for his commission to Ruffel. The King himself refused the latter, from a prepossession against his manner. The Earl of Craven, though then superannuated, was left in the chief command<sup>q</sup>. Having made these arrangements, Charles left Windsor on the fourteenth of March. He was received on the confines of the county by the high sheriff; and at Wheatley by Lord Norris, the lord-lieutenant, and conducted with great pomp to Oxford. The university expressed their loyalty in addresses and festivity; and the King was so well pleased with his reception, that he ordered the particulars to be published, as an example of fidelity to the rest of the kingdom. The popular party came with equal pomp, and scarce with less hostile preparations, to Oxford. Numerous bands of retainers in arms attended their leaders to parliament. Great multitudes, in particular, followed the four members for the city of London<sup>r</sup>. The contest, however, would have been unequal, had things come to extremities. When a military force is once established in a country, the liberty of the people depends either on the humanity or happy timidity of the Prince.

Parliament  
meets at Ox-  
ford.

ON Monday, the twenty-first of March, the parliament was opened at Oxford with a speech from the throne. Charles, hav-

<sup>p</sup> James II.<sup>q</sup> Ibid.<sup>r</sup> Kennet, et Au<sup>t</sup>. citat.



ing determined to act with firmness, expressed himself in an authoritative tone. The unwarrantable proceedings of the last house of commons, he told them, were the cause of the late dissolution. He assured them, that as he should use no arbitrary government himself, he was resolved not to suffer tyranny in others. He complained, that the former parliament had rejected his offer of limitation, refused to support his alliances, and to preserve Tangier. He informed them, that it was his interest, as well as his inclination, to preserve the liberty of the subject; as the crown is in peril, when public freedom is threatened with danger. He argued his love of parliaments, by his meeting one so soon, after the former had distressed him with its heats. He expressed his hopes, that the bad success of the late violent proceedings might dispose them to a better temper. He declared his fixed resolution to adhere to the rights of succession. He desired them to remember, that without the safety and dignity of monarchy, neither religion nor property can be preserved. He recommended union at home, as the only means to recover the importance of the nation abroad; and he concluded with advising them to adapt the rules and measures of their votes to the established laws of the land, which neither ought nor can be changed, except by an act passed by the three estates of parliament.

THE commons, returning to their house, chose for their speaker Williams, who had served in the same capacity in the preceding parliament. On the twenty-fourth of March, they resolved to consider of means for the security of the Protestant religion and the King's person<sup>u</sup>. Though the last parliament seemed to have forgot the Earl of Danby, the present house of commons resumed the prosecution against him with ardour. They sent a message to the lords, to appoint a day to give judgment against Danby<sup>x</sup>. But the case

Proceedings  
of the commons.

<sup>s</sup> Journals of the lords, Mar. 21, 1681.

<sup>t</sup> Mar. 21.

<sup>u</sup> Mar. 24.

<sup>x</sup> Mar. 25.



C H A P.

V.

1681.

of Fitz-Harris seemed to command a still greater share of their attention. His evidence in writing was laid before the house, and recorded in their votes. Though incredible in many particulars, it seemed to be artfully connected with the transactions of the times. Some surmises were certainly just; and, upon the whole, Fitz-Harris appeared to have heard, as a matter of conversation among the enthusiastic priests, some circumstances which he related. The commons knew, that the crown was bent upon the conviction of the criminal. To save him from the animadversions of the courts of common law, they voted his impeachment; and to add indignity to their violence, they ordered Secretary Jenkins to carry the impeachment to the lords<sup>y</sup>.

Quarrel between the houses.

THE house of lords, where the King possessed a great majority, refused to proceed on the impeachment of Fitz-Harris; having produced a precedent from the reign of Edward III. to support the justice of their conduct. But this precedent was neither applicable nor suitable to the common-sense of mankind. Their refusal of an impeachment from the commons could be only justified by the violence of its intention. The lower-house immediately voted, that the conduct of the lords was a denial of public justice, a violation of the constitution of parliaments, an obstruction to the discovery of the Popish plot, and of great danger to his Majesty's person and the Protestant religion. They resolved, that for any other inferior court to proceed against Fitz-Harris, or any other person lying under an impeachment of the commons of England, is a high breach of the privilege of parliament. In the fury which arose concerning Fitz-Harris, they proceeded to other business. They resolved to bring in a bill to banish all the Papists of England, that possessed one hundred pounds a-year, from his Majesty's dominions, by their name. They revived the bill of exclusion, and ordered it to be read for the first time the next day<sup>z</sup>.

<sup>y</sup> Mar. 25.

<sup>z</sup> Mar. 26.

BEFORE



BEFORE the meeting of parliament, the Earl of Halifax, and some others of the principal servants of the crown, amused the King with an expedient to prevent the bill of exclusion. They offered to propose to the commons to make the Prince and Princess of Orange protectors, during the life of the Duke of York. The vivacity of Halifax fixed on the word protectors, instead of regents, to amuse the republican party. Charles was willing to agree to any measure that might gain the commons, without breaking the line of succession. He was offended at the absurd bigotry of his brother; and he wished to punish him, in any way consistent with the right of his family to the crown. But when the expedient was proposed, it was rejected with disdain. The commons were sensible that no regent could possess equal influence with a nominal King. To banish a monarch, whose title was recognized, was deemed at once absurd and impracticable. They brought in therefore a bill for a total exclusion; and they intended to follow it with an act of association, to render it effectual<sup>a</sup>.

CHAP.  
V.  
1681.  
An expedient  
rejected.

CHARLES, having foreseen the violence of the commons, had taken his resolution to dissolve the parliament. He perceived that a great part of the nation seemed already to think that they had driven things too far. He was resolved to prevent, at all events, a breach upon the succession; and he saw that he was to be supported, should his conduct assume the appearance of spirit. The bill of exclusion was introduced on Saturday the twenty-sixth of March. When the two houses were met, on Monday the twenty-eighth, the King put on his robes privately, and was conveyed in a sedan-chair to the house of lords. He drew the curtains as he went, to conceal the crown, which he carried on his knee. The lords suspected nothing, as he was wont to come daily to hear their debates. When he arrived, he suddenly mounted the throne;

The parliament dissolved.

<sup>a</sup> Mar. 26.



C H A P.  
V.

1681.

Consterna-  
tion of the  
popular  
party.

and placing the crown on his head, ordered the usher of the black-rod to summon the commons. Silence and astonishment prevailed around. His very servants seemed surpris'd at a conduct which they might have foreseen. The commons, in the mean time, arrived. The King told them, "that divisions, which began so ill, could not end in good." He then commanded the chancellor to declare the parliament dissolved<sup>b</sup>.

A CLAP of thunder bursting suddenly upon them could not more astonish the popular party, than this abrupt dissolution of parliament. Prepared for no other mode of resistance, they gave at once all their hopes to the wind. They found that they had built too much on the easiness of Charles; and that they had mistaken his forbearing policy for timidity. The fabric of opposition, which they had been rearing for several years, melted at once into air. A melancholy silence followed their vehement eloquence; and all their spirit took its flight with their good fortune. Fears for themselves succeeded to their violence against the crown. They had lost the field to a prince whom they, with every art, had offended and distressed; and they dreaded that he would use his victory with rigour; and they were not deceived. They hastened each to his own home, as if terrified at the place where they had lost their political consequence. All the roads were in an instant covered with carriages and horses. The King himself, as if afraid of some attempt of their despair, hastened in his coach to Windsor, attended by his guards, and the next day he came to Whitehall.

<sup>b</sup> Journals. James II. Kennet. Burnet.



CHAP. VI.

*Reflections on the conduct of parliament.—King's declaration.*

*—Addresses from all quarters.—City of London reprimanded.*

*—Intrigues of the Prince of Orange.—Fitz-Harris and Plunket executed.*

*—Case and trial of Colledge.—Affairs of Scotland.*

*—Succession recognized.—A new test.—Trial of Argyle.*

*—Conduct of the Duke of York.—Foreign affairs.*

*—Prince of Orange in England.—Conference with the King.*

*—Shaftesbury acquitted.—Passive obedience.—State of the times.*

*—Of foreign affairs.—Return of the Duke of York.*

*—He narrowly escapes shipwreck.—The King possesses himself of London.*

*—Affairs at court.—Monmouth's progress.*

*—Legal severities.—Deaths and promotions.—Quo warranto.*

*—City of London submits.—Corporations resign their charters.*

*—Rise and progress of a conspiracy.—Rye-house plot.*

*—Conspirators seized.—Trial, condemnation, death, and character of Russel.*

*—Death of Essex.—Marriage of the Lady Anne.*

*—Oxford declaration.—Trial, execution, and character of Sidney.*

*—Monmouth's confession and disgrace.—Conduct and intrigues of the Prince of Orange.*

*—Hampden fined.—Prosecutions and executions.—Duke of York lord admiral.*

*—Affairs of Scotland.—Of Ireland.—State of foreign affairs.*

*—Domestic affairs.—Death of the King.*

*—His behaviour in his last moments.—Reflections on his private life and character.*

THOUGH the conduct of Charles might be reprehensible, and the religion of his brother dangerous, they scarce furnish an excuse for the violence of parliament. The commons, led astray by their zeal, exercised a despotism as capricious and illegal

CHAP.

V.

681.

March.

Reflections on the



C H A P.  
VI.

1681.

illegal as that which they affected to apprehend from the crown. Their arbitrary resolutions often interrupted the course of justice, encroached wantonly on personal freedom, and suspended in some cases the laws. Their claims of privilege were stretched to the utmost extent of their views and passions. To their most salutary resolves they annexed a petulance that seemed more calculated to distress the sovereign, than to relieve the nation. In calling the clamours of the populace to aid their deliberations, they terrified the sober part of mankind into a dislike of their conduct. In their contempt of all expedients, they lost the character of moderation; and, by driving the Prince to extremities, they awakened the pity of his subjects, and united the majority of them in his cause. Their insisting upon the exclusion of the Duke of York, though perhaps in itself no very improper measure, lost all pretence to prudence, when they knew that the King was resolved to prevent it, by means which would in a moment annihilate their own power.

conduct of  
parliament.

THE consequences of their conduct proved almost fatal to the freedom which they affected to defend. The King having obtained a victory, with the approbation of his people, used it with an address which removed all checks from his power. The church, thrown into his scale by the attachment of the commons to sectaries, secured his influence with the nation. The laws, explained by time-serving judges, became an instrument of oppression, more than the means of justice. The opinions of mankind seemed to alter with their condition. The jealousies of the crown ceased when the King acquired the power of doing harm; and men seemed anxious to exchange the trouble of being free, for the tranquillity of despotism. But the fatal discredit into which parliament had fallen sprung from the violence of leaders, who had other views than the public good. Many had been gained by France, for the sole purpose of feeding the flame of dissension in a king-



a kingdom, whose force was the chief obstacle to her own views. Others wished to gratify their ambition in the midst of anarchy and confusion. Some hoped to raise an ideal fabric of a republic on the ruins of monarchy, without considering the unfitness of the materials of which it was to have been framed. The best meaning, who unfortunately are too often the most weak, were roused into enthusiasm by the professions of designing men. The madness frequently incident to an assembled multitude infected the commons in general; and hurried the members, in a collective body, into acts which, singly, they might wish to avoid.

C H A P.  
VI.

1681.

THE King had long perceived, that the obstinacy of the commons was too deeply rooted to be removed. He saw that delay would render them less excusable, without diminishing their extravagance. His last parliament he assembled for the purpose of dissolving them with an appearance of spirit. He scarce had made a secret of his intention, notwithstanding the surprise with which the dissolution was received. The limitations which he proposed were intended only to convince the people of the unreasonableness of their representatives. He had engaged to the Prince of Orange not to circumscribe the power of a crown which he was one day likely to wear\*. Sincerity was none of the virtues of Charles; and art was even necessary, in his present condition. His conduct after the dissolution was full of policy, and suited to the state of the times. He prepared a declaration, as an appeal to the people from parliament. When the declaration was presented to the council, the Archbishop of Canterbury proposed that it should be read in all the churches and chapels in England<sup>d</sup>. A mode of publication, which was likely to give it solemnity and weight, was willingly adopted. The clergy added arguments of their own to those contained in the declaration. In their discourses they propagated principles subversive of public freedom, and seemed to

The King's  
issues

\* Dalrymple's Append.

<sup>d</sup> Contin. of Baker. Kennet, vol. iii.

connect



C H A P.

VI.

1681.

connect the safety of the established religion with an unlimited power in the crown.

a declaration.  
April.

THE declaration was well conceived, and, though artful, appeared modest and just. The King represented the violence of the two last parliaments in affairs which regarded the nation, and their unsuitable returns to himself. He complained, that they had converted their addresses into remonstrances; that their arbitrary orders had deprived men of their liberty, in matters that had no relation to privilege. He specified some of their strange and illegal votes, which declared persons enemies to the King and kingdom, without any order or process of law. He affirmed, that instead of giving him assistance with supplies, they endeavoured to expose him to danger, by preventing money from being lent on the branches of the established revenue. He mentioned, that by their votes, prohibiting the prosecution of Dissenters, they had assumed the power of suspending laws. He placed their conduct with regard to the exclusion in the most unfavourable light. He, however, declared, that no irregularities in former parliaments would induce him to abstain from convening these assemblies hereafter. He in the mean time assured his people, that he was resolved to have frequent parliaments, to use his utmost endeavours to extirpate Popery, to redress the grievances of his subjects, and in all things to govern according to the laws of the kingdom<sup>e</sup>.

Addresses  
from all  
quarters.

THE opposition, weakened by their dispersion, lost all their spirit with their power. Some able answers, however, appeared against the King's declaration; but they made little impression on a people whose opinions had changed. The adherents of the court carried their arguments to the press. Men of genius, though little encouraged by the monarch, aided his councils with their

<sup>e</sup> Vid. Declaration, April 8, 1681.



talents. Sir William Jones, a man of abilities, who had resigned the office of attorney-general to join the country party, defended the late parliaments, as much as their conduct would admit of defence. He exposed with success the measures of Charles; but no sufficient excuse could be made for the imprudent vehemence of his own friends. To complete the victory of the crown, the people were encouraged to approve publicly of the dissolution of parliament. Addresses poured from every quarter of the kingdom. This species of flattery was begun by the justices of the peace for the county of Middlesex<sup>f</sup>; and from them it spread to almost all the legal societies in the nation. Even apprentices, watermen, and mariners, joined in the universal cry in favour of the crown. Men in general seemed to congratulate the King on his escape from parliaments, and to be impatient to throw the burden of public freedom at the foot of the throne.

C H A P.  
VI.  
1681.

THE majority of the corporation of London still remained firm to the country party. The principal officers and the common-council had been chosen when the public opinion was turned with most violence against the crown. When application was made by some citizens for an address, others carried, by a majority in the common-hall, a vote for a petition. Charles commanded the Earl of Nottingham, as Chancellor, to return an answer at once contemptuous and severe. He reprimanded them for interfering in affairs of state, being things totally beyond their sphere. He averred, that the meanest village in England had an equal right with them to meddle in matters of government. He desired them to consider, that the common-council of London was by no means the common-council of the nation. He, however, informed them, that his Majesty looked not upon their petition as proceeding from the unanimous consent of the city of London; that it was carried only by fourteen votes in the whole; and that

City of London reprimanded.  
May.

<sup>f</sup> April 18.



C H A P.  
VI.

1681.

it was against the sense of the greater part of the court of aldermen. He complained of their presuming to doubt his declaration, "that there should be frequent parliaments;" and he concluded with advising them "to study to be quiet, to do their own business, to leave to his Majesty the protection and care of a city whose prosperity could only rise from the tranquillity of his government<sup>g</sup>."

Intrigues of  
the Prince of  
Orange.

WHILE the King was preparing, with a degree of spirit, to discomfit the popular faction, the Prince of Orange was busy in forming projects of ambition upon their expected success. Notwithstanding the repulse given to the Dutch memorial, he adopted other schemes to favour his views on the throne. He came to a resolution with his party to propose a new expedient to the King of England. The projected marriage between the Bishop of Osnaburgh and the Princess Anne had not hitherto been laid aside in the secret councils of the Prince. He, therefore, intended to demand, in conjunction with the opposition in parliament, that in case Charles should die before the Duke of York, the latter should be only titular King, and reside in the dominions of the Duke of Hanover; and that his sons-in-law, the Prince himself, and the Bishop of Osnaburgh, should be declared regents of the kingdom. This project, however, was dropt, as absurd, upon mature consideration; and the Prince turned his attention to another scheme, which ultimately crowned his designs with success. He concerted with the Earl of Sunderland to make a show of deserting his interest, to insinuate himself into the intimacy of the Dutchess of Portsmouth, and, by her means, into the good graces of his master, that he might have an opportunity of betraying the councils of that Prince, and defeat the succession of the Duke of York to the throne of England<sup>h</sup>.

<sup>g</sup> May 19.

<sup>h</sup> D'Avaux, April 1681.



THE trial of Fitz-Harris, after some doubts whether his counsel would submit to the jurisdiction of a court of common law<sup>i</sup>, came on in the beginning of June<sup>k</sup>. His conviction being deemed a matter of the last importance to the crown, some extraordinary preparations were made. The lord chief justice Scroggs lay himself under an impeachment in parliament; and it was thought improper that one delinquent should sit in judgment upon another of the same kind. He was dismissed from his office with a pension. Pemberton, a man of boldness, and better abilities than character, succeeded Scroggs. These precautions were, however, unnecessary. Though the principal witness, Sir William Waller, was himself a violent party-man; though Johnson, the foreman of the jury, had distinguished himself as a partisan of Shaftesbury, and an adherent of Monmouth; though the sheriffs had chosen the rest of the jury, on account of their popular principles; the fact was too clear to admit of his escape. The only plea was his being employed by the King in secret services. The Dutchess of Portsmouth, being examined, swore that she begged some charity for him from the King, but that she was privy to none of his concerns. Her woman, Mrs. Wall, was also called. She declared, that Fitz-Harris received one hundred and fifty or two hundred pounds for persuading some eminent persons in opposition to support the interest of the King<sup>l</sup>.

C H A P.  
VI  
1681.  
June.  
Fitz-Harris  
condemned,

FITZ-HARRIS, being condemned for treason, endeavoured to save his life by soothing the King. He sent a message, that should his sentence be changed to perpetual imprisonment, he would openly name those who induced him to accuse the Queen, the Duke of York, and the Earl of Danby<sup>m</sup>. He was examined before the council. He affirmed, that the two sheriffs, Bethel and Cornish, together with Treby the recorder, had prevailed with him to invent the fictions concerning the Popish plot. He was,

and executed.

<sup>i</sup> James II. 1681.

<sup>k</sup> June 9.

<sup>l</sup> James II. 1681.

<sup>m</sup> Ibid.



C H A P.  
VI.

1681.

however, too profligate to gain any credit to his evidence. He accused the Lord Howard of Escric of being concerned in the libel for which he was condemned. His wife and maid confirmed this part of the testimony; and Howard was immediately sent to the Tower. But, notwithstanding discoveries which could not but please the King, Fitz-Harris was too obnoxious to be pardoned. He, however, continued to the last to adhere to the falsehood of his accusation; and he declared at the place of execution, "that he renounced the mercy of Almighty God, if his confession was not true<sup>n</sup>."

Plunket con-  
demned.

THOUGH Fitz-Harris died unpitied, the fate of another supposed criminal of the same faith was lamented by the unprejudiced few. Shaftesbury, to enlarge the scale of the popular plot, had encouraged and supported informers, who endeavoured to establish a belief of an Irish conspiracy of the same kind. Some profligate priests, who wished to gain the reward offered in England for perjury, had some time before accused Oliver Plunket, the Popish titular bishop of Armagh, who called himself primate of all Ireland. Plunket was a man remarkable for the simplicity of his manners, quiet in his disposition, and altogether an enemy to turbulence and intrigue. He was, however, brought to England to take his trial. The witnesses, as usual, were incredible in their evidence. They swore, that he had engaged to the Pope to raise sixty thousand Irish to join an army of French invaders to destroy the Protestant religion. The Irish clergy, they affirmed, were to support with their contributions this design. Plunket, in his defence, could only urge the improbability of this tale. He shewed that the Irish clergy were so poor, that he himself, who was called their primate, lived in a thatched hut upon sixty pounds a-year. He insisted upon the obvious falsehood, that a body of men labouring under such poverty could furnish money

<sup>n</sup> Vid. his Confession.



for the support of a great army. The evidence, however, was positive. Plunket was condemned; and the King, though informed of his innocence, durst not pardon so signal a Papist°.

C H A P.  
VI.

1681.

WHILE the rest of the nation signified their approbation of the present measures in addresses, the corporation of London seemed to adhere to their former principles. On the twenty-fourth of June, the two sheriffs were chosen from the popular party; and the common-hall voted their assent to the matter of the petition, for which the city had been reprimanded by the King. The address of Shaftesbury was the chief cause of this obstinacy. Having employed agents of the inferior sort of people to keep up the flame, he contrived to carry the election of sheriffs; a necessary precaution, when his enemies seemed determined to execute their vengeance through the channel of the law. Too artful himself to commit obvious treason, the court resolved to punish his adherents. Two of his most active managers, College and Rouse, were apprehended by a warrant from the council. The first was a tradesman of some character, but a fanatic: and the latter had been employed in conducting and supporting the evidence for an Irish plot; the most foolish, and to his party the most fatal, of all that nobleman's political schemes<sup>p</sup>.

Transactions  
in the city.

COLLEGE, as having been the most active in the schemes of Shaftesbury, ought to be the first object of punishment, in the judgment of the court. On the eighth of July, a bill was preferred against him; but the jury returned it indorsed with an ignoramus. The intemperate joy of the party upon this occasion increased the resentment of the adherents of the crown. Though the bill in Middlesex was frustrated, College was still liable to another in the county of Oxford. A part of the treason of which he was accused lay in the latter county; and the King might

July.  
College tried,

° Contin. of Baker.

<sup>p</sup> Kennet, Ralph, et Auct. citat.

legally



C H A P.  
VI.  
1681.

legally prosecute in either, as suited his pleasure. The assizes at Oxford were at hand. The prisoner was sent to that place. The indictment was preferred to the ordinary grand jury, and a bill was found. But it was thought neither just nor politic to try him during the same assizes. On the seventeenth of August, a special commission of oyer and terminer was issued to the Lord Norris, as lord-lieutenant of the county of Oxford, the lord chief justice North, and the puisne judges, Jones, Raymond, and Levinz, for the trial of College. The activity of the prisoner in the service of his party had raised him to a degree of importance, to which his situation in life had otherwise no claim<sup>a</sup>.

and con-  
demned.

DUGDALE, Turberville, and Smith, who had distinguished themselves in their evidence for the Popish plot, were now the principal witnesses against College. Having left the popular party when their power declined, they offered their service to the court, and they were readily received. A spirit of retaliation, which overcame all the principles of justice, had, to the disgrace of the age, seized the adherents of the crown. Though they saw with indignation the perjuries of those villains, when employed by their enemies, they now availed themselves of their testimony to favour their revenge. The chief charge against College was, that, in his zeal for the exclusionists, he had appeared at Oxford, during the sitting of parliament, armed with sword and pistol; and that he had expressed himself to some of the witnesses as being engaged in a conspiracy to seize the person of the King<sup>b</sup>. College, who was a man of capacity and firmness, defended himself with courage, and an appearance of innocence. Though warm in his zeal for a party, and active in accomplishing their designs in the city of London, he seems never to have extended his thoughts to actual treason. It is remarkable, that College, in the case of the Viscount Stafford, had much insisted on the ho-

<sup>a</sup> Publications of the year.

<sup>b</sup> Grey's Hist. of the Rye-house plot.



neftly of Dugdale; yet the apparent perjury of that evidence bore now the hardeft on himfelf. Notwithstanding his defence, he was found guilty; and his fentence was heard with fhouts of applaufe by a great concourfe of fpectators. The fpirit of party feemed to have obliterated from the minds of the people all feeling for thofe who differed from them in political opinions \*.

C H A P.  
VI.  
1681.

NOTWITHSTANDING the great and fudden change in favour of the crown in England, Charles thought it prudent to command the Duke of York to remain in Scotland. The politic conduct of that Prince, during his former refidence in the latter kingdom, had gained the good opinion of the Scots, and fecured their attachment. The violence of his enemies, and that pity which follows misfortune in the higher fpheres of life, were, however, more favourable to his intereft than his own conduct. The attention paid to him in Scotland prevented not his impatience to return to court, when he heard of the diffolution of parliament. He applied by letter to Charles. He fent Churchill, his favourite, to London. He employed all the influence of his friends. The latter contented themfelves with requesting that he himfelf might be permitted to refide at Audley, or any other houfe belonging to the King; and that the Dutcheffs, who was in a bad ftate of health, might retire either to Bath or Tunbridge. Hyde and Jenkins, of all the miniftry, wifhed only for his return. The reft, with the Dutcheffs of Portsmouth, oppofed it, and prevailed †.

Affairs of  
Scotland.

THE Duke himfelf, fufpecting that permiffion for his return could not be obtained, gave another charge to Churchill, which was not to be communicated till the firft request was refufed. This was a defire to call a parliament in Scotland, where, from the complexion of opinions, the Duke flattered himfelf with the hopes of a folemn act to recognize the rights of fucceffion, which

Right of fuc-  
ceffion re-  
cognized.

\* Publications of the times.

† James II. 1681.

had



C H A P.

VI.

1681.

had been invaded in England. Charles readily agreed; and thinking it unfit that any other should represent his person when his brother was present, appointed the Duke his commissioner to the new parliament. The proclamation and letter to the privy-council of Scotland were not, however, dispatched from London till the end of July. When the parliament met at Edinburgh, the Duke found that he had formed a just judgment of their attachment to the indefeasible rights of monarchy. An act was immediately passed, "that no difference of religion, no act of the legislature made or to be made, could alter or divert the right of succession, or lineal descent of the crown." It was declared high treason in any one of the subjects of Scotland, by writing or acting, by word or deed, to endeavour the alteration or suspension of the right of succession. This act passed without one dissenting voice; and when the Duke gave the royal assent, he declared that "he would heartily concur with the parliament in the security of the Protestant religion."

Proceedings  
of parliament.

THE parliament proceeded next to continue the excise, and to vote a supply for the support of the army. Great frauds had been committed, by farming that revenue to contractors; for the whole amount of what came into the treasury exceeded not sixty thousand pounds a year\*. The Duke, with his usual œconomy, began to lessen the expence, and concert measures for augmenting the receipts. He struck off the pensions of the Earls of Huntley, Argyle, Athol, and Seaforth, who had each seven hundred pounds a-year, to answer for the Highlanders, and to make good the depredations committed upon the inhabitants of the low country†. The Duke of York, in the mean time, made exceptions to the management of the Lord Register, to oppression committed by Argyle, by means of his too extensive jurisdictions in the Highlands, and to the conduct of the president of the session.

\* James II.

\* James II. 1681.

† Ibid.

Lauderdale



Lauderdale was highly offended at this attack on his own adherents; and he endeavoured to persuade the King, that those whom his brother persecuted were the most devoted to his service<sup>2</sup>.

C H A P.  
VI.  
1681.

THE most remarkable act of the Scottish parliament was their passing a new test, which all persons in the service of government were obliged to take. This test, with a formal renunciation of the famous covenant, and a solemn affirmation of the King's supremacy, contained a resolution of passive obedience, and of disclaiming all alterations in the government of church and state. To these articles, after they were introduced in parliament, some members, who had the courage to exhibit even a distant shew of patriotism, annexed a clause of adherence to the Protestant faith. Though this was virtually contained in the article for maintaining the established church, it was readily granted, that the bill might pass with more ease and unanimity. The test being ill conceived, and, if possible, worse expressed, contained many glaring contradictions and gross absurdities. Several persons scrupled to take it, without an explanation; and the Duke himself seemed to consider it as too severe<sup>3</sup>. The Earl of Argyle, as privy-counsellor, took the test, in the Duke's presence, with an explanation of which his Royal Highness approved<sup>4</sup>.

A new test.  
Argyle condemned.

ARGYLE, a few days after, was suddenly seized and committed to prison. He was indicted for leasing-making, perjury, and high treason. Some writers affirm, that the Duke was offended with the Earl for some expressions which he used in the debate in parliament, concerning a clause in the test-act for exempting princes of the blood from taking the oath. The fact is improbable, as the Lord Belhaven was, for words of the same import, committed prisoner by the parliament to the castle of Edinburgh; and it is not likely, that, in their present temper,

<sup>2</sup> James II. 1681.

<sup>3</sup> James II.

<sup>4</sup> James II.



C H A P.  
VI.  
1681.

they would pass over in the Earl the fault for which they punished the Lord. Besides, the Duke himself assigns no such motive for the prosecution of Argyle. He affirms, that there was not the least design formed against either his life or fortune; but only to procure the forfeiture of some jurisdictions and superiorities, which his predecessors had unjustly obtained, and he himself tyrannically exercised<sup>b</sup>. As a proof of this assertion, the Duke and the Dutchess of York entreated the King, by letters<sup>c</sup>, to favour the Lord Lorne, who was permitted to come to court, after the condemnation, forfeiture, and escape of the Earl, his father. The intention, however good, by no means justified the measure; for the most cruel and dangerous oppressions are those which come under the form of justice and law.

The Duke  
importuned  
in vain to  
conform.

THE unlimited loyalty of the Scottish parliament animated Charles with the hopes of putting for ever an end to the political misfortunes of his family. The current in England was so strong in favour of monarchy, that scarce any thing remained to render the crown despotic, but the return of the heir-apparent to the established religion. He resolved, therefore, to make another attempt on the bigotry of his brother. He dispatched Hyde to that infatuated Prince, and he arrived at Edinburgh on the thirty-first of August. He ordered Hyde to tell him, that unless he resolved to conform entirely and go to church, no leave for his returning to England must ever be expected. "Tell him, Hyde," said the King, "that unless he conforms, I neither will nor can support him, though I have hitherto done it at the risk of my life and crown. Let him consider from what his folly has done already, what hereafter it will do. He will ruin himself, and me, and his family, for ever." Hyde executed his commission with faithfulness and zeal. Three whole days he laid before him the present dismal state of affairs, and the melancholy prospect of the

<sup>b</sup> James II. 1681.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid.

future.



future. He, however, could not prevail. He at length shewed to the Duke a note in the King's own hand, containing these words: "If you will go to church, without doing more, you shall have leave to come to me when the parliament is adjourned<sup>c</sup>."

C H A P.  
VI.  
1681.

THE Duke of York, upon the whole, though deemed severe in his disposition, relaxed considerably the rigour of the government which he found in Scotland. He gained the esteem of the nobility and gentry by the civility of his behaviour; and he won the affections of the inferior sort, by his attention to the marks of respect which they paid. To diminish the jealousy entertained concerning his religion, he always attended public prayers before the parliament<sup>d</sup>. Though the conduct of the Duke of Lauderdale pleased him, when seen at a distance<sup>e</sup>, he lost all respect for his person, when he took a nearer view of the oppressions of his government and the rapacity of his family. His high, monarchical principles, however, carried him too far. He suppressed a parliamentary inquiry into the conduct of the Lord Salton, though he saw, and even in some degree punished his guilt. This part of his conduct proceeded from his opinion of the danger of submitting the servants of the crown to the animadversions of a popular assembly. His treatment of the fanatics partook more of rigour than any other part of his public conduct; but there is no just ground for believing that he was present at the tortures of criminals. That misguided Prince has been as unfortunate in his historians, as he has been inexcusable in many parts of his conduct. Some writers, with a preposterous folly, have loaded him with falsehoods; as if any thing but their expediency were necessary to justify the measures which drove him from the throne.

Conduct of  
the Duke of  
York.

THE ambition of Lewis the Fourteenth, encouraged by the dissensions in England, began again to threaten Europe with a war.

Foreign af-  
fairs.

<sup>c</sup> James II. 1681.

<sup>d</sup> James II.

<sup>e</sup> James II. 1681.



C H A P.  
VI.

1681.

To give the colour of justice to his conduct, he formed at Metz a court, which he called the Sovereign Chamber, to establish a kind of claim to the territories which he meant to seize. This iniquitous tribunal declared<sup>f</sup>, that the greatest part of the dutchy of Luxembourg was a dependence on the bishoprick of Metz, which had been ceded by treaty to the crown of France. On the side of Flanders, he made a peremptory demand of the county of Chinei; and he laid claim to Strasbourg, as the capital of Alsace; which country had been ceded to the crown of France by the treaties of Munster and Nimeguen. To enable him to possess in tranquillity what he demanded under the form of justice, Lewis listened to the applications of Charles, whom his necessities and the violence of parliament had forced to propose a new secret treaty. The eagerness of the King of France to gain the friendship of a prince, who, on account of domestic dissensions, was scarce capable of giving him trouble, induced him to conclude, on the twenty-sixth of March, a verbal agreement to pay to the King of England a subsidy. The terms were fifty thousand pounds, payable every three months, for three years; the first payment to be made at the end of June. The conditions on the side of Charles were only friendship; on that of France, a promise to disturb neither Flanders nor Holland<sup>g</sup>.

Encroach-  
ments of  
France,

LEWIS, however, deemed it no infraction on the verbal treaty to seize Strasbourg, to block up Luxembourg, and to force the cession of the county of Chinei. When he made the first motion to accomplish these ends, the Spaniards were incensed, and the Dutch alarmed. The ambition of the Prince of Orange added its own force to the terrors and resentment of Spain and Holland. While he was in appearance on the best terms with his uncle, he concerted with the Spaniards, that a declaration should be presented by their own ambassador at London, signifying that his

<sup>f</sup> April 12, 1680.<sup>g</sup> James II. 1687.



nation would break all commerce with England, till the King should reconcile himself to his parliament<sup>a</sup>. The States were induced to join in this extraordinary remonstrance. Both inveighed against the dissolution of the two last parliaments; and, in a manner scarce decent to an independent Prince, insisted with the King to yield those points from which his quarrel with the commons had sprung. The part which the Prince acted upon this occasion was no secret to either of his uncles. They knew that his ambition had been violently inflamed by the near prospect of the English throne, furnished to him by the exclusion of the Duke of York. The Prince assured himself, that should Charles be induced to take an active part against France, he must become dependent on parliament, and grant all that they desired. The supply promised by Lewis enabled the King of England to dismiss his violent commons, and to reject what HE deemed the insolent demands of his allies. The Prince of Orange, however, though it was removed to a greater distance, lost not his view of the object. He continued his personal applications to Charles to close with his parliament, and to desert the eventual succession of his brother to the throne<sup>i</sup>.

WHILE the Prince urged his uncle upon that subject, an event happened, which made a temporary breach in their friendship. The former raised Sidney to the command of the regiments of British subjects in the service of the States, in opposition to the nomination of the King, who had been usually indulged with the recommendation of an officer to that employment. Charles being highly offended at this mark of disrespect, the Prince referred at length Sidney's affair to his pleasure. The matter was at length compromised, by the King's giving to Sidney a considerable sum of money. In his turn, Sidney promised to undeceive the Prince of Orange with regard to the measures which he wished to be fol-

The Prince of  
Orange in  
England.

<sup>a</sup> D'Avaux, December 1681.

<sup>i</sup> James II. 1681.



C H A P.  
VI.

1681.

lowed in England; and, for that purpose, he repaired to the Hague. On the ninth of July, he returned with a letter from the Prince, informing the King of his design to come to England, and requesting a yacht for his passage. On the twenty-sixth of July, the Prince accordingly arrived at Windsor, and was immediately admitted by Charles to a long conference. Seymour, Hyde, and the Earl of Conway, were present. The Prince publicly declared, that unless the King could assist his allies, Flanders and Holland must be lost; and that he plainly perceived, that no aid could be given without his calling a parliament<sup>k</sup>.

His conference with the King.

WHEN the Prince had finished, the King asked, "whether a parliament meeting on no better hopes of agreement than the last, would contribute to the support of his allies?" He desired him to consider their demands, and to give fairly his opinion, whether these demands should be granted. He asked him, whether he would advise the exclusion? He replied, that he abhorred the thought. He inquired, whether the Prince would propose limitations? "The crown must not be tied," replied the Prince. "Ought I to place," resumed the King, "the militia, the navy, the sea-ports, the judges, out of my own power?" "I shall never advise that measure," said the Prince. "Shall all the ministers and officers," said the King, "suspected to be the Duke of York's creatures, be removed, and CONFIDING men, TRUE PROTESTANTS, be raised to their place?" The Prince said, "he disclaimed it all." "These," resumed the King, "were substantially the demands of the two last parliaments; and, if a parliament is necessary, I desire you to propose somewhat toward a better agreement." The Prince replied, "that he knew only things as they were mentioned abroad, but that he understood not their real condition at home." Being pressed to propose some plan, he desired time to give his answer. The King continued

<sup>k</sup> James II. 1681.



to urge him to propose some expedient. He told him, that he had already called several parliaments, partly to aid his allies; "but instead of assisting me," he continued, "the very treaties which I made for the preservation of Europe were suspected to have been for the support of Popery at home. Nay, so far were the commons from giving a penny for aiding my foreign friends, that they would not give a farthing to preserve Tangier<sup>1</sup>."

C H A P.  
VI.

1681.

THE Prince had various motives for undertaking his journey to England. He was urged by the Spanish ambassador, he was called by the leaders of the popular party, he was encouraged by some of the servants of the crown, especially the chancellor. When he perceived that Charles was determined not to yield to parliament in any one of their demands, he proposed, in the name of the country party, that, should they be permitted to meet, they would think no more either of the exclusion or limitations. This request they frequently conveyed to the King, even after the departure of the Prince. He durst not trust to their promises. He, however, assured the Prince, and formally acquainted the Spanish ambassador, that should the French King actually invade Flanders, or break the peace, he would call a parliament; "though," he told them, "that parliament would do nothing for his allies abroad, till they should obtain what they desired at home." In that case, he assured the Prince, he would instantly dissolve them again. Cambridge was the place at which he resolved to meet this eventual parliament; having determined that they should no longer turn upon him that powerful engine of party, the city of London. He, in the mean time, sent a memorial to the King of France, that unless he suffered provisions to be carried to Luxembourg, "he must call a parliament." Fifty waggons were permitted to enter that city<sup>m</sup>. France offered to quit all her other pretensions, should Luxembourg be delivered into her hands.

Proposals by  
the popular  
party.

<sup>1</sup> Seymour's letter to the Duke of York. James II. 1681.

<sup>m</sup> James II. passim.

This



C H A P.  
VI.

1681.

Departure of  
the Prince of  
Orange.

This proposal became the foundation of a treaty, which extricated Charles from the difficulties under which he lay<sup>a</sup>.

THOUGH the professions of Charles to his allies were deemed excuses for his own conduct, he appears to have been serious in his declaration to the French King. The Duke of York himself, who formed the private treaty, seems to have forgot his own danger in his resentment against the conduct of Lewis. In the diary which he wrote at the time, he declares, "if France shall proceed as she has done, the thing will be unsupportable. A parliament must be called, as the French ambassador has been told." The Prince of Orange, however, gave not entire credit to the King. The object of his journey was, if possible, to oblige him to call a parliament, by the consideration of either foreign or domestic affairs. He used his utmost skill, industry, and art, for that purpose. But Charles resisted them all. The Prince, ten days after his arrival, took his leave, with an appearance of friendship; though he was, in secret, dissatisfied. "We parted very good friends," says Charles in a letter to his brother, "though different in opinion, in many things. It is plain, that great art has been used to misinform him; and, you know, it is not an easy matter to convert him, though he was as well baited as possible. He had very little to say on particulars. He made me great professions at parting; and, though he does not live to be convinced, I believe, in the main, when he has thought well on what was said, he cannot be in the same mind as when he came<sup>b</sup>."

Shaftesbury

DURING these transactions with regard to foreign affairs, the King's party were gaining ground at home. The city of London was, in some degree, gained by the court; and Sir John Moore, a man averse from the principles of the exclusionists, was, on the twenty-ninth of September, chosen lord-mayor. The sheriffs,

<sup>a</sup> Dalrymple's Append.<sup>b</sup> James II. 1681.

Pilkington



Pilkington and Shute, however, continued their adherence to the popular party, and balanced with well-chosen juries the enormous influence of the crown in the courts of law. The Lord Howard of Escric, who had been committed to the Tower in June, was acquitted by the grand jury. The Earl of Shaftesbury had lain in the same prison since the second of July, upon the accusation of Smith, Turberville, and others, whom he himself had long abetted as evidences against the Papists. On the twenty-sixth of November, an indictment was presented against him before the grand jury at the Old Bailey. The sheriffs, who were deeply engaged in his party, made choice of persons devoted to the same principles. Eight witnesses were examined; and they concurred in proving against him many extravagant speeches, very suitable to his vehement character. They were, however, men of such infamous lives, that it is extremely doubtful whether any violence of temper could induce him to utter treason in their presence<sup>p</sup>.

C H A P.  
VI.  
1681.

ANOTHER circumstance seemed, at first sight, to bear harder on Shaftesbury than the evidence of his own iniquitous retainers. When his papers were seized, there was found in his cabinet the draught of an association to oppose the Duke of York's succession to the crown. But it was neither written by him, nor any where marked with his hand. His opponents, besides, had neglected to comprehend it in the indictment. These were reasons sufficient for acquitting him, were even the jury less favourable. The bill was returned indorsed with an ignoramus. The whole court echoed to the shouts of the spectators. The news spreading through the city, bonfires were kindled on the streets, and the windows were illuminated. The triumph of the party continued during the night; but it was the last victory which they gained. Shaftesbury, during his confinement in the Tower, lost much of his former spirit. He applied to the King for leave to transport

acquitted.

<sup>p</sup> Kennet, Burnet, James II.

VOL. I.

B b b

himself



C H A P.  
VI.

1681.

Passive obe-  
dience.

himself to Carolina<sup>a</sup>, where he promised to remain for the rest of his life. Charles, willing to punish his arch-enemy, refused his request; and the event disappointed his views. Four days after the bill against him was rejected by the grand jury, Shaftesbury and Howard found bail in the King's Bench, and they were discharged from confinement.

THE escape of Shaftesbury, by elevating the country party, exasperated the adherents of the crown. The contest now had ceased to be equal. The dissolution of parliament had dispersed, and even subdued the leaders of the first; the latter acquired daily strength through the unremitting influence of a permanent head. To gratify the church for their firm adherence to the King, the laws against Protestant Dissenters, as well as Roman Catholics, were executed with rigour. Presbyterians on account of their firm adherence to the exclusionists, were deemed rebels and republicans. It was dangerous to overlook the Papists, for fear of awakening the jealousy of the nation against the favour of the court to that sect. The association, found among Shaftesbury's papers, furnished another opportunity for the royalists to pay their respects to the throne. Every county and almost every town, transmitted addresses in the most abject strain. The doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance were revived. The bench and the pulpit contended with one another in warmth and zeal for an unlimited power in the crown. Parliaments were reviled, as dangerous and licentious assemblies of the vulgar; and the sole happiness of the nation was placed in a silent obedience to the dictates of the Prince. The people seemed even willing, without the form of a parliament, to tax themselves for the support of the crown. Many liberally offered to contribute money to their utmost ability, when his Majesty's occasions should demand a supply<sup>r</sup>.

1682.

<sup>a</sup> James II.<sup>r</sup> Addresses of Durham and Gloucester, &c.



A JUDGMENT may be formed of the violence of the commons, by the eagerness which their proceedings had raised among their constituents in favour of the crown. Men, without having their passions much inflamed, could not have submitted with such indifference to an unlimited power in the crown. Had the adherents of the prerogative, however, continued to enjoy in tranquillity the benefits resulting from their beloved despotism, they might have awakened pity, without kindling indignation. But they themselves ran into those very extremes which had raised their resentment against others. The idea of retaliation, which suggests itself to those in whom politics degenerate into passion, prevailed in the minds of all. The subornations, the perjuries, the same tampering with witnesses, the packing of juries, which had been the engines of the popular party against the unfortunate Papists, were now turned with redoubled fury upon themselves. The royalists thought their opponents so much covered with guilt, that injustice itself became just in their punishment. The most dreadful misery that can befall a nation prevailed. The laws intended to protect mankind became instruments of destruction. The massacres attending on war, the assassinations practised by tyrants, are temporary, and may be soon forgot. But when the channels of public justice are corrupted, when justice itself is converted into the means of revenge, political misery is arrived at its height.

THERE is, however, a degree of injustice in laying the whole blame of the misfortunes of the times on the King. As he was forced to join in the severities against the Papists, he found himself also obliged to fall down with the current, when it changed. He had before temporized with his enemies, and it now was necessary to gratify his friends. Besides, princes, like other men, are subject to human passions. He had been traduced in his character, insulted in his person, vilified in his family. His au-

state of the  
times.



C H A P.  
VI.

1682

thority as a King had been despised, his veracity questioned as a man. The respect due to his political function was forgot; even the decency, which his good-breeding as a gentleman ought to command, was neglected or abused. Though Charles was as forgetful of injuries as he was of favours, there is not perhaps virtue sufficient in human nature entirely to forgive insults carried to such extremes. To give its full scope to the vehemence of his friends, was to be thoroughly revenged on his enemies. Those who have accused him of too much severity have done him more honour than his character deserved, by expecting from HIM that moderation which is sought for in vain in the most virtuous of his political opponents.

State of fo-  
reign affairs.

THE year 1682 scarce presents any thing but a continuation of those legal severities which disgraced the preceding year. The taking of Strasbourg in the month of September, the continuation of the blockade of Luxembourg, the other claims and expected encroachments of France, continued the fears of Europe. The Spaniards made many fruitless applications to the King of England; they applied in vain to the Dutch. The Emperor, overawed and threatened by the Ottomans, harassed by a rebellion in Hungary, deserted by some of the German princes, destitute of resources, and feeble in his own councils, could neither assist his allies, nor protect himself. The States, urged by the Prince of Orange, and the Spaniards, forced by their necessities, made repeated applications to Charles for the calling of a parliament. Even some of his own ministers joined in the solicitations of foreign ambassadors. He, however, was neither to be convinced by argument, nor gained by entreaty. He foresaw that he could expect nothing from the commons but a reiteration of their former demands; and he was extremely unwilling to give fresh force to a party upon the point of being totally subdued. Besides, he found that the Dutch, attached to their own commerce, and partly  
gained



gained by the intrigues of France, wished to make England a principal in the war. They had insisted upon his taking the first step; which he absolutely refused; though he gave instructions to his ambassador at Paris to join in all the remonstrances of the States.

CHAP  
VI.  
1682.

THOUGH every thing ran in the channel of unlimited obedience in England, the King permitted the Duke of York to remain in Scotland. The Duke's letters, his solicitations through his friends, could not procure permission for his return. He, however, derived, from the avarice of the Dutchess of Portsmouth, what he could not obtain from his brother's affection. The King, displeased with the connexion which the Dutchess had formed with the popular party, signified to her his displeasure in severe terms. He recommended to her, under the pretence of health, to make a journey to the waters of Bourbon. She managed matters so well, that she prevailed with the King to propose to the Duke of York to settle upon her a rent-charge of five thousand pounds a-year out of the post-office; the King promising to give an equivalent out of some fund of the hereditary revenue. The Duke though he knew that the transaction could not be rendered valid without an act of parliament, grasped at the proposal, as the only means of his return. He promised to sign any paper the attorney-general should prepare; but he expressed his doubts, whether the thing could be legally done while he remained in Scotland. The Dutchess of Portsmouth used all her influence; and the Duke was permitted to meet the King at Newmarket, in the first week in March.

HALIFAX was much in the King's confidence, though he was no friend to the Duke of York. He pressed for his immediate return to Scotland; but Charles, to satisfy the Dutchess of Portf-

the Duke of  
York.

James II. 1682.

mouth,



C. I. A. P.  
VI.

1682.

mouth, furnished him with a pretence of coming to London. The attorney-general was ordered to prepare a deed, to be signed by the Duke of York; but, at the end of two days, he informed the King, that no settlement could be made without an act of parliament. It is remarkable, that the noted Jefferys was the lawyer who suggested the expedient to the King. The Duke excuses his own want of sincerity, in not undeceiving his brother, by his having lost all other hopes of being ever permitted to return from what he calls an honourable exile. He remained two months with the King. During that time he fortified his interest so well, that he was permitted to go to Scotland for the Dutchess and his family; and, after his return, to fix his residence in London. He even gained the consent of Halifax, by promising not to interfere openly in public affairs, till the opinions of mankind should be more settled, after the late change. His reception from the people convinced the Duke, that their prejudices against him had vanished. He was received by the university of Cambridge with the utmost marks of affection and respect; and he was publicly entertained by several societies in London<sup>u</sup>.

Narrowly  
escapes

ON the third of May, the Duke of York left Windsor, and took his passage for Scotland in the Gloucester frigate, with three other frigates and the Mary yacht in company. Through the unskilfulness, or, as some thought, the treachery of Captain Ayres, the pilot, he was in danger of being lost at sea. The intention of the pilot was to follow the track of the coalliers, between the sand-banks and the coast, near Yarmouth. The officers ordered him to go out to sea. He persisted to tack, fancying that he still had time to go within the banks. The officers, at last, thinking themselves far enough out at sea, permitted him to tack. They thought they could clear the banks; but they were deceived. The ship struck on the Lemon and Ore. She stuck fast at first;

<sup>u</sup> James II. Public Intell.

and



and had not too much haste been made to clear her, all the passengers and seamen might have been saved. The Duke of York got into his shallop, and went on board a yacht, which attended the frigate. None offered to attend him, but such as he called. He took with him the Earls of Perth and Middleton, Churchill, and one or two more. The condition of those on board the Gloucester was not yet desperate. Other boats came afterwards to their assistance, and most of the persons of quality and the Duke's servants were saved\*.

MANY more, or perhaps all, might be saved, had the boatmen behaved with spirit. When the frigate, by being injudiciously lightened, came to deeper water, she began gradually to sink; and the seamen in the boats were afraid to come near, for fear of being carried with her to the bottom. Just as the Gloucester was ready to disappear, the Duke of York was received into the yacht. The persons left, in all about one hundred in number, gave a loud shout when they saw him safe: a mark that they had an affection for his person; and that he had not preferred, as some writers affirm†, the safety of his priests and dogs to the lives of the seamen. But though some boats carried several persons from the Gloucester, after the Duke left her, in his barge, many were drowned. Hyde, the Duke's brother-in-law, was the only Englishman of rank and quality among the number. The Earl of Roxburgh, the Laird of Hopton, and Sir Joseph Douglas, were the principal Scots that perished by this disaster. The Duke proceeded in the Mary yacht on his voyage, in company with the Happy Return. Other three frigates were dispersed by the storm which threw the Gloucester on the Lemon and Ore‡. In three weeks the Duke returned by sea with the Dutchess and the Lady Anne; which last had been, for many months, on a visit to her father in Scotland.

\* James II. 1682.

† Burnet.

‡ North's Examen.



C H A P  
VI.

1682.  
The King,  
by irregular  
measures,

THOUGH the exclusionists had, in a great measure, lost the rest of the nation, they still retained a majority in the corporation of London. The progress of the crown, in supporting its power and punishing its enemies, through the channel of the law, was greatly checked by juries chosen by adverse sheriffs. In recent cases, they had acquitted persons whom the court-party had considered as guilty of crimes of the deepest dye, and the populace, with their usual intemperance, followed their victory with insult. To dislodge the faction from their strong hold in the city, was an object of importance; but the means by which it was pursued were irregular, if not criminal. Sir John Moore, the lord-mayor, from principle an enemy to popular confusions, accommodated himself, upon the present occasion, to the views of the crown. On the twenty-fourth of June the new sheriffs were to be chosen, according to annual custom. North and Box were recommended by the adherents of the court. The popular party fixed on Dubois and Papillon. The lord-mayor drank to North, who was prepared to accept the office by the chief justice of the same name<sup>a</sup>. A poll was opened for choosing another sheriff; but the common-hall refused to sustain the right of the lord-mayor to nominate one sheriff. Moore adhered to his privilege of nomination. The old sheriffs, Pilkington and Shute, abetted the majority of the livery. The lord-mayor adjourned the hall. The sheriffs refused to obey. Commotion, tumult, and riot prevailed. A poll was opened for two sheriffs, and the mayor and his party retired<sup>b</sup>.

possesses him-  
self of the  
city.

THE riot at Guildhall furnished the privy-council with a pretence to interfere. Pilkington and Shute were seized, by a warrant signed by twenty-four counsellors, and committed to the Tower. On the thirtieth of June, they were brought by a writ of *habeas corpus*, to the bar of the King's Bench, and admitted to bail. Unintimidated by their confinement, they next day

<sup>a</sup> Public Intell.

<sup>b</sup> Kennet, &c.

assembled



assembled the common-hall, and proceeded with the election, which had been interrupted. The lord-mayor being indisposed, sent an order by the recorder to adjourn the hall. The sheriffs refused to obey. The privy council again interfered. An order was sent to the lord-mayor to preserve entire the ancient customs of the city; and, to restore the peace, to take effectual care, that at a common-hall, to be held on the fourteenth of July, all proceedings should begin anew. When, therefore, the common-hall met on that day, North was put up only for confirmation, as being already duly elected by the lord-mayor. The majority of the common-hall still insisted upon their right of electing the two sheriffs. Two books for two different polls were opened; one by Pilkington and Shute, another by the lord-mayor. The latter came upon the hustings, and declared the election to have fallen on Box. The affair, however, was not finished. Box declined the office, and paid his fine. The lord-mayor opened a second time the books. One Rich was chosen by a few of the livery; and he and North were immediately sworn. Thus the possession of the city was gained by irregular and unjustifiable means<sup>c</sup>.

C H A P.  
VI.  
1682.

THE determined measures of the court to humble their enemies, struck a panic into the leaders of the popular party. The Duke of Monmouth, soon after the dissolution of the parliament at Oxford, made offers of submission to the King, through the Dutchess of Portsmouth. He, however, accompanied this offer with such reflections on the Duke of York, that the King rejected them with indignation. He carried his resentment so far as to forbid in council all his servants from visiting, upon any pretence whatsoever, the Duke of Monmouth. Even Shaftesbury, intimidated by the loss of the city of London, sent a message to the Duke of York, signifying his wishes of being reconciled<sup>d</sup>. Either the Duke's obstinacy, or the versatility of the Earl, put an end to this nego-

Intrigues  
at court.

<sup>c</sup> Kennet, Ralph.

<sup>d</sup> James II. 1682.



C H A P.

VI.

1682.

ciation as soon as it was begun. Shaftesbury returned to his former policy, of spreading mysterious and strange reports. Deeming that the Duke had fortified his influence with the King, by gaining the Dutchess of Portsmouth, he endeavoured to create a misunderstanding between them, by averring that she had formed a design of having her son, the Duke of Richmond, created Prince of Wales. Wild and impracticable as this plan seemed, that ambitious woman had turned her views that way. The earl of Sunderland had, in concert with the Prince of Orange, resolved to pay his court to her vanity and avarice. His object was to obtain the possession of an office, through her influence, which might furnish him with an opportunity of serving the Prince, by betraying the King and the Duke of York<sup>d</sup>. When she returned from France in the month of July, she accordingly employed her whole weight in his favour. He was admitted into the King's presence, in the first week in August; and, on the twentieth of September<sup>e</sup>, was sworn again into the privy-council.

Monmouth's  
progress.

THE Duke of Monmouth having failed in his offers of submission, threw himself entirely on the popular party. To preserve his influence among the people, as well as to make preparations for an insurrection, that had been long projected, they advised him to make a progress through the north-west of England. His wife solicited him in vain to submit without capitulation to the King<sup>f</sup>. Shaftesbury, Russel, Mountague, and others, prevented his adopting this prudent measure. He left London in the beginning of September, directing his course to Cheshire. The populace received him at Coventry with the acclamations of "A Monmouth and no York!" But at Litchfield he passed through a concourse of silent spectators<sup>g</sup>. When he arrived in Cheshire, he was received by the chiefs of the popular party, at the head of their retainers and friends. The streets of all the towns through which he passed were lined with multitudes, who ex-

<sup>d</sup> D'Avaux, passim.<sup>e</sup> Kennet. James II. 1682.<sup>f</sup> Ibid.<sup>g</sup> Ibid.



pressed in shouts their satisfaction at his presence. He always dined in public. He seemed anxious to shew himself to the populace, and to gain their favour, by entering into their diversions and sports. The beauty of his person, his agility in all the manly exercises, and his free, open, and easy address, were well calculated to gain the vulgar, who judge of mankind by outward show. This popularity, however, was the source of the misfortunes of Monmouth. Deluded by the applause of weak and designing men, he became confident in his ambition, when he lost its only real support in losing the King.

C H A P.  
VI.  
1682.

USELESS as the progress of Monmouth proved in the event to himself, it raised, in the mean time, the jealousy of the court. When he arrived at Stafford, he was apprehended by a warrant signed by Secretary Jenkins, and brought, in the custody of the serjeant at arms, to London. He applied for a *habeas corpus* to the court of King's Bench, and he was bailed by several respectable persons of the popular party. Though the power of the crown was now great and uncontrouled, it was prudently confined to the known channel of the law. But the stream of justice had lost its purity. The measure which placed the nomination of juries in the adherents of the crown, made the laws the instruments of their vengeance. In the month of November, an instance of legal severity was carried beyond all decent bounds. Pilkington, one of the late sheriffs, being a violent party-man, had been extremely unguarded in his language against the Duke of York. When he heard of the Duke's return from Scotland, he broke forth into these puerile expressions: "He has already burnt the city, and now he comes to cut our throats." He was sued at the instance of the Duke, and the jury awarded one hundred thousand pounds damages. This was, in other words, condemning Pilkington to perpetual imprisonment; but the mode was at once scandalous and unprecedented.

An instance  
of legal se-  
verity.



CHAP.  
VI.1682.  
Deaths.

THE present year was more remarkable for the accession of authority acquired by the crown, than for striking events. The death of three great men rendered it, in some measure, remarkable. The Duke of Lauderdale having, for some time, declined in his intellects, died in the month of August<sup>1</sup>; a man abhorred for his tyrannies in Scotland, and detested in England for his arbitrary councils. In the end of November<sup>k</sup> died Rupert, Prince Palatine of the Rhine, and Duke of Cumberland, in the sixty-third year of his age. Courage was the most splendid part of his character; but he frequently carried that virtue into an extreme, which deserved censure, and met with misfortune. To a contempt of his abilities, Charles had, of late years, added a kind of aversion to his person. Though he herded not with the popular party, he avowedly approved of their principles; and therefore he was treated with great indifference, whenever he made his appearance at court. The death of Rupert was followed by that of the chancellor the Earl of Nottingham<sup>l</sup>. He was the first that reduced the proceedings of chancery to form and precision. But he was more remarkable for his knowledge of law, and the equity of his decisions, than for his abilities as a statesman. His prudence during the examination of the Popish plot secured him against any censure from the commons, when they extended their animadversions to almost all the judges of the courts of common law.

1683.  
Promotions.

Two days<sup>m</sup> after the death of Nottingham, Sir Francis North, lord-chief-justice of the Common Pleas, was sworn lord-keeper of the great seal. Pemberton, who had been placed at the head of the court of King's-Bench for the trial of Fitz-Harris, having discontinued his attention to the views of the court, was removed to the Common-Pleas. Sir Edmund Sanders succeeded Pemberton in his high department<sup>n</sup>. The Earl of Sunderland, in pro-

<sup>1</sup> Aug. 24, 1682.<sup>m</sup> Dec. 22.<sup>k</sup> Nov. 29.<sup>n</sup> Kennet, vol. iii.<sup>l</sup> Dec. 20.



renewal of his concert with the Prince of Orange<sup>e</sup>, had gained the favour and influence of the Dutchess of Portsmouth. Through her solicitations, he had obtained a seat at the council-board in the month of September. Through a designed attention and a servile flattery of the weaknesses of the Duke of York, he found means to regain the favour which he lost by his support of the bill of exclusion. The Earl of Conway, who had succeeded him in the office of secretary of state, resigned to Sunderland the seals on the twenty-eighth of January. During these promotions at court, a profound tranquillity seemed to reign throughout the kingdom. The courts of law were the only fields of dispute between the parties; and since the elections in the city of London had been carried in favour of royalists, the contest was no longer equal. The judges, either swayed by opinion or gained by influence, were devoted to the service of the crown; and juries, no longer chosen from the popular party, seemed to carry the violence of their political principles into all their decisions.

C H A P.  
VI.  
1683.

To retain the power which the court had acquired in the city of London was deemed by the royalists a measure of the last importance to their cause. Though, by irregular means, they had carried the last elections in favour of their party, the spirit of their opponents was not yet entirely subdued. To prevent future contests at the choosing of magistrates, it was resolved to reduce the constitution of the city to a less independent form. All corporations, by their institution, are liable to be dissolved upon various grounds. The forfeiture of their charters, through negligence or abuse of their privileges, may be effected legally by a judgment upon an information against them in a competent court of common law. This information is denominated a writ of *quo warranto*, the nature of which is to inquire by what war-

*Quo War-  
ranto.*

\* D'Avaux.

rant



C H A P.  
VI.  
1683.

Judgment  
against the  
city,

rant the members of the corporation exercise their power, having forfeited it by some proceedings in the course of suit to be proved. A writ of this kind was issued, at the instance of the King, against the city of London, in the beginning of Hilary Term in the preceding year. The city pleaded their right. The attorney-general replied. A demurrer followed; and the matter was suspended for a time.

Two reasons were only alleged as sufficient grounds for the forfeiture of the charter of the corporation. They had, it was affirmed, in disrespectful and scandalous terms addressed the King for the sitting of parliament; and they had exacted money for public works, by illegal tolls on the markets within the city of London. Two arguments were only permitted on either side, the last of which was in Easter Term. Treby, the recorder, and Pollexfen, a man of abilities, defended the corporation with great address and learning. Judgment however was given against the city in Trinity Term: but, by the express command of the King, the judgment was not to be entered till his further pleasure should be known. This exertion of power, though in itself strictly legal, terrified the city and alarmed the nation. Men perceived, that by one bold stroke of policy, Charles added more to the influence of the crown than the many efforts of the most arbitrary of his predecessors in the throne. Notwithstanding measures that annihilated the importance of the city, several of its principal inhabitants promoted them with violence and zeal<sup>p</sup>. Persecuted and insulted for their principles of loyalty by the popular party, they preferred the tranquillity of despotism to the tumults of a liberty, which, in their opinion, had been much abused.

which sub-  
mits.

THOUGH the city expected no favourable issue to the suit, they were struck with amazement when judgment was pronounced.

7

<sup>p</sup> James II. 1682.

A common



A common council being assembled, they resolved to submit, without reserve, their privileges to the will and pleasure of the King. They confessed their own misbehaviour, which had subjected them to his displeasure. They implored his wonted clemency. They begged his directions, and requested to receive his commands. To this abject petition Charles made answer by his lord-keeper, Sir Francis North. He proposed, that no lord-mayor, no sheriff, no recorder, no common-serjeant, no town-clerk, and even no coroner of London, should henceforth enter upon the exercise of their respective offices without the approbation of the King, under his sign-manual. That should the King twice disapprove the lord-mayor or the sheriffs, he might appoint others by his own commission in their room. That the mayor and aldermen might displace any magistrate by the leave of the King; and that no alderman should be elected without the consent of the court of aldermen; and that, after having twice disapproved the choice of the freemen, they themselves might appoint the vacancy to be filled. Upon a debate concerning these propositions, they were accepted in the common-council by a majority of eighteen votes.<sup>1</sup>

THOUGH this surrender of the charter of London was denominated voluntary, and though the judgment itself was within the rules of strict law, the changing of the constitution of so great a corporation was deemed a prelude to an alteration of that of the nation. Soon after the Revolution, the judgment was reversed by act of parliament; and it was at the same time enacted, that the privileges of London shall never be forfeited by any delinquency whatever in the members of the corporation<sup>2</sup>. Terrified by the fate of London, the most of the other corporations of England soon after surrendered their franchises, and submitted them-

Corporations  
reign their  
charters.

<sup>1</sup> Publications of the times.

<sup>2</sup> Stat. 2 W. and M.

selves



C H A P.  
VI.

1683.

selves to new charters framed at the discretion of the court. This circumstance threw at once the whole power of the state into the hands of the King. More than three-fourths of the house of commons being chosen by the boroughs, the crown secured to itself by this measure a majority which no opposition could either shake or subdue. Some, who entered with eagerness into the prosecution against the city of London, on account of the delinquency of the members of the corporation, began, when too late, to perceive their error. In punishing the noisy insolence of a few citizens, they opened a door to other evils of a more permanent and dangerous kind. But the flame kindled between parties had ascended to such a height, that men became careless of their own safety, could they but humble and ruin their opponents\*.

Violence of  
the city-  
parties.

THE violence of the popular party, it must be confessed, justified, in some measure, an inclination in the King to have the peace of the city more within his power. The two parties which divided between them the corporation, carried their contests into the courts of justice, and harassed one another with prosecutions and suits at law. Sir John Moore, the late lord mayor, brought an action in the beginning of May† against Shute and Pilkington, who had been sheriffs the preceding year, for a riot and an insult upon his person, on Midsummer-day. Several of their principal adherents were at the same time prosecuted. Considerable fines were imposed upon them all, after a long trial before Sanders, lord chief-justice of the King's-Bench. In the mean time, Dubois and Papillon, who claimed a right of being the legal sheriffs, arrested Sir William Pritchard, lord mayor, the two sheriffs, and several aldermen. Though the common council publickly disapproved of this measure‡, its violence hastened the judgment upon the writ of *quo warranto* against the city of London. The arrest

\* Publications of the times.

† May 8.

‡ May 28.

was



was deemed by the adherents of the crown such an outrageous deed, that many citizens of that party urged the court to hasten the seizure of franchises, already rendered ineffectual by the violence of a factious party. This consideration, more than any fears from the judgment, prevailed with the majority of the common-council to surrender their charter, by a voluntary deed, on the eighteenth of June.

C H A P.  
VI.

1683.

WHILE the adherents of the court made such progress in establishing the authority of the crown, the whole fabric of government was undermined by a secret conspiracy, which had been long forming by the opposite party. The facility with which Charles had given up every capital point to the commons, during almost twenty years of his reign, had created an opinion, that there was no measure, however hard, to which he would not yield. When the bill of exclusion was rejected by the lords, in November 1680, men perceived that the King was resolved to adhere to the eventual succession of his brother to the throne. Those who promoted the bill with most vehemence, began now to fear for themselves. They knew the character of the Duke of York, and they dreaded his vengeance should he come to the crown. This opinion induced some of the leaders to listen to the violent councils of the Earl of Shaftesbury, who seemed resolved to obtain by force from the King what he despaired to gain in a legal way. In a conference with Monmouth and the Lords Russell and Grey, he endeavoured to persuade them to his purpose, soon after the bill of exclusion was rejected, through the personal influence of the King with the lords. Terrified with the danger of his project, or surprised at its magnitude, they listened for some time to Shaftesbury's proposals without giving their assent; but an unexpected event induced them at once to embark in his desperate designs.



C H A P.  
VI.1683.  
and progress

IN the month of February 1681, the King was seized at Windsor with a sudden illness. The news was immediately carried to the Duke of Monmouth, at London. He communicated the intelligence to Shaftesbury and Russel. In a conference, at which Sir Thomas Armstrong, Monmouth's bosom friend, was present, it was agreed, that an insurrection should be procured among the malcontents in the city, in case of the King's death. The project of the conspirators was to rise with their friends, to call a parliament, to settle the kingdom, to declare the descent of the crown; and to continue in arms, for their own security, till these points should be obtained and their enemies subdued. The King's recovery broke for the present their measures. The new parliament soon after met at Oxford; and the party changed the mode of their conspiracy, and transferred it to that place. They formed a scheme not to suffer the parliament to be dissolved; and determined to adjourn to the Guild-hall at London, when they should find that a dissolution was nigh. The precaution of Charles, in placing his guards on the road to Oxford, induced them to change a resolution which might be attended with peril; and they at last agreed to encourage as many as possible of the lords and members of the lower house to continue to sit after the King should dissolve the parliament.

of a con-  
spiracy,

THE address of the King prevented also this violent scheme. He concealed with such art his resolution to dissolve the parliament, that the suddenness of the measure disconcerted all their designs. Shaftesbury with some other lords remained an hour in the house after the King's departure, under a pretence of signing a protest. But when they sent to the house of commons, all the members were gone. Time was only wanting to accomplish their wild and dangerous plan. To unite the popular party in one design, the principal conspirators convened them frequently to entertainments. The Duke of Monmouth, the Earls of Bedford, Macclesfield,



Macclesfield, and Essex, kept open tables. Grey only, of the whole junto, thought the design impracticable. The King was provided with a military force. But it was answered, that the inhabitants of Oxford were well affected to the party. The students of the university were, Grey affirmed, well affected to the King. Shaftesbury replied, that they had left their chambers to accommodate the members. He added, that among the footguards there were many friends; and he observed, that many of their party were attended with armed retainers. He considered not that the judgment of the nation would turn instantly against an illegal parliament; and that terror, which generally accompanies a consciousness of being in the wrong, would inevitably subdue the party in their own minds.

C H A P.  
VI.  
1683.

THE disappointment at Oxford disconcerted, for some time, the measures of the party. Shaftesbury, the life and soul of the conspiracy, spent the most of the summer of 1681 in fortifying his influence in the city of London. On the second of July, he was, upon the oaths of his own Irish evidence, committed to the Tower, where he continued to the last day of November. The Earl of Argyle applied to him, in his imprisonment, for thirty thousand, and afterwards only for fifteen thousand pounds, to be collected by the party for supporting an insurrection in Scotland. Argyle was suspected, and nothing done. When the King determined, by irregular means, to possess himself of the elections of London at Midsummer 1682, the zeal of the party, which had languished, began to be roused again by their fears. Meetings were held by the leaders. Ruffel, in particular, resolved seriously to apply to an insurrection. He sounded Sir William Courtney, Sir Francis Rolls, and Sir Francis Drake, all men of weight and influence in their respective counties. Monmouth, under the pretence of pleasure, made a progress to Cheshire, to confirm the Earl of Macclesfield and the Lord Delamere. Shaftesbury re-



C H A P.  
VI.

1683.

mained in town, to inflame to action the citizens of London.

When Monmouth returned, he raised the hopes of his party, by a relation of his success in the west; and he engaged Trenchard, and obtained his promise, at an appointed time, to raise fifteen hundred men in Taunton and the adjacent country.

by the leaders

SHAFTESBURY, impatient of delay, expressed his anxiety to bring to action the mob of London by the middle of autumn. Russel, expecting aid from different parts of the country, opposed this measure, as precipitate and dangerous. Their difference in opinion produced a declaration of their respective designs. Shaftesbury was for a republic; Russel only for a limited monarchy. The latter having communicated the schemes of the former to Monmouth, who aspired to the throne, the conspiracy was near being ruined with jealousy. In the mean time, the adherents of the party in the country were cold and undecisive. Sir William Courtney sent a doubtful answer. Trenchard demanded delay. At a meeting of the leaders with some inferior conspirators, they determined to join with Shaftesbury, and to rise in London. A day at length was appointed. Trenchard was to be dispatched to the country, to answer the time. A message was sent to Courtney. Arms were provided in different places. Three field-pieces were bought by Shaftesbury. Monmouth surveyed the guards, and found them remiss. Their stations were appointed to each. When every thing was settled, Monmouth communicated the whole to Trenchard, who seemed terrified, and demanded three weeks to prepare for the insurrection at Taunton. A declaration was in the mean time prepared. The conspirators seemed only to rest on their arms in London, and to wait for the rising of their friends in the country.

of the

DURING this awful suspense, the timid Trenchard demanded further delay. Shaftesbury, by nature impatient, and, besides, rendered



rendered restless by his fears, could bear no longer the anxiety of his situation, and retired abroad. Walcot, an Irish officer, and Ferguson, a Scottish clergyman, both members of the conspiracy, attended him in his flight. They, however, left him when he landed in Holland, and returned to their friends. He died of the gout in the stomach, six weeks after his arrival at Amsterdam. The vehemence of his temper seemed to have increased with his years. Soured by disappointments in his political views, he had become peevish in his language and imprudent in his measures. His very friends at last had reason to dread his violence, more than his enemies. The address which had attended him in success deserted him in his political misfortunes; and his party thought his flight, and even his death, an accession of strength to their cause. The iniquity of his conduct since the commencement of the Popish plot had offended men of principle of his own faction; no wonder that it raised the resentment of his enemies. His timely retreat saved his family from ruin; and his death was fortunate to himself, as it prevented disgrace.

C H A P.  
VI.  
1683.

His departure disconcerted, for the time, the measures of the party. The communication with the heads of the intended insurrection in the city was interrupted by the absence of Ferguson, who had chiefly managed the correspondence between them and the Earl of Shaftesbury. This restless plotter, however, soon returned, and opened the former intercourse. Some persons of eminence were now added to the number of the conspirators. Algernon Sidney, who, from an aversion to Shaftesbury, had hitherto declined to join in their consults, attended their meetings and animated their zeal. Hampden was also received more intimately than before into their designs. The Lord Howard of Effric, a man of profligate manners, was admitted into their most secret councils. To manage their schemes with regularity and precision, a council of six was formed. These were Monmouth, Essex,

popular party.



C H A P.

VI.

1683.

Essex, Russell, Howard, Sidney, and Hampden. Though all were equally bent upon an insurrection, they were divided in their views. Monmouth, Russell, and Hampden, aimed at no more than the effectual exclusion of the Duke of York; Essex, Howard, and Sidney, intended to erect a commonwealth. Notwithstanding this difference in opinion, they all determined to proceed. Trenchard and Courtney were again engaged to rise in the west. An insurrection in Scotland was concerted with the Earl of Argyle. Some of his friends, the Lord Melvin, Sir James Cochran, and others, were desired to come to London; and the party agreed to furnish them with ten thousand pounds to purchase ammunition and arms.

An inferior  
conspiracy.

THE Scots arriving in April, it was soon settled that Argyle should rise, with his adherents, by the end of June. Other arrangements were in the mean time made, and his department assigned to each of the leaders. But, after the whole train was laid, an accident disconcerted their schemes, and ruined the most of themselves. Men of inferior rank, who were necessarily in the secret of the intended insurrections, had met often together, and carried on an under-plot to assassinate the King and the Duke of York. This design, though not adopted by the council of six, out of delicacy to Monmouth, was approved by some of the members. Among the lesser order of conspirators were West, a lawyer, at whose chambers they chiefly met; Norton, Ayliffe, and Tyley, men of the same profession; Colonel Rumsey, who had served under Cromwell; Walcot, a republican officer; Good-enough, who had been under-sheriff when the city was in the hands of the popular party. Of this number was Ferguson, the Earl of Shaftesbury's retainer and agent; Rous, who had escaped two years before by the favour of a jury; Kieling, a falter in London; and one Rumbold, who had served in the capacity of a subaltern in Cromwell's army, and now followed the business of  
a maltster



a maltster at a farm near Hoddesdon, on the road to Newmarket. To these was joined the Lord Howard of Escric, a man of a mean disposition and abandoned character, necessitous in his circumstances, and hated for his profligacy where he was not despised for his cowardice\*.

C H A P.  
VI.  
1683.

THIS cabal, intemperate in their zeal, entered into repeated deliberations concerning the assassination of the King and the Duke. To cover the horror of the design under a familiar name, they gave the appellation of *lopping* to the intended murder. Various schemes for this lopping business were formed. Some advised to shoot the brothers in their sedan chairs in the streets at night. Others proposed to fire at once twenty pocket blunderbusses into the King's box, when he and his brother should come to the theatre. These schemes, however, were dropt as dangerous; and another, proposed by Rumbold, was adopted with eagerness. His farm, called the Rye-house, as it lay on the way to Newmarket, was deemed the least perilous scene for effectuating the murder. The road being narrow near the Rye-house, Rumbold insinuated, that by overturning a cart, the coach in which the brothers returned from Newmarket might be stopt, and they themselves dispatched with ease. An accident saved the King and the Duke from this imminent danger. The house in which Charles resided at Newmarket took fire; and he returned a week sooner than was expected to London. The adherents of the crown regarded afterwards this accident as a particular interposition of providence; and the conspirators themselves, struck with a panic, considered it as the declaration of heaven against their intended crime†.

The Rye-house plot.

KIELING, a falter in London, has been mentioned as a member of the inferior cabal. Zealous for his party, and bold and

A discovery.

\* Vid. Ford L. Grey's Hist. of the Rye-house plot.

† Burnet, Kennet.

intrepid.



C H A P.  
VI.

1683.

intrepid in his disposition, he was the man who arrested the lord-mayor, at the suit of Papillon and Dubois, the outed sheriffs, when no other person could be found to undertake that dangerous service. Repenting of this folly, or, as he himself affirmed, struck with remorse of conscience for his intended crime, he came to Secretary Jenkins on the twelfth of June, and discovered all he knew. Jenkins took his deposition; but he told him at the same time, that without another evidence he could not issue warrants against the persons accused. Kieling, by an artifice, engaged his brother in discourse, upon the schemes of the party, with Good-enough; who, being a man of violent passions, ran out in extravagant expressions of treason in his detail of their designs. Jenkins, fortified by two evidences, laid the affair before the rest of the ministry, the King being then at Windsor. The two Kielings were, in the mean time, left at large; and the most of the inferior conspirators, apprised of the discovery, conveyed themselves away. Warrants were issued for apprehending Rumsey, West, Walcot, Rous, and one Hone, a joiner. Some were taken, and they confessed enough to condemn themselves; but they shewed an unwillingness to accuse others. Men had been so frequently alarmed with fictitious plots, that the present discovery made no impression. A kind of silence prevailed for some days; and the King gave so little faith to the conspiracy, that he declined to come to London to forward the examination<sup>z</sup>.

Conspirators  
seized.

A PROCLAMATION was in the mean time issued against the persons accused by the two Kielings. Colonel Rumsey and West surrendered, resolving to save themselves by furnishing evidence against their friends. West could only confirm the testimony of Kieling; but Rumsey, having been admitted into the consultations of the council of six, thought his own discovery so important, that he would reserve it for the King. Charles accordingly came from Windsor on the twenty-sixth of June, to receive

<sup>z</sup> Publications of the times.



his confession<sup>2</sup>. Warrants were issued for apprehending the Duke of Monmouth, the Earl of Essex, the Lords Russel, Grey, and Howard of Escric. Monmouth fled. The rest were seized. Russel might have made his escape; but, by a strange infatuation, he supposed that sufficient evidence could not be found. Essex was apprised of the discovery before measures for seizing his person were pursued; but his tenderness for Russel is said to have rendered him regardless of his own fate. The Lord Grey was seized by a messenger upon his way from the country to London. Howard was, a few days after, found concealed in a chimney in his own house. Neither Essex nor Russel answered the expectations of their friends when they were brought before the council. The defence and deportment of the first suited neither his dignity nor former fame. Unmanned by a deep and settled melancholy, he was incoherent in his answers, and totally broken with despair. Russel seemed to have forgot that modesty which had been the most amiable part of his character. Relying too much on the faith of others, he assumed a confidence unsuitable to his character, and little qualified to pass for innocence with discerning men<sup>3</sup>.

C H A P.  
VI.  
1683.

THE behaviour of the Lord Howard was answerable to the profligacy of his former life. When he was seized, he discovered all the symptoms of an unmanly terror. He trembled, he faltered in his speech, he burst into tears. He completed his own infamy by revealing all the secret projects of his friends. Hampden and Sidney were seized upon his accusation. They observed a prudent silence when they were examined. They considered themselves before enemies, who were prepared to put the most unfavourable construction on their words. Almost all the conspirators, except Monmouth, Armstrong, and Ferguson, fell into the hands of the officers of justice. The Lord Grey had the good fortune to escape from the messengers who were employed to carry

Walcot tried  
and con-  
demned.

<sup>2</sup> Carte's Ormonde, vol. ii. p. 527.

<sup>3</sup> Burnet.



C H A P.  
VI.

1683.

him to the Tower. To establish the belief of the plot before the leaders should be tried, the inferior conspirators were first brought to the bar. On the eleventh of July, Captain Walcot was tried at the Old-Bailey. Rumsey, Kieling, and West, were the witnesses. His concern in the consultations of the conspirators was clearly proved. Upon the like evidence, Rous and Hone were at the same time condemned. The reality of the plot was no longer disputed by the people; and that belief was confirmed by the confession of the criminals, who owned, at their execution, the justice of the sentence.

Trial,

THE day after the condemnation of these three conspirators the Lord Ruffel was brought to his trial. The witnesses against him were, Colonel Rumsey, one Sheppard, a wine-merchant in London, at whose house some consultations had been held, and the Lord Howard of Escric. The two first concurred in their evidence with regard to Ruffel's being present at Sheppard's house, at a meeting of the party, where the discourse turned upon the measure of seizing the guards. Rumsey swore, that he had attended at a consultation of the leaders, at which the prisoner was present, to know, in the name of the Earl of Shaftesbury, their resolution concerning the rising under Trenchard at Taunton. He gave in evidence, that he received for answer, "that Trenchard had failed; and that nothing further could be done in the matter at that time." He swore, that though he did not particularly remember that Ruffel spoke concerning the insurrection, he manifestly consented to the answer. Howard gave a particular account of the establishment of the council of six in the preceding January; of their debates concerning an insurrection; of their conferences with the Scots; and of their resolution of forming a fund of thirty thousand pounds, to answer the immediate occasions of the projected war. The witnesses, though accused by some writers of perjury, seem to have advanced nothing but the truth.



truth. Even Rumsey, and particularly Sheppard, appear to have softened the evidence against Ruffel<sup>b</sup>. The latter had at the very time a considerable sum in his hands, which he had received from Ruffel, to be conveyed to the Earl of Argyle, who was making preparations for an insurrection in Scotland<sup>c</sup>.

THE conduct of the attorney-general was more blameable than the evidence given by the witnesses. He expressed himself in terms that bore his own conviction of Ruffel's guilt, before the witnesses were heard. He refused his consent to a delay of the trial for a day. He would not permit a counsel to take notes of the evidence, for the use of the prisoner. This conduct, though perhaps within the strict rules of law, was severe, and therefore impolitic. But the chief justice behaved with the utmost candour and moderation. He, however, refused to hear counsel upon an irregularity in the indictment, of which Ruffel complained. The defence made by the prisoner himself was feeble and unsatisfactory. He protested with truth, that he had never entertained even a thought against the King's life; but his being concerned in preparations for an insurrection, he neither affirmed nor denied. The jury, all men of respectable characters, brought him in guilty, with little hesitation. His former character, his popularity, and the amiable virtues of his private life, created a general regret for his fate. But it does not appear that unfair means were used at his trial, or that any part of the proceedings against him were contrary to the common usage of the law in cases of treason.

condemnation,

THOUGH severity was by no means one of the vices of Charles, he resolved to listen to no requests for a pardon. The entreaties of friends, the supplications of a father, the tears of a wife, and even the petition of the unfortunate Lord himself, were produc-

behaviour,

<sup>b</sup> Carte's Ormonde, vol. ii.

<sup>c</sup> Lord Grey's Hist. of the Rye-house plot.



C H A P.  
VI.

1683.

tive of no effect. When his feelings were attempted in vain, application was made to his necessities. One hundred thousand pounds were said to have been offered for Russel's life. But money itself could not purchase forgiveness for a person whose conduct had so much offended his pride. The very virtues of the criminal had rendered his vehement measures less pardonable, as they might have been attended with danger. Russel, it must be confessed, had carried his opposition into acts of violence, more calculated to irritate the King than to serve the nation. The part which he took in parliament was regular and manly. His warmth in the affair of the exclusion might be excused by the utility of the measure. But when he appeared in the company of Otes, to present the Duke of York for recusancy, he sunk beneath the dignity of his principles, and gave offence without serving his own cause. No part of his public conduct seemed to be either forgot or forgiven. Charles, in remitting the ignominious part of the sentence, accompanied the favour with a sarcasm expressive of resentment. "The Lord Russel," said he, "shall find that I am possessed of that prerogative which he denied to me in the case of the Viscount Stafford." This alluded to the vehemence with which Russel supported in parliament an opinion, "that the King could not remit any part of the punishment appointed by law for traitors<sup>d</sup>."

execution  
and

THE conduct of Russel under condemnation was decent and affecting. At his execution his behaviour was manly and cool. Having, ever since he was seized, resigned all hopes of life, his mind was fortified against death. The scaffold on which he was beheaded was erected in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields<sup>e</sup>. This place was chosen, as the nearest square to Newgate<sup>f</sup>, where he was confined. Party-writers ascribed the choice to a circumstance not founded on

<sup>d</sup> Parl. Debates, MS.<sup>e</sup> July 21.<sup>f</sup> Burnet's two Sermons, preached in Newgate before Lord Russel.

fact.



fact. Instead of speaking to the multitude, he gave a paper, containing his last thoughts, to the sheriff. The short speech with which he is said to have accompanied the delivery of the paper, appears not to be genuine. It denies all knowledge of an intended insurrection; an untruth too palpable to have been uttered by a man deemed even by his enemies sincere. The speech published in his name seems partly to be the production of another pen. Dr. Burnet attended him in prison, and he interested himself for the memory of his friend. His speech contains neither an explicit confession, nor absolute denial of the insurrection. But he was extremely anxious to remove the imputation of a design against the life of the King, and for a change in the government. The precaution was superfluous. The evidence contained no direct charge of that kind. The allegation in the indictment was a mere implication of law, introduced into the practice of the courts to accommodate actual preparations for treason to the statute of Edward the Third.

THE amiable character of this unfortunate Lord made his fate to be regarded as severe. He was a man of virtue in private life, and of principle in his public conduct. In the character of a son, a husband, and a friend, he merited every praise. In a sincere affection for his country, he had few equals. But his talents were limited; his temper sanguine; his patriotism frequently degenerated into passion. He was credulous, through vehemence; and, through his credulity, the dupe of designing men. His popularity, however, was neither acquired by art, nor retained by meanness. He was a stranger to duplicity; and as he had few vices to hide, he concealed none of his virtues. Those amiable qualities, which seldom accompany an extensive capacity, rendered him regretted by all. Though he had no claim on the favour of Charles, his pardon would have been a popular act. His fate, however, has been more lamented by late writers than by his

character of  
Ruffel.



C H A P.  
VI.  
1683.

his own cotemporaries. Many could not separate the idea of rebellion from an insurrection. Few could distinguish a meditated rising against the King's authority, from a design against his life. The evils of a civil war were deemed, by the most of mankind, more dangerous than the grievances which the popular party meant to prevent, by such violent measures. They could scarce reconcile to their minds, that the loss of a city-election was a sufficient reason for involving the nation in blood. Upon the whole, if the measures of the crown justified the designs of Russel, Charles was scarce to be blamed for abandoning that Lord to the animadversion of the law.

Death of Essex.

ON the day of Russel's trial, the Earl of Essex cut his own throat<sup>z</sup> with a razor in the Tower. Though a man of virtue, he was long known to have maintained the lawfulness of suicide in his conversation<sup>h</sup>. Subject by constitution to fits of melancholy, he became extremely dejected upon his being confined. Conscious of the part which he had acted in the preparations for an insurrection, he deemed that evidence would not be wanting; and he resolved to prevent disgrace by death. The King and the Duke of York happened by accident to be that morning in the Tower, to see the proof of a piece of ordnance of a new invention<sup>i</sup>. This circumstance furnished their enemies with an opportunity of ascribing to them the murder of Essex. Though there was not the slightest foundation for this heavy charge, the imputation continued. Though the coroner's inquest returned their verdict self-murder; though the friends and family of the unfortunate Earl found no grounds of suspicion; though many circumstances, demonstrating the impossibility of a murder, were produced; it suited the views and the malignity of party to impose the tale on the world. Men of sense, however, were not deceived. If the

<sup>z</sup> Swift's Remarks on Mackay.

<sup>h</sup> Carte's Ormonde.

<sup>i</sup> Burnet. Contin. of Baker.

court,



court, as had been asserted, had, by management, converted the laws into engines of vengeance, it was deemed that their using other means was foolish, absurd, and incredible.

C H A P.  
VI.  
1683.

THE discovery of the plot against his life increased the influence of Charles, by interesting the nation in his safety. Willing to retain, by the inclination of his subjects, the authority which the crown had lately acquired, he endeavoured to gain their confidence by popular measures. To lessen the fears of Popery, which still prevailed in the kingdom, he resolved to marry his niece, the Lady Anne, to a Protestant Prince. The hopes of security to religion, which had been derived from the marriage of the Duke's eldest daughter to the Prince of Orange, had been greatly damped by the sterility of that Princess; and men turned their eyes to her sister for continuing the succession of the crown. On the twenty-eighth of July<sup>k</sup>, she was married at Whitehall to Prince George, brother of Christian the Fifth, King of Denmark. His profession of the Protestant religion recommended Prince George to this alliance, more than either his own accomplishments, or the influence of his family. The Prince of Orange, who had long extended his intrigues to the marriage of the Lady Anne, was extremely averse to this match<sup>l</sup>. He seems to have carried his prejudices against Prince George into his own conduct, during the time he sat on the throne of England. The husband whom he had destined for the Princess was now provided with another comfort. The Prince of Nassau, whom the Prince of Orange mortally hated, had paid his addresses to Sophia Dorothy, the only daughter of the Duke of Brunswick-Zell. The Prince of Orange, reduced into despair<sup>m</sup> by this circumstance, found means to disappoint his cousin the Prince of Nassau, by inducing the Duke of Zell to recall the Bishop of Osnaburgh from London, whither he had gone to pay his addresses to the Lady Anne, and

Marriage of  
the Lady  
Anne.

<sup>k</sup> Gazette.

<sup>l</sup> D'Avaux, 1681.

<sup>m</sup> D'Avaux, 1682.



C H A P.  
VI.

1683.

to marry him to his own daughter. The Prince of Orange sent Bentinck to England, to endeavour to break off the match between his sister-in-law and Prince George of Denmark. He wished to give that Princess to the Electoral Prince of Brandenburg, under a promise of making him heir to all his own possessions; an expectation which could not fail to keep him in perpetual dependence. The Duke of York, habitually obedient to his brother, was passive in whatever regarded his daughters; and the King, sensible of the folly as well as impropriety of a sovereign's professing any other system of religion than that established among his subjects, had taken care to breed his nieces in the faith of the church of England. This circumstance had lessened the paternal affection of the Duke; and induced him, in some measure, to consider his daughters as his rivals in his political views.

A declaration,  
and the  
Oxford decree.

THE King sensible of the benefit which his authority had derived from his appeal from parliament to his people, issued a declaration concerning the Rye-house plot on the twenty-seventh of July. The circumstances of the conspiracy were related in that paper; and though some things were exaggerated, the narrative and reasoning upon the whole were founded on truth". The artifice of comprehending, in a clear and concise detail, the evidence of the witnesses, by raising the horror of the nation against the plotters, increased their attachment to the King. The spirits of the party were now broken and subdued. No reply was attempted, nor even feared. Sir William Jones, who had answered the former declaration, was lately dead. Men of letters had changed their opinions with the times. The clergy were violent for monarchy. The universities abetted the high prerogatives of the crown. In Oxford, a decree was passed on the twenty-first of July, condemning twenty-seven propositions, which favoured republican principles and religious fanaticism. The political tenets,

North's Examen.

that



that civil authority is derived from the people ; that lawful princes, becoming tyrants, may be opposed ; that the Kings of England have only a co-ordinate power with parliament ; that passive obedience is no obligation on Christians ; were condemned with the utmost formality and zeal. This extraordinary decree, in the form of an address, was presented to the King ; and the books which contained the propositions were publicly burnt, amid the acclamations of the students <sup>o</sup>.

C H A P.  
VI.

1683.

The judgment on the *quo warranto*, by depriving the city of London of its privileges, restored it to silence and tranquillity. The tumults, which had for many years attended the annual elections, were no longer heard. On the fifth of September, instead of the twenty-fourth of June, the sheriffs were chosen, without any opposition. Michaelmas-day was permitted to pass without any election of a lord-mayor ; and, on the fourth of October, Sir William Pritchard, who had almost completed the year of his mayoralty, received the King's commission to continue in his office during pleasure. Charles, to shew his authority, dismissed Treby from the recordership, and placed Jenour, a person of approved attachment to the prerogative, in his room. Sixteen of the court of aldermen had been always in the interest of the crown. These, after the court was dissolved by the authority of the King, were, by two different commissions, appointed justices of the peace and aldermen. Eight aldermen, who had devoted themselves to the popular party, were dismissed ; and they were succeeded by others of known attachment to the crown. Arbitrary as these measures may appear, they were received without a murmur. Men preferred the tranquillity of regal despotism to the licentiousness of the vulgar, who too often use freedom merely as an excuse for tyranny, insolence, and noise <sup>p</sup>.

King appoints the city-magistrates.

<sup>o</sup> Publications of the times.

<sup>p</sup> Ibid. passim.



C H A P.  
VI.1683.  
Trial of

THOUGH many, and perhaps just, complaints have been made of the rigour with which some of the conspirators were prosecuted, the plot itself was pursued with little vehemence by the court. During several months after the death of the Lord Ruffel, no person accused, and several were in custody, was brought to a trial. There was, however, one more of the council of six, whose prior conduct seemed to preclude him from favour, and whose principles, on account of his courage and abilities, were feared. This was Algernon Sidney, who had remained prisoner in the Tower ever since the beginning of July, when he was first accused by the Lord Howard of Escric. An accidental change in the higher departments of the law seemed to pave the way for the trial of Sidney. Saunders, lord-chief-justice of the King's-Bench, a man of obscure birth and limited talents, had been found unfit for his place, from the debilities which arose from an intemperate and vicious life. Upon his death, in the month of September, he was succeeded in his office by Sir George Jefferys<sup>a</sup>, chief justice of Chester, a man of outrageous abilities and violent principles. Bold and intrepid, from a fixed disregard of the world; profligate, from a contempt of virtue; fair only to those whom he feared; a tyrant to the unfortunate, and a fawning slave to the great. But even Jefferys, in indifferent matters, was as just in his decisions as he was able in his opinions<sup>b</sup>. But when the rights of the subject interfered with the prerogative of the crown, he warped justice to his political views; and, being an able, he became a terrible judge.

Algernon  
Sidney.

JEFFERYS, from the fierceness of his character, was deemed the only fit match for the abilities and firmness of Sidney. On the seventh of November, the prisoner was brought from the Tower to the bar of the King's-Bench, where he was arraigned upon an indictment of treason, for conspiring the death of the

<sup>a</sup> Kennet, vol. iii.<sup>b</sup> North's Examen.

King,



King, and for levying war against his Majesty. He desired a fortnight to prepare for his trial, which was granted; and he was brought again to the bar on the twenty-first of November. The chief articles against him were his sending a messenger into Scotland, to invite the malecontents of that kingdom to rebellion; and his writing a treasonable libel, found in his closet, upon the original and forms of government. Though perhaps scarce any doubt was entertained of the part which Sidney acted in the intended insurrection, the evidence was not so full as the laws of treason required. West, Rumsey, and Keiling swore only from hearsay. The testimony of the Lord Howard of Escric was positive, home, and decisive. But as one fact only, and that sworn by one witness, was not sufficient to condemn the prisoner, aid for that purpose was derived from the pretended libel found in his closet. The axiom, that "to write was to act," was inculcated with vehemence; and general observations upon government were strained to make them apply to the present times.

C H A P.  
VI.

1683.

THOUGH much was expected from the spirit and abilities of Sidney, men were disappointed when he came to his defence\*. He insisted, that the conspiring to levy war, and to compass the death of the King were two distinct crimes; and that the first did not fall within the statute of Edward the Third, upon which he was tried. He argued against the credibility of the Lord Howard's evidence; and in that point only he seems not to have been sincere. The profligacy of Howard, his ingratitude to Sidney himself, the point of view in which he stood, as an evidence against his friends, were all favourable to the prisoner. But his adhering, without any material deviations, to the great line of facts already proved, left little room to doubt of the truth of his testimony. Sidney argued with most vehemence and justice, against the use

He is condemned,

\* Kennet, vol. iii.



C H A P.  
VI.

1683.

made against him by the court of the pretended libel. Though it was connected by the Attorney-general, and sustained by the judges, as a part of the late conspiracy, it appeared, by undoubted proofs, to have been written many years before. Besides, being upon the general subject of government, the positions which it contained could not, without the most glaring injustice, be construed into a seditious and dangerous libel. They might serve as instances of the principles of the author; but as they never had been published, and probably never seen by a second person, they could not possibly have done any mischief, to justify the animadversion of the law.

and executed.

THE arguments of Sidney and the legal defects in the evidence were but feeble pleas where the court had resolved to condemn. The known republican principles of the prisoner, the certainty of his being in some degree concerned in the late conspiracy, his uncomplying spirit, and even his abilities, had already prejudged him in the minds of the royal party. A partial charge by Jefferys induced a prejudiced jury to bring him in guilty. The informality in the proceedings and the defects in the evidence were dangerous precedents, and generally condemned. But these instances of injustice regard only the judges and the jury. Sidney asked a pardon in a manner calculated to have it refused. Charles may be excused for not granting it to one who was an avowed enemy to monarchy, and who was undoubtedly guilty of designs against his government, if not ultimately against his life. A fortnight after his receiving his sentence, Sidney was beheaded on Tower-hill; the King having remitted the ignominious part of his sentence, on account of the high quality of his family. His behaviour at his execution, though firm and undaunted, was more enthusiastic than dignified and sedate. In a speech from the scaffold he repeated the substance of his defence at his trial in a manly, concise, but passionate manner; and when he was ready

to



to lay his head on the block, he gloried to die for the good old cause in which he had been engaged from his youth<sup>1</sup>.

C H A P.

VI.

1683.

THE supposed injustice which attended his death, rendered Sidney more famous than any striking circumstances in his life. Being a republican from opinion, he had been active against the late King; and from the same principle he opposed Cromwell, when his conduct became subversive of public liberty. When the parliament had established a show of freedom, upon the resignation of Richard Cromwell, he entered into the service of his country: but at the Restoration, he preferred a voluntary exile to a submission to kingly government. When the connexion of the court with France, the popery of the Duke of York, and the artifices of the opposing party in parliament, seemed to promise troubles in England, he solicited and obtained a pardon from the King. He herded afterwards with the popular party; but he never had influence sufficient to obtain an undisputed seat in parliament, even when most of the elections were carried against the court. In his political opinions he was harsh and austere; and even in his private conversation commanding and haughty. He was admired by many for his integrity and abilities; but he never was an object of love. His principles suited neither a people accustomed to the government of a single person, nor the profligacy of the times. In Rome or Athens, in the days of their simplicity and freedom, he might have arrived at the fame of their first patriots; but he was a visionary politician, and even a dangerous citizen under a monarchy. In the extravagance of his views seems to consist the greatest defect in his judgment. He dreamed perpetually of an ideal fabric of a republic, without considering the wretched materials of which it was to have been framed.

His character.

<sup>1</sup> Kennet. His last speech, &c.

WHILE



C H A P.  
VI.1683.  
Duke of  
Monmouth.

WHILE two of the council of six suffered death for their conduct, the Duke of Monmouth found means to obtain his pardon, and in some degree the favour of the King. Having passed more than three months in his lurking-places, he at length, by the advice of his friends, wrote penitential letters to the King. Charles, whose affections returned upon the compunction expressed by the Duke, is said to have met him in secret<sup>u</sup>, before he permitted him to surrender himself as a criminal to the secretary of state. Fortified by the promise of a pardon, Monmouth delivered himself to Secretary Jenkins on the twenty-fourth of November<sup>\*</sup>. The Duke of York and Jenkins only were present when he threw himself at the feet of his father. He expressed the greatest contrition for the past. He asked and obtained the King's pardon and that of the Duke. He gave a detail of the conspiracy. He mentioned the names of all concerned. He even agreed that his account should be made public. The heads of his confession are recorded, with his usual precision, by the Duke of York<sup>v</sup>.

His confession,

HE owned that he knew all the councils of the conspirators except the intended assassination, a measure which seems only to have been adopted by the inferior order of those concerned in the plot. He acknowledged the truth of the Lord Howard's evidence, except in one not very material point. He confirmed the testimony of Rumsey, that the Lord Ruffel had said, when Trenchard failed, "that he would draw on his boots, go down to the West and to Taunton, and head the insurrection himself." He expressed his surprise, that no more witnesses appeared against Wildman, since no man was more active in the conspiracy. The council of six, he said, contributed fifteen pounds a man, to send Aaron Smith, their messenger, to confer with the Scots. He mentioned the concern which Courtney, Drake, and other gentle-

<sup>u</sup> Kennet, vol. iii. Burnet, Ralph.<sup>\*</sup> James II. 1683.<sup>v</sup> Ibid.

men



men in the West had in the plot. He said that they depended on Booth, in Cheshire; on Sir John Hotham, in the county of York. He confessed that he visited, with an intention to surprise, the guards; that Doctor Owen, Mr. Mead, and all the chief of the country ministers were active in the conspiracy; that Major Hurst, of Chichester, had undertaken to surprise Portsmouth, where the garrison was extremely remiss.<sup>a</sup>

C H A P.  
VI.  
1683.

THE King asked Monmouth whether the conspirators held any correspondence with the guards? He positively denied that fact. He declared that the coming of Cochran and others from Scotland on the business of Carolina was a mere pretence. He affirmed, that Rowallan and Baillie were engaged in the plot; that they said they wanted arms, though in reality they wanted will. Argyle, he said, was to raise the western Highlanders; and some were appointed to seize the castle of Stirling, by an old gutter or sally-port toward Ballanguith, where no centinels were ever placed. Some, he said, had undertaken to seize the chancellor and treasurer at Edinburgh, a service which might be performed with forty or fifty horse. The submission of Monmouth and his narrative of the plot induced the King to grant him his pardon. But when the pardon had passed the seal, the Duke retracted to his friends what he had confessed to the King and the Duke of York<sup>a</sup>. A conduct so dishonourable offended Charles, notwithstanding his affection for Monmouth. He forbade him the court; and expressed himself against him in the most passionate terms. The design of Monmouth surpassed his abilities. He hoped to gain the King, and to retain his credit with his party. His unsettled and puerile behaviour proved fatal to Sidney<sup>b</sup>. His life could not have been spared without convincing the world that Monmouth had satisfied the King that there had not been a real

and disgrace.

<sup>a</sup> James II. 1683.  
Arran, Dec. 13, 1683.

<sup>a</sup> Ibid.

<sup>b</sup> Duke of Ormond to the Earl of

conspiracy,



C H A P.  
VI.

1683.

Foreign  
affairs.

conspiracy, a circumstance which that misguided nobleman was solicitous to prove to his party<sup>c</sup>.

FOREIGN affairs comprehend nothing more remarkable than the publick conduct and secret intrigues of the Prince of Orange. He had long laboured to force the States to make an addition of sixteen thousand men to the land establishment, to place himself in a condition to command implicit obedience at home and respect abroad. No new levies however were made; and the Prince is said, in revenge, to have exercised a violent and unlawful power<sup>d</sup>. He had broken the spirits of the Louvestein or republican party by repeated insults; and they despaired to oppose his inroads upon the rights of the States without the support and aid of France<sup>e</sup>. While the Prince exercised a degree of tyranny over the States, he endeavoured to induce the Spaniards to reject not only the arbitration, but even the mediation of the King of England. He vainly hoped, that through this affront, he could rouse his uncle to take a hearty part in his own views; and that this circumstance would force the States to agree to the new levies, and even to engage in the war. The Marquis de Grana, in the mean time, had engaged in concert with the Prince of Orange. Should the French troops enter Spanish Flanders, he resolved to attack them, were it only with two hundred men, to bring on an open war<sup>f</sup>. The Prince of Orange hoped that the clamours of the English nation, in such a case, would force Charles to call a parliament, who, by insisting on the exclusion of his father-in-law, would pave his own way to the throne.

Conduct of  
the Prince  
of Orange,  
in Holland.

The refusal of Lewis the Fourteenth, with regard to the principality of Orange, had added a warm resentment to the vehement ambition of the Prince. He continued to insist upon the levies;

<sup>c</sup> Carte's Ormonde.<sup>d</sup> D'Avaux, 1683.<sup>e</sup> Ibid.<sup>f</sup> Ibid.

but



but the town of Amsterdam, averse to his person, and swayed by France<sup>k</sup>, disappointed all his views. They complained, and with great reason<sup>h</sup>, that he exercised his authority as Stadtholder in an arbitrary manner, and contrary to the fundamental laws of the republic. They affirmed, that in the year 1679, he had usurped the nomination of all those admitted into the States of Guelderland; and they produced many instances of his openly encroaching upon the rights of election, in other places, appointing by his own authority such magistrates and officers as had been formerly chosen by the different towns<sup>l</sup>. The deputies of Amsterdam still refusing to consent to the new levies, he threatened, in the month of November, to leave the Hague, and to permit the affairs of the States to run into confusion. Few who knew his love of power believed him sincere in this respect; and therefore he derived no benefit from his threats of resigning his high office. Having made a journey to Amsterdam, and failing to persuade the council of thirty-six to agree to the new levies, he flew into the most violent rage. He openly accused them of a correspondence with France. They threatened on their part to bring him to an account for his conduct. He left the hall with all the symptoms of rage and resentment. The mob hissed him on the streets, on account of the loss of the fleet lately coming from the Baltic. With Bentinck and Fagel, he drove violently in his coach from Amsterdam; but not without threatening to take off twelve of the burgomasters of that refractory city<sup>k</sup>.

C H A P.  
VI.

1683.

THE news of the Rye-house plot was received with the utmost indifference by the Prince of Orange. He had long placed the persons accused among the number of his friends in England; as he considered the exclusion of the Duke of York as the certain means of his obtaining the great object of his own ambition<sup>l</sup>. He

and with  
regard to the  
plot.

<sup>k</sup> D'Avaux, 1683.

<sup>h</sup> Ibid.

<sup>l</sup> Ibid.

<sup>k</sup> Ibid.

<sup>l</sup> Ibid.



C H A P.  
VI.

1683.

ordered Odyck and some of his confidants to propagate a report, that the whole was a sham plot to ruin several of the most worthy persons in the kingdom, and to destroy those who supported freedom of conscience in religion, and the civil liberties of the country. He, however, soon altered his conduct, as well as his tone. He thought proper, in a few days after, to congratulate the King of England on the discovery of the conspiracy. Having many friends among those who were concerned in the plot, he deemed it necessary to send Bentinck to England, to prevent, by his prudence, any insinuations that might be spread concerning his being in any degree privy to the design laid against his uncles<sup>m</sup>. Bentinck, who was at the same time employed in endeavouring to prevent the marriage of the Lady Anne with the Prince of Denmark, executed his commission with fidelity, and even with success, in what respected his master's supposed connexion with the persons engaged in the conspiracy.

1684.  
January.  
Hampden  
fined.

THOUGH Monmouth has been accused of treachery to his father, there was a degree of honour in his behaviour toward his political friends. Having retired to the country when he was forbidden the court, a subpoena was issued for bringing him to London, as a witness against Hampden<sup>n</sup>, who had been one of the council of six. He chose to quit his country, rather than give evidence against his friend. This circumstance forced the servants of the crown to change the manner of the prosecution. Hampden, instead of being tried for treason, was only prosecuted for a misdemeanor<sup>o</sup>. The Lord Howard was the only witness who could carry home the evidence of Hampden's actual concern in the plot. That Lord's character had been already so effectually blasted, that his testimony, though now known to be true in the main, had fallen under great discredit. Besides, though the evidence of one witness was deemed sufficient to condemn a person

<sup>m</sup> D'Avaux.<sup>n</sup> Carte's Ormonde, 1683.<sup>o</sup> Feb.



so obnoxious as Sidney, Hampden was not so considerable as to merit a glaring breach on the rules of law. In prosecution of this opinion, he had been admitted to bail. The jury found for the King, and the court set a fine upon the defendant of forty thousand pounds. They ordered him, besides, to be committed till the fine should be paid, and to find two securities for his behaviour during life<sup>o</sup>.

CHAP.  
VI.  
1684.

NOTWITHSTANDING these severities, the horror raised by the intended assassination justified the conduct of the court in the eyes of the nation. The popularity which Charles possessed in the beginning of his reign began to return; and the doctrine of unlimited obedience was inculcated every where, and generally received. But though the opinions of the people had changed, though, by the surrender of their charters, the boroughs had annihilated their independence in elections, Charles was afraid to meet a parliament, a large majority of which he had now in his power to chuse. His servants advised him in vain to adhere to that part of his declaration after the last dissolution<sup>o</sup>, "that there should be frequent parliaments." To convince the world that he had no inclination to change his resolution, he encouraged the court of King's Bench to bail the Lords, who still lay under a parliamentary impeachment in the Tower. The Earl of Danby made a motion in Hilary-term, and his case was argued by counsel. On the twelfth of February, he was admitted to bail, by the unanimous consent of the judges. This formed a precedent for the Popish Lords; and they were the same day dismissed, upon giving security, from a tedious confinement of near six years. The Lord Petre died a month before the releasement of the other Lords; protesting with his last breath, that he knew nothing of a Popish plot<sup>r</sup>.

The impeached  
Lords admitted to bail.  
February.

<sup>p</sup> Trial.

<sup>s</sup> North's Examen.

<sup>r</sup> Kennet.



C H A P.  
1683.1684.  
Prosecutions  
and execu-  
tions.

THE year 1684, peculiarly barren in events, presents nothing of importance, except a continuation of those legal severities which disgraced the preceding year. Holloway, a linen-draper at Bristol, being concerned in the late plot, had fled, upon the discovery, to the island of Nevis<sup>\*</sup>, in the West Indies. He was seized and sent to England; and, on the twenty-first of April, having waived a trial, he was condemned to death upon the outlawry which had followed his indictment for treason. The Duke of York had, in the preceding Michaelmas-term, brought his action, on the statute of *scandalum magnatum*, against John Dutton Colt, a member in the late parliament, and bailiff of Leominster, in the county of Hereford, for several scandalous expressions and threats against his life. On the third of May, a jury brought in their verdict in favour of the Duke, and assessed for damages one hundred thousand pounds. The noted Otes, for the like offence, was fined in an equal sum. The greatness of the fine defeated the end of the judgment, by rendering the payment impossible. The decisions, however, were mere subterfuges, to justify perpetual imprisonment for offences to which the law had not annexed a punishment so severe. In the month of June, Sir Thomas Armstrong, the friend, the favourite, and principal adviser of Monmouth, was executed at Tyburn. This unfortunate man, having taken refuge in Holland, was seized in that country by Chudleigh, the King's minister, and transported in a yacht to London. Though the term appointed by the proclamation for his surrendering himself was not elapsed, he was refused the benefit of a trial. The personal resentment of Charles against a person who, he deemed, had seduced his son, was alleged as the cause of this act of injustice<sup>†</sup>.

Duke of York  
Lord Admiral.

THESE proceedings in the courts of justice have been, by some writers, ascribed to the violence of the Duke of York. But no

<sup>\*</sup> Kennet, vol. iii.<sup>†</sup> Publications of the times.



proofs are produced, except such as arise from the opinion formed of the character of that Prince. In all unsuccessful attempts against an established government, unjustifiable severities have ever been exercised. The history of no country is free from blemishes of that kind; and that of England labours under the like disadvantage, at different periods. The bending of the laws to the purposes of vengeance was, in the present juncture, more dangerous as a precedent, than the punishments themselves were unjust. The crown, however, ought not to escape from censure for the severities of the courts of law. Without the approbation of the King, it is not probable that judges would have proceeded to such extreme rigour. Without his permission, they even could not proceed at all. He may, therefore, be deemed an accessory to mischiefs which he did not prevent; though, perhaps, his indolence is more to be blamed, than either the violence or severity of his temper. The Duke of York, to all appearance, advised his brother in secret; but he ostensibly took no part in public affairs, till the May of the present year. On the twelfth of that month, he was declared Lord High-Admiral<sup>u</sup>. On the twenty-eighth, he took his seat at the council-board. Though his promotion was actual suspension of an act of parliament, no murmurs arose in the nation. Men thought that a Prince, who one day was to be their sovereign, might, without the formality of oaths, be admitted to the management of a department, which of all others he best understood.

THE great power of the Duke of York is, however, evident from the promotions of his adherents and supposed friends. In the month of April, Godolphin succeeded<sup>\*</sup> Jenkins in the office of secretary of state. In August, he was made first commissioner of the treasury<sup>y</sup>, and soon after created a baron. Hyde, who had been raised to the dignity of Earl of Rochester, succeeded,

Promotions;

<sup>u</sup> James II.

<sup>\*</sup> April 17.

<sup>y</sup> Aug. 24.



C H A P.  
VI.

1684.

as president of the council, the old Earl of Radnor, who retired. The Earl of Middleton one of the secretaries for Scotland, was raised to the same office, in the room of Godolphin, in England. The lord chief justice Jefferys, whose services in the midland circuit had been highly grateful to the King, was admitted into the cabinet. These changes were deemed by discerning men the forerunners of more violent measures. The Duke of York, who proceeded on system, seemed resolved to secure the power which the crown had obtained. A violent favourer of prerogative from principle, he had been confirmed in his opinions, by the vehemence of his opponents, for several years. Though their spirits had been subdued for the present, the flame might again break forth with redoubled violence. To prevent a circumstance, which to him must prove unfortunate, considering his obstinate bigotry, he proceeded to measures, which were more precipitate than unskillfully framed. He is said to have formed a plan for the new-modelling the affairs of Scotland and Ireland; that, by securing the unlimited authority of the crown in those kingdoms, he might overawe England, and retain her in that submission, which the high principles of monarchy, more than the force of the Prince, had gained<sup>\*</sup>.

Affairs of  
Scotland.

IN Scotland, the same violence and confusion reigned which had distracted that country for many years. The whole nation had been long divided into two religious parties, whose animosities against one another had been inflamed into a degree proportionable to their own folly and enthusiasm. The high-church party, possessed of the power of government, turned its whole force upon wretched fanatics, whose desperate zeal ought to be the subject of pity, more than the object of punishment. Rapacity and blind revenge were seen on one side, insolence and madness on the other. A scene of pitiful misery prevailed; oppres-

<sup>\*</sup> Publications of the Times.



tion without profit, and an obstinate opposition for no worthy cause; a feeble government, who deemed violence authority; an ignorant populace, without a single idea of political freedom, struck with madness by enthusiastic opinions on religion. The folly on each side was equal; but those who ought to be most wise were therefore the most to blame. The chiefs of the intended insurrection in England thought it prudent to apply to the leaders of the enthusiasts in Scotland. A messenger, by the procurement of Sidney, was sent to them in the beginning of the year 1683. Several Scots, under a pretence of negotiating a settlement for some of their countrymen in Carolina, arrived in London in April, and were admitted to the consultations of the principal conspirators \*.

WHEN the inferior plot was discovered by Kieling, and when the Lord Howard of Escric gave information of the conspiracy for an insurrection, the Scots, who had come to London, were among others accused. Some were apprehended, others conveyed themselves beyond sea. Among the first was Baillie of Jerviswood, and two gentlemen of the name of Campbell. Baillie was sent prisoner to Edinburgh. His concern in the conspiracy was known, but no positive evidence against him could be found. Unjustifiable means were used to induce him to confess what the government had failed to prove. When he refused to answer upon oath the questions which they proposed, he was fined in six thousand pounds. Having lain in prison fifteen months, evidence, at length, was procured. He was condemned, in the end of December 1684; and though he laboured under a severe indisposition of body, he behaved at his execution with spirit. Though a man of letters, he seems to have been an enthusiast; and to have derived from the consciousness of the justness of his religious opinions, the firmness which other patriots might have obtained

Execution of  
Baillie.

\* Woodrow, Burnet, Trials.

from



C H A P. VI. from philosophy. The proceedings against him were more irregular than his punishment was unjust. No doubts could remain concerning his part in the conspiracy; and he was the only person in his country that suffered for that crime <sup>b</sup>.

Affairs of Ireland.

DURING these severities in two of the British kingdoms, Ireland remained quiet and prosperous, under the government of the Duke of Ormonde. The discouragement which he gave to informations preserved that kingdom from the infamy of prosecutions for pretended conspiracies; whilst his own vigilance and popularity prevented real plots. During an absence of two years in London, his measures continued their good effects. Trade and industry increased, and the public tranquillity continued, under his deputy the Earl of Arran. His own behaviour in England seemed to merit a better return than was soon after made to his services. A resolution being formed, by the advice of the Duke of York and his friends, to new-model the affairs of Ireland, Ormonde was recalled from his government, in the month of October in the present year. The alterations, or rather total change to be made, would neither suit the dignity nor the principles of that noble governor. An army, into which Catholics were to be admitted, was to be formed, under a lieutenant-general, independent of the lord-lieutenant and civil power. The King adopted with precipitation a measure which flattered him with the continuance and stability of his present power. He wrote to Ormonde, in terms of respect and confidence; but at the same time he informed him, that he had made choice of the Earl of Rochester to succeed him in the government of Ireland <sup>c</sup>.

State of

THE inattention of Charles to the affairs of the continent, the divided councils of the Dutch, the debilitated state of Spain, and the weakness of the Empire, raised the superiority of France to a

<sup>b</sup> Woodrow, Burnet.

<sup>c</sup> Carte's Ormonde.



pitchequal to the ambition of her King. Supported with powerful armies, and in the midst of tranquillity prepared for war, Lewis the Fourteenth attempted to justify encroachments on the dominions of Spain by pretended claims, founded on the treaty of Nimeguen. He demanded Alorst, in a formal manner, from the court of Madrid; and, upon their refusal, blockaded Luxembourg. The Turks having besieged Vienna with an army of two hundred thousand men, Lewis, with an affected moderation, suspended all hostilities; but when the siege was raised, by the valour and conduct of John Sobieski, King of Poland, he renewed his operations. Courtray and Dixmuyde were forced, Luxembourg bombarded. Spain, forgetting her own weakness, declared war; and, by a precipitate step, furnished Lewis with a pretence to continue the progress of his arms. The Dutch, in the assembly of their states, by the influence of France upon the town of Amsterdam, together with the aversion entertained by the magistracy of that city against the Prince of Orange, would give no assistance. No aid could be obtained from England. The Emperor dreamed of nothing but to defend his own dominions from the power of the Ottomans.

SPAIN, left to her own domestic force, was obliged at length to submit. Though every thing became venal at her court, though offices, governments, and titles of honour, were sold to supply the pressing demands of the state, her poverty, as well as the feebleness of her councils, rendered her totally unfit for war. Her army, under the Duke of Bournonville, was defeated on the frontiers of Catalonia. Fontarabia was bombarded. Luxembourg fell into the hands of the French<sup>d</sup>. The Prince of Orange, to aid the allies of the Dutch, made a breach upon their constitution, by endeavouring to carry points in favour of Spain by a majority of voices in the assembly of the states. But the town of Amster-

fo e'gn af-  
fairs.

<sup>d</sup> June 4, 1684.



C H A P.  
VII

1684

dam, and even some of the provinces, still in the interest of France, refused the augmentation in the troops which the Prince required. The King of England, in his necessities, had suffered his neutrality to be bought by France. The misfortunes of the Spaniards, at length, overcame their pride. They ceded Luxembourg. They yielded to the demands of the court of France. A truce of twenty years was signed at Ratisbon, on the tenth of August, between France and the court of Madrid; and, on the sixteenth of the same month, between the first of these powers and the Emperor and Empire. Peace, with little bloodshed, was restored to Europe. France had offended the neighbouring states, without breaking their force; and the time was fast advancing on Lewis the Fourteenth, when his haughtiness was to meet its reward.

State of

THE pecuniary difficulties which first threw Charles into the arms of France, destroyed his future importance abroad. Harassed by parties at home, necessitous through the want of œconomy in himself, as well as from the parsimony of parliament, he was, in his latter years, as destitute of the means of making a figure in Europe, as he was always of the ambition of leading its affairs. But now he seemed to be advancing with hasty strides toward that weight and consequence which he possessed in the first years of his reign. His domestic enemies lay subdued, by their own folly more than by his power. The hatred of the nation seemed to follow their misfortunes; while the rigour of government raised no aversion to the person of the Prince. The majority of his subjects, by inclination more than through fear, had laid their most valuable privileges at his feet; and he seemed to be clothed with absolute authority, even with the consent of his people. The facility of his temper, his captivating manner, his uneasiness under the restraints of his function as King, removed the jealousy of his people, when they scarce had any freedom to lose. The irresistible



listible popularity of the early part of his reign returned; and the vigour of his constitution seemed to promise many years of the tranquillity which he passionately loved.

C H A P.  
VI.

1684.

BUT, amid this flattering prospect, Charles seems not to have been altogether pleased with the situation of affairs. The Duke of York, to whom business was pleasure, managed the state, and left his brother to his indolence and ease. His friends formed a majority in the cabinet, and the first departments had been filled by his recommendation. The Marquis of Halifax, the Earl of Sunderland, and the Dutchess of Portsmouth, endeavoured to rouse the attention of Charles, and to alarm his fears. The court paid to the Duke was not sufficient to reconcile him to the propriety of his measures. He, perhaps, was afraid of a renewal of those distractions which had been so lately composed. The vehemence with which his brother solicited an indiscriminate pardon for all the Papists, was perhaps one cause of his dislike to the measures of that Prince. A general indemnity for all the recusants of that sect was on the point of being granted, when it was stopt, on the twenty-fourth of January 1685, by the lord-keeper North, till the attorney-general should be heard on the subject. But the Duke of York ascribes to the enmity of others what some writers have attributed to the prudence of Charles. "Sunderland," says he, "was actually contriving with the Dutchess of Portsmouth," and he might have added, in concert with the Prince of Orange, "to send again the Duke into banishment. They thought to employ him on some embassy abroad, or even as lord-deputy in Ireland." This circumstance, though just, is only a part of the truth. Halifax, and especially Sunderland, had been long gained by the Prince of Orange, whose views on the throne were known. Sunderland, yielding to his love of money, had

domestic af-  
fairs.

1685.

January.

\* James II.

H h h 2

been



C H A P.  
VI.

1685.

been also bought by Lewis the Fourteenth<sup>f</sup>; and that Prince, knowing the disposition which the Duke had already shewn to render himself, should he come to the crown, independent of France, was far from being averse to his being removed from the councils of his brother<sup>g</sup>. Monmouth was the only tool of their designs, to gain the consent of the King to the removal of a brother through his affection for a son.

February.  
Death of the  
King.

THE sudden death of the King put an end to their designs. On the second of February, about eight in the morning, he was seized with a fit of an apoplexy, being dressed, and just come out of his closet, where he had been for some time after he rose from bed. A messenger was immediately dispatched to the Duke of York; but, before he arrived, Dr. King, a physician, being in the drawing-room, was called in, and he let him blood. By that and some remedies he was restored perfectly to his senses; and there was great hopes of his recovery during the whole of the next day. His physicians despaired of his life on the fourth of February; and having languished till Friday, the sixth of that month, he expired between eleven and twelve o'clock<sup>h</sup>. The first intelligence of his danger filled the whole city with such a surprise and consternation, that the privy-council found themselves obliged to issue a declaration, containing hopes of his recovery<sup>i</sup>. When his death was made known, a general sorrow prevailed. He was mourned by individuals, as a friend more than as a sovereign; and it was then that men who possessed any regard for their country saw how dangerously he was loved by his people. The vulgar, in their affection for his person, entertained suspicions of his being poisoned; and even some credulous writers have encouraged a tale, which had not the slightest foundation in fact.

<sup>f</sup> D'Avaux, 1682.<sup>g</sup> James II.<sup>h</sup> Ibid.<sup>i</sup> Gazette.

WHEN



WHEN his physicians despaired of the life of the King, they sent for the Queen. He was in his perfect senses when she arrived. Throwing herself on her knees, she asked his pardon for all her offences. He replied, that she had offended in nothing; but that he had been guilty of offences against her, and he asked her pardon. He spoke with great affection to the Duke of York. He expressed his sorrow for having sent him so often abroad. He gave him excellent counsel for his future conduct. He advised him to adhere to the laws with strictness, and to support the church of England with undeviating firmness\*. The Duke seemed anxious to convince him, before he died, how little he intended to follow his advice. Having removed the bishops and several lords, who attended by the bed of the King, he sent for Huddleston, a Romish priest. In the presence of the Duke, the Earl of Bath, and Trevanion, a captain in the guards, Huddleston gave the extreme unction to the King, and administered to him the sacrament, according to the rites of the church of Rome. All this was done in the space of half an hour. The doors were then thrown open. Six prelates, who had before attended the King, were sent for to give him the sacrament. Kenn, bishop of Bath and Wells, read the Visitation of the Sick; and, after the King said that he repented of his sins, the Absolution. That prelate then administered the sacrament. The King assisted, with seeming devotion, at the service; but his mouth being distorted with fits, and his throat contracted, he could not swallow the elements. He, however, professed his earnest desire, and his satisfaction in the church of England†.

C. H. A. P.  
VI.

1685.  
His behaviour

BUT a show of devotion in the last moments of life, brings no decisive proof of any man's faith. When the body is debilitated with disease, the mind becomes susceptible of every impression of a spiritual kind. The attention of Charles to Huddleston, is not inconsistent with his joining Dr. Kenn in the service of the

in his last  
moments.

\* James II.

† MS.



C H A P.  
VI.

1685.

church of England. In the full vigour of his constitution, he was probably attached to no particular religion; though motives of policy induced him to conform strictly to the faith established by law. To the church of Rome he was certainly never reconciled; if his acceptance of the sacrament from a priest, when his understanding was enfeebled by the approach of death, may not be construed into an error of that kind. The papers found by his brother in his strong box, and which that misguided Prince published soon after, furnish no evidence of a change in his faith. They were not of his hand-writing. They were known to have been delivered to him, at the instance of some Roman Catholics, by Lord Bleffington, who, as an object of ridicule, had access to his person, from his being the author of a foolish play<sup>m</sup>. He had produced the papers frequently to some of his courtiers, to excite laughter, by exposing with poignant satire and wit the absurd positions which they contained<sup>n</sup>. The Duke of York was no stranger to this circumstance; yet he conveyed to the world the papers, as containing the sentiments of the King upon the subject of religion. He had certainly expressed frequently to the Duke his predilection for the Romish faith. But that circumstance proceeded more from his opinion of the convenience of that system of religion, than from sentiments of devotion.

Reflections

THE character of Charles the Second, like the transactions of his reign, has assumed various appearances, in proportion to the passions and prejudices of different writers. The nation being long divided into two parties, history became an engine of faction, more than the vehicle of truth. The adherents of the crown, the favourers of the succession in the ancient line, have covered acts of folly and instances of despotism with panegyric. The supporters of the Revolution have done their best to injure their own cause, by supposing that it required to be justified by the misrepre-

<sup>m</sup> MS. anecdotes. Carte's papers.<sup>n</sup> Ibid,

sentations



sentations and fictions of party. To steer between the two extremes is the direct path to truth, in the character of this Prince and the history of his reign. To affirm that he was a great and good King, would be as unjust as to allege that he was destitute of all virtue, and a bloody and inhuman tyrant. The lines of his mind have been already traced with some precision. His political conduct has been occasionally examined, as the facts arose. The indolence of his disposition, and the dissipation occasioned by his pleasures, as they were at first the source of his misfortunes, became afterwards the safety of the nation. Had he joined the ambition of power, and the perseverance and attention of his brother, to his own insinuating and engaging address, he might have secured his own reputation with writers, by enslaving them with the nation.

CHAP.  
VI.  
1685.

In his person he was tall and well-made. His complexion was dark; the lines of his face strong and harsh, when singly traced; but when his features were comprehended in one view, they appeared dignified, and even pleasing. In the motions of his person he was easy, graceful, and firm. His constitution was strong, and communicated an active vigour to all his limbs. Though a lover of ease of mind, he was fond of bodily exercise. He rose early, he walked much, he mixed with the meanest of his subjects, and joined in their conversation, without diminishing his own dignity, or raising their presumption. He was acquainted with many persons in the lower stations of life. He captivated them with sprightly turns of humour, and with a kind of good-natured wit, which rendered them pleased with themselves. His guards only attended him upon public occasions. He took the air frequently, in company with a single friend; and though crowds followed him, it was more from a wish to attract his notice than from an idle curiosity. When evidence of designs against his life was daily exhibited before the courts of justice, he changed not his manner of appearing in public. It was soon after



C H A P.  
VI.

1685.

after the Rye-house plot was discovered, he is said to have been severe on his brother's character, when he exhibited a striking feature of his own. The Duke returning from hunting with his guards, found the King one day in Hyde-park. He expressed his surprise how his Majesty could venture his person alone at such a perilous time. "James," replied the King, "take you care of yourself, and I am safe. No man in England will kill ME to make YOU King."

character of  
Charles.

WHEN he was opposed with most violence in parliament, he continued the most popular man in the kingdom. His good-breeding as a gentleman, overcame the opinion conceived of his faults as a King. His affability, his easy address, his attention to the very prejudices of the people, rendered him independent of all the arts of his enemies to inflame the vulgar. Their inexpressible affection for his person, upon the discovery of the intended assassination at the Rye-house, contributed much more than the management of his party to lay the constitution in ruins at his feet. He is said, and with reason, to have died opportunely for his country. Had his life extended to the number of years which the strength of his constitution seemed to promise, the nation would have lost all memory of their liberties in his popularity. Had he even survived his brother, England would have gradually dropt into that tranquil but humiliating despotism which now prevails over most of the nations of Europe. Had his fate placed Charles the Second in these latter times, when influence supplies the place of obvious power, when the crown has ceased to be distressed through the channel of its necessities, when the representatives of the people, in granting supplies for the public service, provide for themselves, his want of ambition would have precluded the jealousy, and his popular qualities secured the utmost admiration of his subjects. His gallantry itself would be construed into spirit, in an age where decency is only an improvement on vice.

C H A P.



---

# JAMES THE SECOND.

---

## C H A P VII.

*State of opinions.—King's popular declaration.—He continues the expired revenue.—His conduct at home,—and towards foreign powers.—Domestic affairs.—A parliament.—Their submissive proceedings.—Settlement of the revenue.—The Prince of Orange encourages an invasion.—His conduct to Monmouth.—Affairs of Scotland.—Rebellion, defeat, and execution of Argyle.—Monmouth's expedition.—His progress, defeat, and death.—Severities in the West.—Jefferys made chancellor.—Execution of Cornish.—Great power of the King.—A parliament.—Criminals of distinction pardoned.—King's religious views.—Affairs of Ireland.—Character of Sunderland.—A secret Popish cabinet.—Affairs of Scotland.—Hales's case.—Dispensing power.—King favours Papists.—Ecclesiastical commission.—Bishop of London suspended.—Encampment at Hounslow.—Imprudence of James.—Affairs of Ireland.—Schemes of the Prince of Orange.—Foreign affairs.—Reflections.—Papists promoted.—Indulgence in Scotland.—The same in England.—Intrigues of the Prince of Orange.—An attempt on Cambridge.—The affair of Magdalen college.—Parliament dissolved.—King's progress.—He courts the Dissenters.—Proceedings against Magdalen college.—Reflections.—Queen with child.—Surmises of an imposture.*

VOL. I.                      I i i



*—imposture.—Intrigues of the Prince of Orange.—James insulted by the Dutch.—Indulgence renewed.—Bishops petition.—They are committed to the Tower.—Birth of a Prince.—Bishops acquitted.*

C H A P.  
VII.

1685.  
February.  
State of opinions.

THE period in which James the Second mounted the throne of his ancestors was suitable to that height of the prerogative which he always loved. His enemies had been already subdued by their own folly. The victory of the crown was decisive, as it had been obtained through the changed opinions of the people. The objections against his political principles, the terrors entertained of his religious zeal, had lost, in some measure, their effect, as they were first raised by a party now fallen into disgrace, as well as ruin. Even his being the last male of his family carried the tenderness of many into a forgetfulness of his faults. Besides, his own character and deportment were favourable to high expectations from his conduct. Habituated to application, and accustomed to business, he had been always esteemed by the trading part of an industrious nation; and, though stately, being well-bred, and attentive in his address, he was respected where he was not loved. The decency of his manners recommended him to the virtuous. His obstinacy, which was mistaken for firmness, flattered the hopes of the royalists with a decisiveness of measures, which had been long banished from the fluctuating councils of the former reign.

King's popular declaration.

THE first transactions of James were answerable to the warm expectations of his friends. Having assembled the privy-council on the day of the late King's death, he addressed them in a speech highly suitable to his own condition and the state of the nation. Having bestowed some commendations on his brother's memory, he assured them, that he would endeavour to follow the example of his great tenderness and clemency to his people. He had



had been reported, he informed them, to be a man of arbitrary principles; "but that," he continued, "is not the only story that has been told of ME." He promised to make it his endeavour to preserve the government in church and state, as then established by law. He approved of the principles of the church of England. He acknowledged her attachment to monarchy. He engaged himself to support her in her present doctrines and rights. He told them, that he was not ignorant that the laws of England were sufficient to make the King as great a monarch as he could wish; and that as he was resolved not to depart from the just rights and prerogatives of the crown, he was determined never to invade the property of the subject. He had often ventured his life, he said, in defence of the nation, and he promised still to go as far as any man in preserving all their just rights and their liberties<sup>a</sup>.

C H A P.  
VII.  
1685.

THIS declaration was received with the utmost satisfaction by the council, and afterwards by the nation. The friends of James expressed their exultations with intemperate joy. His enemies, if not satisfied, were silent. The King at the same time issued a proclamation, that all persons in offices under government should continue to exercise their functions till his Majesty's further pleasure. In honour of his brother's memory, he ordered in the same paper, that all his subjects should yield implicit obedience to all the orders and directions issued by his late Majesty. But the state of the revenue was of more importance, and demanded most of his care. The tonnage and poundage, the customs and excise in part, had been granted only for the life of the late King; therefore could not be legally levied without the authority of parliament. To remit those duties till a parliament should be called would at once hurt the fair trader and injure the crown. The

Proclamation  
concerning  
the expired  
revenue.

<sup>a</sup> Printed declaration.



C H A P.  
VII.

1685.

merchants who had their warehouses full of goods for which custom had been paid, would be underfold in all the markets by those who now should pay no duties. The lord-keeper North proposed, that the duties, as formerly, should be collected and set apart in the Exchequer until the next session of parliament. The violent councils of Jefferys were more suitable to the principles of the King. He issued a proclamation, ordering the usual payment of the expired branches to be made, as "he had no doubt that care should be taken by the parliament, which he had just thought fit to call, for settling a sufficient revenue on the crown for the service of government<sup>b</sup>." Though this in fact was levying money by the prerogative, it appears to have met with the approbation of the nation, as far as the most servile addresses deserve any faith.

Promotions.

ON the ninth of February, James continued in their places, by new commissions, the great officers of state. None of those who had served the late King were removed, unless appointed to offices of higher trust. The Earl of Rochester, lord president of the council, being constituted lord-high-treasurer of England, received, on the sixteenth of February, the white staff from the hands of the King<sup>c</sup>. The Marquis of Halifax, though known to have formerly been no friend to the King when Duke of York, was declared lord president, in the room of the Earl of Rochester. The impression which the able conduct of that nobleman, against the bill of exclusion, had made on the mind of James, was not obliterated by his opposition in the cabinet against his views during the latter years of his brother's reign. When Halifax attempted to make an apology for his conduct, the King is reported to have said, "that he forgot all the past, except his behaviour with regard to the bill of exclusion." This forgiving temper in James was, however, much circumscribed. When the

<sup>b</sup> Feb. 9, 1685.<sup>c</sup> Kennet, vol. iii. James II. 1685.



principal exclusionists came to pay their respects, they are said to have been received with indifference, or treated with coldness. This might be suitable to the sincerity which he affected to possess, but it scarce seemed consistent with prudence. But their spirits were so much broken, that severity, instead of rousing, depressed their minds.

C H A P.  
VII.

1685.

THOUGH the prior conduct of the Earl of Sunderland, to which James was no stranger, merited no favour at his hands, that lord found means, by the influence of others, to continue in his office of secretary of state<sup>d</sup>. The late King had formed a resolution to send the Earl of Clarendon, as lord-lieutenant, to Ireland, and to give the treasurer's staff to his brother, the Earl of Rochester. Sunderland, having obtained secret intelligence that the present King was determined to pursue the same measures, waited upon Rochester, who had been his political enemy, and made the most artful advances to gain his friendship. He told him, that though it had been his misfortune to differ with him formerly, it was the effect of the times, and not his inclination. But that as he had ever the greatest esteem for his person, he would now endeavour to show it, by using some secret interest which he possessed, that he might be made lord-treasurer and his brother lieutenant of Ireland. Rochester, knowing the intriguing address of Sunderland, gave some credit to his tale of secret influence. He asked the King for what he had resolved to give before; and thus, in gratitude of the supposed favour of Sunderland, Rochester did him the real service of continuing him in his place. This artifice produced afterwards the ruin of James. Sunderland was in the pay, confidence, and schemes of the Prince of Orange<sup>e</sup>. He led his master into measures to which he was himself inclined through

Artifice of  
Sunderland.

<sup>d</sup> James II. 1685.

<sup>e</sup> D'Avaux, passim.

bigotry.



C H A P.  
VII.

1685.

bigotry. The nation was offended; and the Prince obtained the great object of his ambition, the English throne\*.

King's con-  
duct at home,

THE conduct of the King, exclusive of religion, merited every praise. He applied himself with unremitting attention to business, he managed his revenue, he retrenched superfluous expences, he was zealous for the glory of the nation. He endeavoured to expel vice from the court, and to restore decency and morality. He was himself at the head of all his affairs. He presided daily at the council, at the boards of admiralty and treasury. He even entered into the whole detail of the concerns of all the great departments of the state. But his bigotry for the Romish faith sullied all his good qualities, and rendered him feared for his violence where he was not despised for his weakness. When he first mounted the throne, he declared himself a catholic; as if his sincerity in avowing his principles could atone for his professing a faith which his subjects abhorred. He went publicly to mass with the Queen. He even had the imprudence to urge others to follow his example, and to adopt his religious opinions. This unaccountable weakness being once perceived, he became the dupe of designing men, by an uncommon species of flattery. To pretend to be converted by his arguments, was to ensure his protection and favour. He received the supposed converts into his confidence. He gave them an absolute dominion over his mind. In defiance of all remonstrances he followed their advice, which at length terminated in his ruin†.

and with re-  
gard to fo-  
reign powers.

THOUGH James pretended to support in public the dignity of the nation against France, he is said to have very early entered privately into her pay. The emptiness of the exchequer when he

\* James II. 1685.

† Carte's Ormonde, vol. iii.

acceded



acceded to the throne, in spite of his management and œconomy, threw him into difficulties and distress. A remittance of the pitiful sum of twenty-five thousand pounds, was a timely relief to his necessities<sup>b</sup>; and was received with joy. Though he was from principle no friend to the aggrandizement of Lewis the Fourteenth, he was afraid to offend that monarch in the present state of his affairs. In the Prince of Orange he already dreaded a formidable rival. He was no stranger to the views of his ambition. He was offended at the protection which he afforded to Monmouth. As the interest of the Prince and the Duke could never be the same, the former was suspected of encouraging troubles to his uncle, to derive advantage to himself from the confusion. But as it was dangerous to break with the Prince, for fear of giving a formidable head to the malecontents in England, James, notwithstanding his boasted sincerity, was forced to dissemble his fears. He spoke publicly of his resolution of living in confidence with his nephew, and to form a political connexion with the States of Holland. He affected to treat the King of France with a punctilious stateliness. When he sent the Lord Churchill to announce his brother's death to Lewis, he commanded him to observe with attention the ceremonies with which he was received. The same forms were observed with a scrupulous exactness to the Mareschal de Lorge, sent with an answer to England by the court of France<sup>a</sup>.

C H A P.  
VII.

1685.

THE œconomy of James was certainly laudable; but it threw an appearance of meanness on some of his measures. The late King, to whose firmness he owed his throne, was buried with little pomp; and his own coronation, on the twenty-third of April, was a ceremony neither expensive nor magnificent. His interference in matters of little consequence, was deemed beneath the dignity of his station. The inferior detail of the public busi-

Domestic  
affairs.<sup>a</sup> Dalrymple's Append. 1685.<sup>b</sup> Kennet. Publications of the Times.

ness.



C H A P.

VII.

1685.

ness, was thought too extensive to be minutely known by a Prince who possessed talents to guide the great concerns of the kingdom. But had James turned only his attention to the executive part of government, his conduct, instead of meeting censure, might have merited applause. But it was not to that department alone that the King is said to have confined himself. He is even supposed to have extended his influence to the administration of public justice. The severe prosecution of two noted criminals was at this time ascribed, with some justice, to his memory of former injuries. Otes, who had been virtually condemned to perpetual imprisonment in the preceding summer, by the enormous fine of one hundred thousand pounds, was tried on two indictments for perjury on the eighth of May. Though few entertained any doubt of his guilt, his punishment was deemed severe. He was adjudged to stand thrice in the pillory, to be twice whipped, to be imprisoned for life, and to stand five times in the pillory every year. Dangerfield, the author of the meal-tub-plot, received sentence to stand twice in the pillory, to be whipped twice, and to pay a fine of five hundred pounds. The sentence of each was executed with the utmost severity. But though nothing could be deemed too hard for such profligate men, the distance of the punishment from the crime rendered them objects of pity in the eyes of the world<sup>1</sup>.

A parlia-  
ment.

THE necessity of possessing a standing revenue, had induced James to call a parliament soon after his accession to the throne. The disuse of that assembly for more than four years, rendered the measure extremely agreeable to the nation. The surrender of the charters of the boroughs, threw a great weight with regard to elections in the scale of the crown. But though James and his servants may be supposed to have used all the influence of govern-

<sup>1</sup> Publications of the Times.



ment, the most of those members who had signalized themselves in favour of the bill of exclusion were returned to the new parliament. No opposition, however, was either expected by the enemies of the King, or feared by his friends. The spirit of the opposing party was subdued. The opinions of the people had deserted them with their good fortune. Besides, the character of the present King was extremely dissimilar to that of his brother. Charles was ever willing to purchase ease by concessions. But the obstinate temper of James was known. None expected that he would yield in any thing to an assembly whom he, in some degree, considered as enemies, on account of former injuries.

C H A P.  
VII.

1685.

THE parliament having met on the nineteenth of May at Westminster, the King made a speech from the throne. He repeated to the two houses the declaration which had already given so much satisfaction to the nation. He requested the commons to grant him for life the same revenue which his brother enjoyed. He obviated a popular argument, which might be urged against his demand, in a manner more suitable to the violence of his principles than consistent with prudence. "Men may think," said he, "that by feeding me from time to time with such supplies as they may think convenient, they will better secure the frequent meetings of parliament: but as this is the first time I speak to you from the throne, I will answer this argument once for all. I will plainly tell you, that such an expedient would be very improper to employ with ME; and that the best way to engage me to meet you often, is always to use me well."

Proceedings  
of the com-  
mons.

THIS authoritative tone, instead of rousing the resentment of the commons, seemed to impress them with terror. Without debate, they returned their hearty thanks to the King for his most gracious speech. Without one dissenting voice, they resolved that the revenue enjoyed by the late King should be settled for life on

Revenue  
settled.



C H A P.  
VII.

1685.

his present Majesty. Their ready compliance, however, must not be ascribed altogether to timidity. Two rebellions threatened the kingdom; and the refusal of a request, deemed by the nation reasonable, might in some measure justify the King for seeking in the prerogative the relief which parliament should deny. But the complaisance with which the session began, continued to its end. The commons, upon receiving information of the descent of the Earl of Argyle in the west of Scotland, voted to support the King, against all rebels and traitors, with their lives and fortunes. This pliant disposition soothed the austerity of James into mildness. He made answer, "that he relied on their assurances, which were the natural effects of their being monarchical and church of England-men." He told them, "that he would stand by all such; and that, supported by them, he had no reason to fear either rebels at home, or enemies abroad."

A vote about  
religion.

BUT notwithstanding this complaisance to the King, the commons were not altogether negligent of their duty to the nation. A motion was made to consider of a proper security for the protestant religion; and, upon a debate, the affair was referred to a committee. The committee were unanimous in their opinion, that an address should be presented to the King, to put the laws in execution against dissenters of all denominations. When the report was made to the house, a debate arose, whether they should concur with the committee. Some members urged, that votes of this sort tended to alarm the nation, and to raise doubts against the honour of the King, who had solemnly promised to defend the established religion. Others argued, that during an open rebellion in the neighbouring kingdom, a measure in itself proper, would be extremely ill-timed, as it would, in some degree, justify the pretended fears of the insurgents on the article of religion. The votes of the committee were rejected in their present form; and the house came to a remarkable resolution, which was presented



sented by way of address to the King. They resolved, that they acquiesced, entirely relied, and rested wholly satisfied in his Majesty's most gracious word, to support the church of England, which was dearer to them than their lives<sup>k</sup>.

C H A P.  
VII.

1685.

ON the thirtieth of May, the King sent a message to the commons to demand a supply. He represented the necessity of buying stores for the navy and ordnance, of removing the anticipations on the revenue, of paying the debts due to the late King's family and servants, and for quashing the rebellion in Scotland. He recommended to them above all, "the navy, the strength and glory of the nation." He urged them to place the fleet in such a condition as to render it considered abroad and respected at home. He assured them, "that he could not express his thoughts more suitable to themselves, than by telling them, that he had a true English heart, zealous for the honour of the nation, which he hoped to carry higher in the world than any of his ancestors." He told them, "that as he would never call for supplies but when they should be absolutely necessary, he promised to manage them with good husbandry, and to employ them faithfully to the use for which they should be demanded." The house, with the utmost readiness, voted the supply required<sup>l</sup>. They resolved to lay an impost on wines and vinegar for eight years. This tax had been granted to the late King; but having expired during the bad humours of a former parliament, it was not renewed. This accession of revenue, under the strict economy of James, rendered the crown independent of parliament<sup>m</sup>.

A supply  
voted.

THE lords yielded not to the commons either in expressions of loyalty, or instances of obedience to the King. They concurred in the address of thanks. They passed the money-bill without

Proceedings  
of the lords.

<sup>k</sup> May 27.

<sup>l</sup> May 30.

<sup>m</sup> James II.



C. H. A. P.  
VII.

1685.

any amendment. They addressed against Argyle. The King, in his answer, expressed his gratitude to the house for their rejecting the bill of exclusion. He endeavoured to convince them, that their strict adherence to the crown was the best means to support the importance of their own order. Instead of animadverting upon the judges who had admitted the impeached lords to bail, they listened to the petition of the Earl of Danby and the three Popish lords, who requested to be dismissed from prosecution. Upon a question, whether the order of the house of lords, of the nineteenth of March 1679, should be reversed and annulled, it was carried almost unanimously in the affirmative. Four lords protested against the resolution, more on account of its irregularity, than from any wish of renewing their former violence. Of matters of religion scarce any mention was made in the house of lords. The word of the King, upon which the commons so implicitly relied, was never questioned at all by the peers<sup>a</sup>.

The Prince  
of Orange

WHILST every thing submitted in tranquillity to James at home, a storm was gathering abroad to disturb his repose. The Prince of Orange, who had, ever since the proposed exclusion of his uncle, raised his hopes to the English throne, had lately, in a great measure, sacrificed his natural caution to the resentment which arose from a disappointment in his views. When the Duke of Monmouth had fallen, in the beginning of the preceding year, under the displeasure of King Charles, he retired abroad; and was, soon after, received with high marks of distinction by the Prince of Orange. Though the King of England had commanded such of his subjects as were in the service of the States of Holland to shew no respect to Monmouth, the Prince ordered them, under pain of dismissal, to give him the same honours as to their general, the Count of Waldeck. He invited him, with several of the English exiles, to one of his hunting-seats. He ordered, that he

<sup>a</sup> Kennet, Ralph, &c.

should



should be received at Nimeguen with extraordinary and extravagant honours. The Duke of York, apprehensive of some design, wrote to his daughter to complain of her husband's conduct. But her easy temper had been already subdued. She shed tears on her father's letter: but she said, that the Prince was her master, and he was positive, and must be obeyed. The Prince improved on his civilities to Monmouth, with high symptoms of regret for his unfortunate friends. He reprimanded with the utmost severity, he threatened with the vengeance of the Duke himself, the bailiff of Leyden, who had delivered Sir Thomas Armstrong into the hands of the English resident, in the preceding May.

CH. A. P.  
VII.

1685.

THE Prince carried his favour for Monmouth into a pitch inconsistent with the common gravity of his own manners. He forced the Princess, his wife, to receive with uncommon marks of honour a young lady of quality, who publicly passed for the mistress of the Duke. Though beyond measure jealous in his disposition, he obliged her to receive visits, when alone, from Monmouth. He permitted the Duke, every day after dinner, to teach her country-dances in her private apartments. He even obliged her to learn to skate on the ice, because Monmouth loved that amusement. An extraordinary sight! A Princess of Mary's decency and virtue, with her petticoats tucked up half-way to her waist, with iron pattens on her feet, learning to slide, sometimes on one foot, sometimes on the other. The Prince even divested himself of the usual austerity of his deportment to please his guest. Though asthmatic by constitution, and inactive through the feebleness of an ungraceful form, he sometimes spent a part of the evening in dancing with some ladies of his family and the Duke of Monmouth. He carried the appearance of his affection so far, that he scarce bestowed any favours but through the Duke's intercession. He was indulged with the same leave with Bentinck, to

encourages

• D'Avaux.

• Ibid.

enter



C H A P.  
VII.

1685.

an invasion

enter his chamber at all hours; and he was so generally deemed a favourite, that the world paid, through him, their whole court to the Prince.

THE Prince of Orange, from the conclusion of the truce of Ratisbon till the demise of Charles, seemed to hold at open defiance the court of England. When he received the news of the death of that Prince, he made a public shew of changing his tone, though in private he kept a close intelligence with Monmouth. Though James only notified his brother's death in a cold and barren letter of a few lines, the Prince affected to be on the best terms with his father-in-law. He read a fictitious paper to his court. He informed all, that the King of England had entertained a disgust against France; that he had deprived the Duke of Richmond of his place, removed the Dutchess of Portsmouth from court, and refused to see Barillon, except at audiences demanded in form. The stateliness of James to the Mareschal de Lorges he endeavoured to construe into a settled aversion in that Prince to the French King; and all this to intimidate the city of Amsterdam, who obstructed his measures through a fear of his power. He gave out, that he wrote to the King of England, that he deemed him his lawful sovereign, but that he hoped to be considered as his first subject. He excused his own former conduct. He laid the blame on the times. He promised to adapt his own measures to his Majesty's pleasure. He flattered him on his generosity, his steadiness of councils, his experience in affairs. He affirmed, that it was not for interest he made use of this language; that he desired no particular advantage; that he only wanted his good graces; and that he hoped so great a King would not suffer a Prince, who had the honour of marrying his eldest daughter, to be baffled and ruined by France.

D'Avaux.

Ibid.

Ibid.

3

WHILE



WHILE the Prince was making these professions to James, the English and Scottish fugitives were, under his secret protection, forming extravagant schemes. Monmouth met the Earl of Argyle at Rotterdam on the twenty-fourth of February, just four days after intelligence of the late King's death was received. Having concerted the plan, they endeavoured to provide themselves privately with the means of invasion. The generosity of the Prince equalled not his professed zeal for the service of Monmouth. The unfortunate Duke derived from his own plate and jewels his whole treasure for prosecuting the war. The enthusiasm of a rich widow supplied Argyle with ten thousand pounds. He purchased with that sum three vessels, which he loaded with ammunition and arms. Monmouth, from his want of money, was more slow in his preparations. Though he corresponded with Bentinck, though Odyck, the other favourite of the Prince of Orange, was in his secret, less real aid than verbal encouragement came from that quarter. The refugees, in the mean time, repaired to Amsterdam. Skelton, who succeeded Chudleigh as resident from the court of England, was at length alarmed. He applied to the States and the Prince of Orange to put an embargo on Argyle's vessels, which still lay in the Texel. The Prince amused Skelton for a whole day on an affair which required the utmost dispatch. An order was at length obtained; but it was defeated by the Prince, in whose department, as admiral, the execution of it lay. Argyle, apprised of his danger, put to sea, and directed his course to Scotland, having obtained a promise from Monmouth to sail for England in ten days<sup>1</sup>.

BUT the authority of James was too firmly established in Scotland to be shaken by the meditated descent of Argyle. Four days after his brother's death, he was proclaimed with great solemnity at Edinburgh, by order of the privy-council. The King fol-

Affairs of  
Scotland.<sup>1</sup> D'Avaux.<sup>2</sup> Ralph, Kennet, et Auct. citat. passim.

lowed



C H A P.  
VII.  
1685.

lowed the same policy which he had found to be successful in England. All officers were continued in their places. The measures of government suffered no material change. A parliament met on the twenty-ninth of April; at which the Duke of Queensberry presided, as Lord High Commissioner. Principles of unlimited obedience to the power, and even to the despotism of the crown, were expressed in the answer of the parliament to the letter of the King. They signified their abhorrence of the authors of past rebellions and conspiracies. They disclaimed all positions derogatory to the King's sacred, supreme, sovereign, absolute power. They recognized their former act and declaration, which, to use their own words, asserted the just and legal succession of the SACRED LINE, as unalterable by any human jurisdictions. They offered, in the name of the nation, to support with their lives and fortunes their present monarch and his lawful heirs in the possession of the crown and its prerogatives, against all mortal men<sup>a</sup>.

Invasion,

JAMES, apprized of an intended invasion from Holland under Argyle, had given orders to the privy-council in Scotland to put the kingdom in a posture of defence. A proclamation was issued, on the first day of the meeting of parliament, commanding all the militia of the eastern counties, and all able to bear arms in the north, to keep themselves in readiness to take the field. The Marquis of Athol was constituted lord-lieutenant of the county of Argyle; being deemed, from an hereditary feud, the most proper person to oppose the Earl in the territories of his retainers and friends. Argyle having sailed from the Vly on the second of May, was soon carried to the coast of Scotland by favourable winds. Having landed in the island of Mull with his friends, he passed from thence to Kintyre and his other estates. Some of his former vassals by inclination, and several through terror, joined his standard; and he found himself, in a few days, at the

<sup>a</sup> Woodrow, Burnet, Letter of the Parl.



head of two thousand men. He published two declarations; one in the name of his adherents, and another in his own. The grievances of the nation were enumerated in the first with some justice, though exaggerated. In the second, the Earl explained his own present views, and the injustice of his past sufferings. He declared against the right of the Duke of York to the throne, as being excluded from the succession by the commons of England. He avowedly disclaimed all bonds of subjection to his authority. He declared hostilities against him and his adherents. He promised never to enter into any treaty or capitulation with the present government. He affirmed, that the unalterable design of himself and his party, was to restore and settle the Protestant religion, to suppress and perpetually exclude Popery, and its bitter root and spring, Prelacy; to indemnify all those who had suffered for their adherence to their liberties and religion\*.

C H A P.  
VII.

1685.

BUT neither the fortune nor the conduct of Argyle were answerable to the spirit and pomp of his declarations. Opposed in his councils by his friends, surrounded by a rabble unaccustomed to authority and unacquainted with war, he loitered in Kintyre, when he ought to have roused the spirit of his adherents by action. The vigour of government was equal to the negligence of the rebels. Two men of war took, with little resistance, the ships of Argyle. They seized the castle of Ellingreg, where he had deposited his arms. The Marquis of Athol had entered his country with a superior force of militia. The Earl of Dumbarton, with the regular troops, advanced upon him with hasty march. The Lord Charles Murray hovered on his right with three troops of dragoons. The Duke of Gordon, with another body, hung close on his left. Reduced to difficulties in his mountains, he endeavoured to force his way to the low-country. He crossed the river Leven, in the neighbourhood of Dumbarton; but the enemy cut

defeat,

\* Journals of the commons.



CHAP.  
VII.

1685.

any amendment. They addressed against Argyle. The King, in his answer, expressed his gratitude to the house for their rejecting the bill of exclusion. He endeavoured to convince them, that their strict adherence to the crown was the best means to support the importance of their own order. Instead of animadverting on the judges who had admitted the impeached lords to bail, they listened to the petition of the Earl of Danby and the three Popish lords, who requested to be dismissed from prosecution. Upon a question, whether the order of the house of lords, of the nineteenth of March 1679, should be reversed and annulled, it was carried almost unanimously in the affirmative. Four lords protested against the resolution, more on account of its irregularity, than from any wish of renewing their former violence. Of matters of religion scarce any mention was made in the house of lords. The word of the King, upon which the commons so implicitly relied, was never questioned at all by the peers.

The Prince  
of Orange

WHILST every thing submitted in tranquillity to James at home, a storm was gathering abroad to disturb his repose. The Prince of Orange, who had, ever since the proposed exclusion of his uncle, raised his hopes to the English throne, had lately, in a great measure, sacrificed his natural caution to the resentment which arose from a disappointment in his views. When the Duke of Monmouth had fallen, in the beginning of the preceding year, under the displeasure of King Charles, he retired abroad; and was, soon after, received with high marks of distinction by the Prince of Orange. Though the King of England had commanded such of his subjects as were in the service of the States of Holland to shew no respect to Monmouth, the Prince ordered them, under pain of dismissal, to give him the same honours as to their general, the Count of Waldeck. He invited him, with several of the English exiles, to one of his hunting-seats. He ordered, that he

<sup>a</sup> Kennet, Ralph, &c.

should



should be received at Nimeguen with extraordinary and extravagant honours. The Duke of York, apprehensive of some design, wrote to his daughter to complain of her husband's conduct. But her easy temper had been already subdued. She shed tears on her father's letter: but she said, that the Prince was her master, and he was positive, and must be obeyed. The Prince improved on his civilities to Monmouth, with high symptoms of regret for his unfortunate friends. He reprimanded with the utmost severity, he threatened with the vengeance of the Duke himself, the bailiff of Leyden, who had delivered Sir Thomas Armstrong into the hands of the English resident, in the preceding May<sup>o</sup>.

C. H. A. P.  
VII.

1685.

THE Prince carried his favour for Monmouth into a pitch inconsistent with the common gravity of his own manners. He forced the Princess, his wife, to receive with uncommon marks of honour a young lady of quality, who publicly passed for the mistress of the Duke. Though beyond measure jealous in his disposition, he obliged her to receive visits, when alone, from Monmouth. He permitted the Duke, every day after dinner, to teach her country-dances in her private apartments. He even obliged her to learn to skate on the ice, because Monmouth loved that amusement. An extraordinary sight! A Princess of Mary's decency and virtue, with her petticoats tucked up half-way to her waist, with iron pattens on her feet, learning to slide, sometimes on one foot, sometimes on the other<sup>p</sup>. The Prince even divested himself of the usual austerity of his deportment to please his guest. Though asthmatic by constitution, and inactive through the feebleness of an ungraceful form, he sometimes spent a part of the evening in dancing with some ladies of his family and the Duke of Monmouth. He carried the appearance of his affection so far, that he scarce bestowed any favours but through the Duke's intercession. He was indulged with the same leave with Bentinck, to

encourages

<sup>o</sup> D'Avaux.

<sup>p</sup> Ibid.

enter



C H A P.  
VII.

1685.

off his provisions. His followers gradually deserted. Those who remained suffered all the hardships of famine. In this distress he turned his route toward Galloway. He passed the Clyde, and arrived at Renfrew; and, upon his departure from that place, he and his few adherents, either by the ignorance or treachery of guides, were misled into a bog. Confusion, terror, and flight prevailed. Each person provided for himself, and their commander was left alone<sup>y</sup>.

and execution  
of Argyle.

HAVING wandered through unknown paths and private ways, the unfortunate Earl returned toward the Clyde. Night, which had hitherto covered his flight, forsook him near the banks of that river; and he was perceived and pursued by two peasants. His horse, spent with fatigue, could not carry him beyond their speed. He alighted, and ran into the water almost up to the neck. He was followed by one of the peasants. The Earl endeavoured to shoot him; but his pistol missed fire. The countryman gave him a blow on the head. He fell, and, by an exclamation of grief, betrayed his quality and his name. He was first carried to Glasgow, then conveyed to Edinburgh, with every mark of ignominy and disgrace. His hands were bound behind; his head was bare. The executioner walked before him with his ax. Having been urged in vain to confess, he was beheaded, after a few days, upon his former sentence. He suffered with that calmness and serenity which attend men of courage in the last extreme. Rumbold, the master of the Rye-house, and Ayloffe the lawyer, were the only persons of the English fugitives who followed the fortunes of Argyle. The first, after a stout resistance, was taken and hanged. The latter endeavoured to disappoint his enemies, by stabbing himself. He, however, recovered of his wounds. He was carried to London, in hopes of making discoveries; but being of a fullen and obstinate temper, he treated ill the King

<sup>y</sup> Woodrow, Ralph, Hume, Burnet.



himself, and suffered with his friends. The insurrection in Scotland was quelled with little bloodshed. Very few fell in the field. The most of the followers of Argyle, by dispersing themselves, escaped. Those who fell into the hands of the government, were pardoned and dismissed.

C. H. A. P.  
VII.

1685.

THE Duke of Monmouth, in consequence of his promise to Argyle, left Amsterdam, on the twenty-fourth of May, in a small shallop, and directed his course to the mouth of the Texel, where his ships lay at anchor. His whole fleet consisted of a frigate of thirty-two guns and two tenders, the largest of which was scarce more than one hundred tons in burden. Obstructed by contrary winds, he was five days on his way to his friends; and when he arrived, he found his frigate under an arrest by the States. But the Prince of Orange was admiral; and he knew that, to please him, he ought to break through his commands. On the thirtieth he weighed, and stood to sea, in the midst of a storm. The wind continued contrary during his whole passage. The attention of Holland, and the anxiety of England, were raised by his voyage, which lasted ten days. The ministers at the Hague<sup>a</sup> prayed for Monmouth, under the borrowed title of the captain of the ship; and their zeal has been ascribed to the interest which the Prince of Orange seemed to take in the cause of the Duke. But the insufficiency of the succours which he afforded to the unfortunate invader, proved that he wished more for disturbances in England, than for his success. He is, however, said to have kept up a correspondence with the Duke, through his favourites, till he declared himself King<sup>b</sup>. The great object of the Prince of Orange was, to render himself necessary to the King of England<sup>c</sup>, through the progress of Monmouth. He even offered his service to James<sup>d</sup>; but that Prince chose to encounter his enemies alone, rather than to trust such a friend in his kingdom, at the head of a regular force.

Expedition of  
Monmouth.

<sup>a</sup> D'Avaux.

<sup>a</sup> D'Avaux, vol. iii.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid.

<sup>c</sup> Dalrymple's Append.



C H A P.  
VII.1685.  
He lands at  
Lime;

MONMOUTH landed near Lime, in the county of Dorset, in the evening of the ninth of June<sup>d</sup>. Having marshalled about eighty persons, who were in his train, on the sand, he marched into the town, and raised his standard in the market-place. A declaration, before prepared, was publicly read; but it suited only the prejudices of the ignorant and low. The errors of the preceding reign were minutely rehearsed and aggravated. The whole was laid to the charge of James, whose title to the name of King was denied. He was accused of burning the city. He was called the author of the Popish plot. The murder of Godfrey, the death of Essex, the poisoning of the late King, were enumerated among his crimes. He was blamed, with more justice, for his attachment to Popery, his arbitrary principles, and his levying lately the customs and excise before they were granted by parliament<sup>e</sup>. The news of the landing of Monmouth was brought to James on the thirteenth of June. He sent a message with the intelligence to the two houses of parliament, who voted unanimously "to stand by his Majesty with their lives and fortunes<sup>f</sup>." The commons immediately brought in two bills; one for the preservation of the King's person and government, and another for the attainder of Monmouth.

is victorious  
at Bridport.

THE popularity of Monmouth, the eager affection of the people for his person, even the memory of his father, and a vain supposition of his legitimacy, soon formed round him the show of an army. But no person of rank joined his standard. They knew his limited abilities. They were no strangers to his total want of resources. Besides, the vigilance of government had already armed against him the militia of the neighbouring counties. The Duke's first act of hostility was the storming of Bridport, into which the Duke of Albemarle had thrown a part of the militia of Devon. The men displayed a spirit upon the occasion which was

<sup>d</sup> Journals of the commons, June 13.<sup>e</sup> Declaration.<sup>f</sup> June 13.



not answered by their leaders. The Lord Grey, who commanded the horse, deserted his own troops. He rode back to Lime, and brought the news of a defeat, when his party obtained a victory. The cowardice of Grey was succeeded by a passionate action of Fletcher of Salton, equally detrimental to the affairs of Monmouth. Fletcher, who was to have been joined in the command of the horse with Grey, shot a countryman, by whom he had been insulted. The people, in a tumultuous manner, demanded his immediate dismissal; and Monmouth was obliged to deprive himself of the aid of the only man in his train who was equal to his dangerous enterprize<sup>e</sup>.

C H A P.  
VII.  
1685.

MONMOUTH'S first motion from Lime was toward Axminster; a small town at the distance of four miles. Albemarle, who lay near with a considerable body of militia, distrusting their fidelity, retired. The Duke proceeded from Axminster to Taunton, where he was received with extraordinary expressions of joy. Encouraged by the affection of his followers, he immediately assumed the title of King. He issued a proclamation, setting a price on the head of King James. He imprudently declared the parliament a seditious assembly. He threatened, if they did not separate before the end of the month, to proceed against them as rebels and traitors. He commanded the Duke of Albemarle, who still hovered near with the militia, to lay down his arms, under pain of treason. Having finished these acts of royalty, Monmouth directed his march to Bridgwater, where he was received with joy, and proclaimed King by the magistrates, with all the formalities of their office. His army now consisted of more than five thousand men. Arms, and the other necessaries of war, seemed to be more wanting than soldiers. But the Duke himself was diffident of his troops, and undecisive in his councils. Instead of encouraging his followers with slight actions, where success would be

He is pro-  
claimed at  
Taunton.

<sup>e</sup> Ralph, Kennet, et Auct. citat.

almost



C H A P.  
VII.

1685.

almost certain, he avoided to encounter any enemy. He slipped a favourable opportunity of defeating Albemarle. He neglected the proposed seizure of Bristol. He was insulted by the city of Bath. In Frome, he was, however, received with gladness; but his joy was soon damped by the news of the total defeat of Argyle.

He is in distress.

THOUGH still at the head of five thousand men, misfortunes began to pour upon him from every side. On his left and rear he was pressed by the militia. The sea hemmed him in on the right. The Earl of Feversham, with a regular force and a train of thirty field-pieces, advanced in his front. Though the country was in his interest, he could not increase his numbers, for want of arms. He possessed no money to pay his troops. Provisions began to fail. His spirits sunk under the pressure of his distress. Despair was now added to his former diffidence; and, though personally brave, he yielded to political fear. In this melancholy state of his mind, he called a council of his few friends. Their deliberations turned not on a daring effort, but on the means of personal safety by flight. They determined to retire to Bridgwater, where they arrived on the third of July. There they resolved to desert their wretched followers, repair to Pool, seize a vessel by force, and commit themselves to the sea. But the regular troops having advanced the next day to within three miles of Bridgwater, flight became more dangerous than battle itself. His desperate situation rekindled the courage of Monmouth. Though some of his people retired home, more than double the number of his enemies adhered to his standard. Besides, he was informed of the remissness of the King's army, who lay negligently on Sedgmoor. He called a council of his officers, where it was resolved to surprise the enemy that night in their camp<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> Kennet, Ralph, Echard, Reresby.



THE Earl of Feversham's small army lay in two bodies on either side of the high road, which was deemed the only accessible part of his camp. To this pass he pointed his whole artillery, and rested, in his own mind, in perfect security from a surprise. But a train of accidents, and his own feeble conduct, were more fatal to Monmouth than any precaution of his enemy. His guide lost his way, and carried him to a part of the camp where a regiment of Scots under the Earl of Dumbarton lay. These, being old soldiers, though left without their officers, had not forgot that an enemy was near. One hundred men stood upon the watch, while the rest lay asleep on their arms. It was now one of the clock in the morning; and though the moon was full, a thick mist deprived alike the attacked and assailants of light. The Scots were first alarmed by the rattling of the enemy's arms. They sustained the shock of Monmouth, while the rest of the army formed themselves in the rear. Monmouth's foot disputed the battle with the utmost courage and vivacity; but his horse, under Lord Grey, consisting of marsh-mares and colts, could not stand the noise of drums and guns. They quitted the field, without firing a shot. Monmouth, with the foot, still maintained the battle with ardour. The bishop of Bath and Wells, who was then in the royal camp, contributed to decide the fate of the fight. By the help of his coach-horses, he brought some field-pieces to bear on the flank of the enemy, while a party of horse, under Oglethorpe, fell on their rear. Confusion, slaughter, and flight prevailed. Monmouth fled with fifty horse, and left his discomfited foot to their fate<sup>1</sup>.

IN this decisive action fifteen hundred of the insurgents fell, and taken. The few who had attended the Duke gradually deserted him in his flight. In the company of a German count, who came to share his fortune, he continued his course toward the county of Dorset, till his horse failed him through fatigue. Having wan-

<sup>1</sup> Publications of the times.

dered



C H A P.  
VII.

1685.

dered for some time on foot, they separated, and the German was taken. The whole country, to gain the reward, were employed in the search of Monmouth. He was, at length, found in a ditch, covered with fern, with some green peas in his pocket, which had been his only sustenance for some days. Broken by despair, and languid from hunger and want of rest, he fainted in the hands of his enemies; and exhibited, in his behaviour as much as in his fortune, the last symptoms of human misery. On his way, by slow journeys, to London, he wrote a submissive letter to the King, promising discoveries, should he be admitted into his presence. The curiosity of James being excited by the letter, he sent Sheldon, a gentleman of his bed-chamber, to meet Monmouth. In his conversation with Sheldon, the duke asked, who was in chief confidence with the King? He was answered, Sunderland. Monmouth knocked his breast in a surprise, and said, "Why then, as I hope for salvation, he promised to meet ME." He desired Sheldon to inform the King, that several of his accomplices in rebellion were in the confidence of his Majesty<sup>\*</sup>; and he gave him a particular account of the part which the Prince of Orange had acted in his whole affair.

By the artifice of Sunderland,

SHELDON, upon his return from the Duke of Monmouth, began to give an account to the King of what he had learnt from the unfortunate prisoner. Sunderland, pretending business, came into the room. Sheldon stopt, and signified his desire to speak in private with the King. James told him he might say any thing before THAT Lord. Sheldon was in great perplexity; but being urged, he told all that Monmouth had averred. Sunderland appeared, for some time, confused: at length he said, with a laugh, "If that is all he can discover to save his life, he will derive little good from his information." Monmouth himself was soon after brought to the King. Sunderland, by an artifice, ensured the

<sup>\*</sup> James II. 1685.



death of the unfortunate Duke, to save himself and the other adherents of the Prince of Orange. When he saw Monmouth's letter to James, and heard the discoveries he had made to Sheldon, he is said to have advised him, that, as he could assure him of the certainty of a pardon, he ought to deny what he had said in prejudice of his friends, who could serve him on some other more favourable occasion<sup>1</sup>. The credulous Duke, swayed by the advice of Sunderland, suppressed what he had said to Sheldon, when he was examined by the King. He mentioned nothing of the concern the Prince of Orange had taken in the invasion, though a point on which James was already sufficiently informed. D'Avaux, the French minister to the States, had given a circumstantial account of the whole conduct of the Prince to Lewis the Fourteenth, who had ordered it to be privately communicated to the King of England. Bentinck, who had been sent to congratulate James on the suppression of Argyle's rebellion, was in a grievous agony when he heard that the King was resolved to see Monmouth. "Though he found that he said nothing of his master," says James, "he was never quiet till Monmouth was dead<sup>m</sup>."

THE unfortunate Duke made various attempts to obtain mercy. He wrote to the Queen-dowager; he sent a letter to the reigning Queen, as well as to the King himself. He begged his life, when he was admitted into the presence, with a meanness unsuitable to his pretensions and high rank. He conjured him not to shed his own blood in that of a brother's child. This latter consideration, considering the opinion which James had always entertained concerning the birth of Monmouth, could have no weight<sup>n</sup>. Besides, resentment for the Duke's insincerity had been joined with the fears of the King of his future schemes of ambition. He therefore told him, that he was much

he is executed.

<sup>1</sup> James II.

<sup>m</sup> James II. 1685.

<sup>n</sup> Ibid. 1669.



C H A P.  
VII.

1685.

affected at his misfortunes, but that his crime was too dangerous in its example to be left unpunished. In his last moments the Duke of Monmouth behaved himself with a magnanimity more worthy of his former courage. He, however, appears to have been an enthusiast, though in an extraordinary way. He refused to the bishops who attended him at his death to own the legality of his marriage with his Dutchess; asserting, that Mrs. Wentworth was his only wife, in the sight of God. When he came to the scaffold, he behaved with decency, and even with dignity. He spoke little. He made no confession. He accused none of his friends. Circumstances are said to have attended his death that created a horror among the spectators. The executioner, unmanned by terror, or touched with pity, missed his blow, and struck him slightly on the shoulder. Monmouth raised his head from the block, and looked him full in the face, as if reproaching him for his mistake. He struck him twice again, but with feeble strokes; and then threw the ax from his hands. The sheriff forced him to renew his attempt; and the head of the Duke, who seemed already dead, was severed at last from his body °.

Reflections.

THUS fell the Duke of Monmouth, in the thirty-seventh year of his age; a nobleman raised by an indulgent parent and the peculiar state of the times, to a height too great for his limited capacity and understanding. His good-nature, the gentleness, and even the humanity of his disposition, seemed to render him worthy of a better fate. But these feeble virtues, which might have adorned a private life, were the source of all the misfortunes of Monmouth. The easiness which rendered him popular, subjected him to the schemes of designing men, and at last involved him in difficulties, which consummate abilities could only surmount. Though, among those who knew him best, there remained little regret for his death,

° Tennifer in Kennet.



the affection of the vulgar followed him beyond the grave. They fondly believed, that their beloved Monmouth was still to head them in the field; and that a person, warmed with the same passion with themselves, submitted his neck to the ax in his stead. Few of those who accompanied him from Holland suffered death with their unfortunate leader. The Lord Grey, by a full confession of the whole circumstances of the Rye-house plot, obtained his pardon, as to life. Even the noted Ferguson, though taken among the rest, by an instance of clemency strange for the times, was dismissed without punishment<sup>p</sup>.

C H A P.  
VII.  
1685.

THE royalists pursued their victory over the adherents of Monmouth with that violent severity which too often attends success in a civil war. When independent states contend with one another in arms, men only encounter enemies in the field; but when insurgents fail in their attempts against a government, they are considered traitors, as well as foes. Justice then becomes an engine of passion. The laws are wrested for the purpose of revenge; and even the body of the people look upon cruelty and punishment with an indifference proportioned to their former fears. Every age, and almost every nation, furnish shameful examples of this kind. The annals of latter times are covered with blood, as well as those of former years; though the misconduct, and even the misfortunes, of an expelled race of monarchs, have called forth their proceedings in a more hideous form. When the soldiers were, in some measure, fatigued with slaughter after the battle of Sedgemoor, their general, the Earl of Feversham, began, without any form of justice, to put the insurgents to death by the hands of the executioner. He ordered five persons to be hanged on the first great sign-post that stood across the road beyond the field of battle. But this instance of illegal severity yielded to the superior inhumanity of Colonel Kirk, who, upon his entry

Severity of  
the royalists;

<sup>p</sup> Publications of the times.



C H A P.  
VII.

1685.

of Kirk

into Bridgewater, exercised upon nineteen insurgents the same summary punishment<sup>p</sup>.

THE military executions of Kirk were attended with circumstances of wanton cruelty and barbarity. The horror raised by his conduct, induced mankind to exaggerate his severities, and to apply to him some frightful tyrannies related of former times. Though the barbarity of his own disposition<sup>q</sup>, and the savage thirst of blood which too frequently follows victory, ought, perhaps, to be only blamed on the present occasion, James certainly should have afterwards punished a conduct of which he greatly disapproved<sup>r</sup>. But the inhumanities of Kirk were soon after eclipsed by the rigour of Jefferys, who came to glean up with the law the wretched remains of the sword. A special commission of oyer and terminer was issued to Jefferys, together with the lord chief baron of the exchequer and three puisne judges, to try the rebels already confined in the west. To balance the known vehemence of Jefferys, the King says, that he appointed Polexfen, who had been always remarkable for his attachment to the Presbyterian party, as solicitor for the crown on this bloody circuit<sup>s</sup>. In the end of August, the five judges set out on their expedition, and carried with them terror and death every where. They opened first their commission at Winchester. They proceeded from thence to Dorchester, Exeter, Taunton, and Wells. Five hundred prisoners were tried and condemned, in all. More than two hundred were executed; and the rest were either transported, or permitted to purchase, as was said, their pardon of the chief justice<sup>t</sup>.

and Jefferys.

THOUGH the strict line of law might be followed, though sufficient proofs of the concern of the prisoners in the insurrection

<sup>p</sup> Histories of the times.<sup>q</sup> James II. 1685.<sup>r</sup> Ibid.<sup>s</sup> Ibid.<sup>t</sup> Burnet, Kennet, Ralph.

appeared,



appeared, the conduct of Jefferys was throughout brutal, arbitrary, and savage. In one instance he seems to have added a manifest perversion of the most obvious rules of justice to the fierce inhumanity of his own disposition. The Lady Lyle, as she was commonly called, the widow of one of the regicides, whom Cromwell had called to his house of peers, was indicted at Winchester for harbouring Hicks and Nelthorp, who had been concerned in Monmouth's insurrection. No proof was given that she was privy to the circumstance that either of these men had served the unfortunate Duke at Sedgemoor<sup>u</sup>. Hicks she received as a non-conformist minister; and it did not appear that she knew either the name or crime of Nelthorp. Her sex, her age, the apparent sincerity, and even the simplicity of her conduct and defence, wrought much on the jury in her favour. They twice shewed an inclination to declare her innocent; but they were brow-beat by Jefferys, and brought her in guilty. Applications for her pardon seem never to have been made to the King<sup>x</sup>, though that circumstance has been mentioned by most writers. The utmost that could be obtained from Jefferys, who was armed with all the powers of life and death, on this occasion, was the changing of her sentence from hanging to beheading: A strange favour from such a violent royalist, as it, in some measure, annexed the privilege of nobility to the lords created by Cromwell<sup>y</sup>.

NOTWITHSTANDING the rigour generally ascribed to the government of James, there is great reason to believe that the chief justice followed more the bent of his own mind, than the commands of his sovereign, in his behaviour in the West. The terror of others for Jefferys's power prevented any impartial account to come to the ears of the King. In one instance, he added an insult to James himself to his own injustice. The King, struck with the years, manner, and apparent honesty of a Major Holmes,

Not countenanced by the King.

<sup>u</sup> James II. 1685.

<sup>x</sup> Ibid.

<sup>y</sup> Hist. of the times.

who



C H A P.  
VII.

1685.

who had been concerned in the Rye-house plot, and privy to the late insurrection, promised him a free pardon. As Holmes was well acquainted with the merit and demerits of the several prisoners, he was instructed by James<sup>z</sup> to go to Jefferys on his circuit, to inform him of the most criminal, and to point out such as deserved mercy<sup>a</sup>. But Jefferys finding that Holmes interfered with his own appetite for blood, brought him, without any regard to the King's promised pardon, to his trial, and hanged him with the rest. This, as well as a great part of the other enormities of Jefferys, was long concealed from the King. The justice must be done to James, that, in his Memoirs, he complains, with apparent indignation, of "the strange havock made by Jefferys and Kirk in the West<sup>b</sup>;" and that he attributed the unpopularity, which afterwards deprived him of the crown, to the violence and barbarity of those pretended friends of his authority<sup>c</sup>. He even ascribes their severities, in some degree, to a formed design of rendering his government odious to his subjects<sup>d</sup>.

September.  
Jefferys made  
chancellor.

BUT though James might not have been minutely acquainted with all the cruelties of Jefferys, he could not be altogether ignorant that his conduct in the West had greatly offended the nation. Instead of recommending himself to his people, by disapproving of the severities of the chief justice, he became, in some measure, a party in his crimes, by raising him to the office of Lord High Chancellor upon his return. This Prince, in the most favourable view of his character, frequently sacrificed his prudence to his violent principles of policy. He formed his conduct upon the maxim, that to preserve his own authority, he was obliged to support in all their measures his servants<sup>e</sup>. But, notwithstanding the extreme severity of government, the people were still more willing to blame the servants of the crown, than the King himself. The

<sup>z</sup> James II. 1685.<sup>a</sup> Ibid.<sup>b</sup> Ibid.<sup>c</sup> Life of L. North.<sup>d</sup> James II. 1685.<sup>e</sup> Ibid.



county of Somerset, and the town of Taunton in particular, though the scenes of Jefferys's barbarities, favoured afterwards with great warmth the cause of James, when that Prince meditated an invasion in 1692<sup>f</sup>. The King had hitherto adhered to the great line of the constitution. The evils of which men complained consisted of a too violent exertion, rather than a breach on the laws; and James was chiefly blamed for not tempering the severity of public justice with more frequent instances of his mercy.

C H A P.  
VII.

1695.

THE removal of Jefferys to the chancery lessened not the rigour of the courts of common law. Sir Edward Herbert, who succeeded to the office of chief justice, exhibited the same zeal with his predecessor in favour of the crown. A woman of the name of Gaunt was tried before him, on the nineteenth of October, for aiding and concealing one Burton, accused of being concerned in the Rye-house plot. Her alleged crime was the counter-part of that for which the Lady Lyle had suffered. On the testimony of the ungrateful wretch whom she had harboured, the unfortunate prisoner was condemned. Her former demerits were more the object of punishment than her present crime. She had been employed in the preceding reign in aiding with acts of charity such as fell under the displeasure of government; an offence which could not be punished till the times had changed. Cornish, the famous sheriff who had distinguished himself for his violence in the prosecution of the Popish plot, was brought to his trial on the same day. Goodenough, who had been his under-sheriff, was the principal witness against Cornish. Being taken in the rout at Sedgemoor, he became an evidence, for a pardon. The noted Colonel Rumsey joined Goodenough in his accusation. The unfortunate man was seized, tried, condemned, and executed, in the space of a few days. The evidence were, soon after, found

October.  
Gaunt and  
Cornish con-  
demned.

<sup>f</sup> Original Papers, 1692.



C H A P.  
VII.

1685.

Great power  
of the King.October  
Grant and  
Cornish con-  
demned.Parliament  
meets.

Nov. 9.

to have perjured themselves. James made all the amends possible for the death of Cornish. He restored his estate to his family. The witnesses were tried by his direction, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment<sup>s</sup>.

THE severities which attended the suppression of the Duke of Monmouth's rebellion, by intimidating his enemies, seemed to confirm the authority of the King. Had he confined his ambition to power alone, he might have reigned in tranquillity and died in peace on the throne of his ancestors. His revenue amounted to two millions a-year<sup>h</sup>. The ordinary expences of government fell seven hundred thousand pounds short of that sum<sup>i</sup>. He had an obsequious parliament at home. He was respected, and even courted by foreign powers. France deemed him the only obvious check on her ambition. The empire, Spain, and Holland derived, in some degree, their hopes of safety from his power. His subjects in England were submissive, and even attached to his government. Ireland was obedient. An unusual tranquillity prevailed in Scotland. His excessive good fortune was the source of his ruin. He became powerful with such facility, that he seemed to be resolved to be absolute. His own free exercise of the Romish religion was seen with so little disgust, that he formed the vain, though perhaps distant hope of converting the nation. He descended from the character of a King to that of an apostle; and an excess of folly deprived his very misfortunes of pity.

ON the ninth of November, the parliament, after two adjournments, met at Westminster. The King, in his speech, avowed his principles so openly, that no doubt could remain concerning his future designs. He told the two houses, that the progress made by an inconsiderable number of men in the late rebellion,

<sup>s</sup> Kennet, Ralph, &c.<sup>h</sup> James II. 1685.<sup>i</sup> Ibid.

proved



proved that the militia, in which the nation trusted, were not sufficient for such occasions. That consideration, he informed them, had induced him to increase the standing troops to double their former number; and to support such a body of men for the safety of the people, he demanded a supply from his parliament. He acquainted them, that there were some officers in the army not qualified according to the late tests. But he told them, that most of those gentlemen were well known to HIM; that he had employed them with advantage in the time of need and danger; and that he would neither expose them to disgrace, nor himself to the want of their service. He expressed his apprehensions, that some men expected to see a difference between him and his parliament upon that point: but that he entertained no fears upon that head, considering the advantages which, in the space of a few months, had risen to the nation from a good understanding. He represented, as the consequence of their unanimity at home, the great change wrought on the face of affairs abroad, so much to the honour of the kingdom, and the figure it ought to make in the world. He apprehended not, he said, for his own part, such a misfortune as a division, or even a coldness, between him and his parliament. He assured them, that as he entertained no doubts of their steadiness and loyalty, he would make them every return of kindness and affection, with a resolution to venture even his life in defence of the true interest of the kingdom<sup>k</sup>.

C H A P.  
VII.  
1685.

THE imprudence of this speech was immediately visible, from the manner in which it was received by the present obsequious parliament. The commons returned to their house, and a profound silence prevailed. A motion was made, to consider his Majesty's speech on the twelfth of November; and the house adjourned to that day. When they met again, the same cautious

Proceedings

<sup>k</sup> Journals of the commons, Nov. 9, 1685.



C H A P.  
VII.

1685.

silence was for some time observed. Swayed by their principles for monarchy, yet afraid of the total dissolution of the constitution, they were perplexed with doubts and embarrassed with difficulties. They dreaded a standing army: but they were still more afraid of popery, the introduction of which was manifestly facilitated by the King's avowed breach on the late tests. They, however, were obliged to proceed with caution. They knew the obstinate character of James. They were no strangers to their having already placed him, by an ample revenue, beyond their own power. The majority, therefore, seemed inclined to peaceable measures; and though they would not approve of the dangerous measures of the court, they seemed resolved to give as little offence as possible to the King. In the course of the debate, however, such severe reflections were made, that James was soon persuaded that his designs could never be carried into execution by the consent of parliament<sup>1</sup>.

of the

THE first business of the commons was a vote, without a dissenting voice, for a supply<sup>m</sup>. But in shewing this instance of complaisance to the King, they insinuated, by another resolution, their disapprobation of a standing army. They voted that a bill should be brought in to render the militia useful, as the constitutional defence of the kingdom. The next day, upon a division in a full house, it was carried by one voice<sup>n</sup>, to pass to the consideration of the next paragraph of the speech, without voting the sum or settling the funds for the supply. They resolved to address the King, that officers unqualified should NOT continue in their employments. But they softened the severity of the resolution, by bringing in a bill to indemnify such officers for the penalty they had incurred for acting contrary to law. To this they also subjoined a vote, "to offer their humble and hearty thanks to the

<sup>1</sup> Vide passim. Auct. citat.<sup>m</sup> Nov. 12.<sup>n</sup> 183 against 182.



King, for his great care in suppressing the late rebellion." Their address, couched in the most decent terms, was presented on the sixteenth of November. They represented the impossibility, consistent with the rights of the subject, of dispensing with the test without an act of parliament; and they concluded with beseeching his Majesty to prevent all apprehensions and jealousies in the hearts of his subjects<sup>o</sup>. They fixed on the same day the supply at seven hundred thousand pounds; a sum, though less than that demanded by the chancellor of the Exchequer, more than adequate to the present wants of the King.

C H A P.  
VII.  
1685.

THE submissive address of the commons made no impression on the obstinacy of the King. His answer was uncomplying and supercilious. He even spoke it with an ill suppressed passion, though he assumed that air of complacent stateliness, which, by use, had ceased in him to be affected. "He did not expect," he told them, "such an address from the commons." He had recommended to them, he said, to consider the advantages which had resulted from a good understanding; and he had warned them against jealousies and fears. He had reason to hope, he continued, that the reputation with which God had blessed him in the world, would have gained their confidence in his conduct, and obtained credit to his word<sup>p</sup>. But in whatever manner they should proceed on their side, he assured them, that on his part, he would be just to his word, in his present speech as well as in his former promises to his parliament. A profound silence followed the reading of this answer. The house was perplexed with doubts, and knew not how to proceed. A motion was at length made, to appoint a day for considering his Majesty's answer; and the next Friday was named. Coke, one of the members for Derby, in seconding this motion, said, "We are Englishmen, and ought

<sup>o</sup> Nov. 16.

<sup>p</sup> Nov. 18.



C H A P.  
VII.

1685.

not to be frightened with a few high words<sup>9</sup>." The house, that seemed so passive to the King, flew into a flame against Coke. His words were taken down. He was sent to the bar, reprimanded, and committed to the Tower. This incident stifled the motion. Instead of appointing a day, the house adjourned; and left the rights of the people at the mercy of the prerogatives of the crown.

Parliament  
prorogued,  
Nov. 20.

WHILE the commons seemed to be intimidated into a compliance, by the high words of the King, some show of spirit was exhibited by the lords. Though they had already given general thanks to his Majesty, Compton, Bishop of London, made a motion to appoint a day for considering the speech. When the business came to a debate, the King himself, according to custom, was present. Great freedom, however, was used with the present measures. The danger of dispensing with the test was painted in lively colours. The house was impressed with the terrors of popery; and more were willing to establish new defences against that religion, than to permit any encroachments upon the old. Halifax, lately dismissed from the councils of James, opposed with ability the measures of the court. Jefferys endeavoured to support them in vain. His speech was received with contempt where it was not heard with indignation. The motion for considering the speech was carried; and the twenty-third of November was appointed for that purpose. This point was more important than it seemed at the first view. Had the lords remained as passive as the commons, a standing army would have been virtually established by the authority of the legislature; and the dispensing power would have remained in fact with the crown, by the connivance of the two houses. James being determined to yield in nothing, was resolved to avoid the mortification of hear-

<sup>9</sup> Nov. 18.

ing



ing more censures upon his conduct. He sacrificed the supply in a manner to his pride; and, on the twentieth of November, suddenly prorogued the parliament.

C H A P.  
VII.

1685.

THE rigour of prosecutions abated with the passions of the people. The Earl of Stamford and the Lord Delamere had lain in the Tower since the last week of July, under an accusation of treason. They petitioned the peers, when the parliament met, to be released from their confinement. An indictment had been found in the city of London against the Earl of Stamford, which the lords ordered to be removed into their own house; and the first of December was appointed for his trial. The treason charged on the Lord Delamere had been committed in Cheshire; and that, being a county palatine, the indictment ought to have been found there, and not in the King's Bench. A commission of Oyer and Terminer was accordingly issued: but before either of the accused lords were brought to trial, the parliament was prorogued. Stamford was soon after admitted to bail, and pardoned. Delamere was acquitted by his peers. The second prosecution of Hampden was an instance of lenity. He had been fined forty thousand pounds, and had continued, in default of payment, in prison. He was brought to trial<sup>r</sup>, he pleaded guilty, and was condemned: but he received a pardon for his life, and a remission of his fine. The Lord Brandon had been found guilty<sup>s</sup>, and condemned for treason; but though he had been admitted to mercy once before, after being condemned for murder<sup>t</sup>, he was also pardoned.

Several criminals of distinction pardoned.

THE lenity of James to those criminals of distinction was accompanied with another act of signal humanity. The enthusiasm of Lewis the Fourteenth had induced him to revoke the edict of Nantz, which had secured, ever since the time of Henry the Fourth, the protestants of France in the exercise of their religion.

King's kindness to refugees.

<sup>r</sup> Dec. 30.

<sup>s</sup> Nov. 26.

<sup>t</sup> Reresby.

The



C H A P.  
VII.

1685.

The measure was at once very arbitrary and extremely impolitic. The edict had been ever deemed irrevocable; and scarce any inconvenience had arisen, for near a century, from the privileges enjoyed by the protestants. The obstinacy of those religionists, as is usual, rose in proportion to the severity with which they were persecuted. Five hundred thousand souls preferred their liberty of conscience to their country. They quitted France with a great part of its wealth; and carried the arts and manufactures, which had enriched that kingdom, to all the corners of Europe. More than fifty thousand of the fugitives came to England. James openly blamed Lewis. He aided with money the refugees. He protected them with his power, and admitted them, without any expence, to the privileges of his English subjects.

His religious  
views.

THE kindness of James to the French fugitives was ascribed, by his enemies, more to his religious views than to either his policy or humanity. In his passionate affection for popery, he had resolved, at the risk of his crown, to favour the Roman catholics; and, if not to establish ultimately their religion in his kingdom, to give them present ease. His plan for executing this purpose was the more dangerous, as it was to be carried forward through the line of a general toleration, which, one would think, the common sense of mankind ought to have established in every country. But a prince of his bigotry neither received nor deserved credit for an affected moderation in spiritual affairs. By precipitating his designs, they became too soon obvious to the world; and they were dreaded, opposed, and defeated. Though he professed that he only carried his views to a freedom of conscience to all his subjects, it was manifest, that, by virtually dispensing with the test, he meant to fill gradually every department with persons of his own favourite system of faith. The propensity of mankind to interest, he knew, would gain proselytes, a race of men of whom this deluded prince

\* Hist. of the Times. MSS. James II.



was extremely fond ; and thus, he deemed, that without any violence, the Romish faith would, by degrees, become first the religion of the court, and then spread itself to the nation.

C H A P.  
VII.  
1685.

IN England, however, the King had hitherto observed a degree of caution and prudence. He was less reserved in Ireland, where the majority of the people were already attached to the Romish faith. In the autumn of the 1684, the late King, either swayed by the councils of the Duke of York, or having adopted of himself some new system of policy, not perfectly known, had resolved to remove the Duke of Ormonde, and to place the government of Ireland in other hands. In the month of December, the Earl of Rochester was nominated to that high office ; but, before he made any preparations for his journey, the death of the King altered his views. James, upon his accession to the throne, adopted his brother's scheme for the removal of Ormonde ; and that Duke, having resigned the sword of state to the Archbishop of Armagh and the Earl of Grannard, as lords-justices, arrived in London on the thirty-first of March. The tranquillity of Ireland continued when a double rebellion disturbed the repose of the two British kingdoms. Though the accession of a popish King had raised the hopes of the catholics, and excited the fears of the protestants, their animosities extended no further than futile informations against the loyalty of each other ; complaints, which the lords-justices had the prudence to disregard<sup>a</sup>.

Affairs of

UPON the suppression of Monmouth's insurrection in England, James, under a pretence that the contagion of rebellion had spread to Ireland, ordered the lords-justices to recal the arms of the militia, and to deposit them in different stores. The militia, consisting wholly of protestants, received the order for resigning their arms with a degree of consternation proportionable to their habitual

Ireland.

<sup>a</sup> Carte's Ormonde, Leland, Memoirs of Ireland.

fears



C H A P.  
VII.

1685.

fears of the popish Irish. The commands of the King were however obeyed without any apparent reluctance. The government of the nation still remained entirely in the hands of protestants; and the change with regard to the Irish Papists consisted hitherto in their hopes of indulgence and favour from a popish King. A general ferment prevailed. But it arose more from the fluctuating passions of the two sects than from any actual disturbance. In this situation of affairs, a new lord-lieutenant, the Earl of Clarendon, arrived in Ireland. The affinity of this lord with the King, and his principles in favour of the prerogative, were deemed favourable circumstances for carrying into execution the new plan of Irish affairs<sup>x</sup>. James trusted him only partially with his designs. He signified his inclination, that catholics might be admitted into corporations, and be rendered capable of acting in the character of magistrates, and in a judicial capacity. Clarendon, however, was commanded to assure the protestants, that his Majesty was resolved to adhere strictly to the acts of settlement. The first year of the reign of James over Ireland produced nothing material, except these preparations for measures which were afterwards pursued<sup>y</sup>.

1686.  
Jan.  
Character  
and councils  
of Sunder-  
land.

THOUGH the enthusiasm of James bordered upon madness, the most wild of his religious projects seem to have been suggested by his enemies to accomplish his ruin. The Earl of Sunderland, whom he chiefly trusted, was a man of abandoned principles, insatiable avarice, and fitted by nature for stratagem, deception, and intrigue. Fickle in his disposition, or constant only to his own immediate interest, his opinions veered like the winds, and accommodated themselves to the passions of those whom he meant to deceive for his own advantage. Though possessed of parts, they seemed to be of that inferior kind, which accomplish

<sup>x</sup> Clarendon's Letters.<sup>y</sup> Publications of the Times.



the purpose by stealth, unlike those open and daring abilities, that acquire some right to whatever they can command. The love of money, more than power, was his ruling passion. He sold his influence to the highest bidder. Mercenary in an uncommon degree, he bartered his abilities to the most opposite parties for gain. At once the pensioner of the Prince of Orange and of the King of France<sup>z</sup>, he sacrificed his deluded master and his country to the respective views of these Princes. He paved the way for the first to the throne of England, by leading James into favourite errors; and he opened a door to the ambitious designs of the latter, by depriving England, with his councils, of her just weight in the scale of Europe.

C H A P.  
VII.

1686.

IN the prosecution of his plan to ruin James, he induced his infatuated master to establish, in the beginning of the present year, a secret council of Roman catholics, to consult of matters of religion. This bigotted Prince embraced with gladness a proposal so favourable to his own superstitious views. The council consisted of the Earl of Powis, the Lords Arundel, Bellasis, Dover, and Castlemain, together with Father Petre, a plausible, but a weak, ignorant, and talkative man<sup>a</sup>. Sunderland extolled the abilities of Petre to the King; and, contrary to that Prince's judgment, and even the advice of the Queen, obtained for him the dignity of a privy-counsellor, though he was not, till long after, sworn at the board<sup>b</sup>. Some time before Petre arrived at this dignity, it was concerted between that Father and Sunderland, that the Pope should raise the former to the rank of a cardinal, through the influence of the King of England<sup>c</sup>. The first business of the religious council, where Sunderland himself was the umpire of all, was to send the Earl of Castlemain, one of their own number, on an embassy to Rome. The Pope, however, refused the cap to Petre. He

Petre  
A secret  
Popish ca-  
binet.<sup>z</sup> James II. 1686. <sup>a</sup> Ibid. <sup>b</sup> In Nov. 1687. <sup>c</sup> James II. 1686.



C H A P.  
VII.

1686.

March.  
King closets  
members and  
the judges.

would not even admit Rinaldo D'Esté, Prince of Modena, into the sacred college. He could derive no favourable hopes for the catholic faith from the imprudent violence of James; and he treated his applications with the coldness which his imprudence deserved<sup>d</sup>.

BUT neither contempt abroad, nor the obvious improbability of success at home, could prevail with James to drop his religious designs. With a folly scarce consistent with common sense, he even hoped to induce the majority of parliament to agree to the repeal of the test. He applied in person to the most hostile members. He tried to gain by caresses what they had denied to his frowns. He endeavoured in vain to convince them, that he only wished to procure a general toleration to his people in matters of conscience. They knew his partiality for popery; and they resolved never to yield to a measure which would inevitably fill the first offices in the kingdom with men professing the Romish faith. They saw, that by placing the whole power of the state in such hands, no further defence should remain for the established religion, or the inherent liberties of the English nation. Disappointed by the members, he prorogued the parliament; and, being obstinately bent on his purpose, he endeavoured to justify his measures in another way. Having resolved to dispense with the penal statutes against sectaries, he applied, one by one, to the judges, to induce them to maintain the claim of the crown to the prerogative of suspending the laws. Four only refused to comply with the King's desire; and these, in the end of April, resigned their places to less scrupulous men<sup>e</sup>.

April.  
Affair of  
Scotland.

DURING these advances toward a toleration in England, James called a parliament in Scotland, to forward a similar design. The implicit submission exhibited by that assembly in the preceding

<sup>d</sup> James II: 1686.<sup>e</sup> Kennet, Ralph, Burnet, et Auct. citat. passim.



year, induced him precipitately to conclude, that nothing could appear too severe for their loyalty. But he found by the event, that those who resigned their political freedom with so much indifference, were not to be persuaded to endanger the protestant faith. The Earl of Moray, a new convert to Popery, was appointed high-commissioner to the parliament, which was opened on the twenty-ninth of April, at Edinburgh. The King, in his letter, demanded, in the most soothing terms, some indulgence for the Roman Catholics from the severity of the penal laws. The commissioner supported this request with proposals of advantage to the Scottish nation. To induce the parliament to comply, he promised, in the name of the King, that he would recover the possession of the privileges of the merchants in France, redress their trouble with regard to the staple and trade with the Netherlands, and remove the grievance which arose from the importation of Irish cattle. He promised to grant them a mint, to demand no immediate supplies, to give his assent to all such laws as tended to secure an exact payment from all military men in their quarters. He assured them, that the King would pass an ample indemnity, with some necessary exceptions, for all past misdemeanors and crimes<sup>f</sup>. These promises, however, produced not the desired effect. The parliament shewed no inclination to repeal any of the penal laws. They were therefore prorogued by the commissioner, and soon after dissolved by the King<sup>g</sup>.

C H A P.  
VII.

1636.

His disappointment in Scotland deterred not James from pursuing his designs in England. Having prepared the judges for his purpose, he resolved to support his prerogative of dispensing with the penal statutes against sectaries, with the authority of Westminster-hall. An opportunity was found by the King himself to bring the matter to an explicit decision. Sir Edward Hales, a

June,  
Case of Sir  
Edward  
Hales.<sup>f</sup> Gazette, No. 2135.<sup>g</sup> Woodrow, Burnet.



C H A P.  
VII.

1686.

basingo  
as the judgeThe dispen-  
sing power

man of fortune and family in Kent, but an open and professed Papist, had accepted of the command of a regiment, and exercised his function without taking the test. His coachman informed against him, and claimed the five hundred pounds. Hales was accordingly indicted, at the assizes held at Rochester<sup>h</sup>, and duly convicted. But he produced the King's dispensation with his non-conformity, remitting all the penalties and disabilities which he had incurred by the statute. The plaintiff brought his suit into the King's Bench, as an action of debt; and Sir Edward Herbert, the lord chief justice, upon the issue, declared, "that there was nothing whatever with which the King, as supreme lawgiver, might not dispense!" The matter, however, was laid before the twelve judges; and the lord chief justice, on the twenty-first of June, publicly pronounced in Westminster-hall, that eleven out of the twelve adhered, upon various grounds, to his decision.

THOUGH this decision seemed to lay the law in ruins at the foot of the throne, it was neither unprecedented nor illegal, as the constitution was then defined. The dispensing power, though understood as confined in its operations, had been of great antiquity in the English government. Penal statutes, especially as they were generally intended to arm the King with authority, were deemed, in some measure, to be the property of his prerogative, and subject to his control. The parliament itself had frequently recognized this power in the crown. The commons, who had forced from Charles the First the petition of right, owned the dispensing power in all its plenitude. Coke himself, whose authority is so high, believed the power of suspending laws so much inherent in the crown, that it even cannot be abolished by an act of parliament. Neither was the practice of taking the judgment of the courts of law upon the dispensing power any novelty in the constitution of England. The judges declared, in

Mar. 29,

June 21,

the



the reign of Henry the Seventh, that the King could dispense with a statute containing a clause expressly precluding him from that prerogative. In the reign of James the First, the judges confirmed the same doctrine; and the opinion had been, ever since that period, received as undoubted law<sup>k</sup>.

C H A P.  
VII.

1686.

BUT neither these high authorities, nor the precedents of ages, were sufficient to justify a practice subversive of that confidence in their permanency, which seems necessary to the very being of laws. Men could scarce distinguish the dispensing prerogative from a repealing power in the crown. They justly deemed it unreasonable that a less authority should destroy, than that which was necessary to make laws. Besides, though the power of dispensing with the penal statutes might have been, for prudent ends, lodged in the crown, it was at first understood to be limited to cases where the King alone was concerned. Though the crown had, in late times, extended this prerogative to matters of public concern, the utility of the measure could only render it excusable<sup>l</sup>. In the present case, the matter was extremely different. The penal statutes against the Roman Catholics had been framed to exclude, from offices in the state, men whose principles, in policy as well as religion, were deemed by the body of the people extremely dangerous. The King himself was open in his attachment to that sect. His designs of introducing by degrees the faith which he professed, were no longer a secret; and it is no matter of wonder, that the nation began now to question a prerogative which had been exercised without opposition by less suspected Princes. The dispensing power was one of those capital defects in the constitution which were removed by the bill of rights at the Revolution<sup>m</sup>. But even the act by which it was abolished admits its legality before that period.

recognized  
by the judges.<sup>k</sup> Herbert's Vindication.<sup>l</sup> Atkine's Reply.<sup>m</sup> First of W. and M. stat. 2. c. 2.



C H A P.  
VII.

1686.

July.

James pub-  
licly favours  
the Papists.recognized  
by the judges

THE decision of the judges in favour of the dispensing power induced James to countenance more openly his religious friends. The Earl of Powis, the Lords Arundel, Bellasis, and Dover, who already managed in private the affairs of the nation, in conjunction with Sunderland, were received publicly at the council-board. The King himself, who before went to hear mass with the Queen, now appropriated the chapel at St. James's to the Romish service. He even settled fourteen monks at St. James's. He permitted the Jesuits to erect a chapel in the Savoy. These religionists were even encouraged to form a college at the same place for the education of children, where two hundred were admitted in the space of a few weeks. The Recollects built a chapel in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields. The Carmelites formed a seminary in the city. In different parts of the country, places of public worship were raised by the Papists. The religious of that sect appeared publicly in the habits of their respective orders<sup>n</sup>. The apostolical enthusiasm of the King divested his conduct of all prudence. He seemed to glory in his folly, and to place his happiness in every measure that seemed obviously to hasten his ruin. The nation, however, were passive, though astonished; and to such a low degree had their spirit fallen, that they acquiesced in silence in all the ridiculous measures of the crown.

August.  
Ecclesiastical  
commission.

THE church of England, to whose firm adherence to the crown James owed the tranquillity with which he mounted and possessed the throne, began to be alarmed. The encroachments of the prerogative in the province of civil affairs had passed unnoticed. But the partiality of the King to the professors of another system of faith, was now too obvious to be borne by the established clergy, without jealousy of their rivals, and fears for themselves. The press laboured with polemical arguments against Popery. The pulpits resounded with Protestant zeal. To subdue by force a

<sup>n</sup> James II. 1686. passim.



church whose favour he might have retained with little address, James had issued, in the month of April, a high commission, for the censure and punishment of what was to be called the misconduct of individuals in ecclesiastical affairs. A court of ecclesiastical commission, by carrying its power into acts of tyranny, was one of the most serious grievances in the reign of the first Charles. In the year 1642, it was for ever abolished, by an express act of parliament; but that act was amended and garbled by another statute, in the zeal for prelacy which prevailed at the Restoration. The clause which regarded the court of high commission was the only part of the act which was not repealed. But the King, by a subterfuge suggested by his judges, endeavoured to avoid the expressed force of the law. The court which had been abolished, extended its authority to fining, imprisoning, and tendering oaths. That erected at present confined its animadversions within the bounds of ecclesiastical censure<sup>o</sup>.

THE zeal of the famous Sharpe, afterwards Archbishop of York, who was then rector of St. Giles's, gave the first employment to the high court for ecclesiastical affairs. He preached a sermon to his congregation, in terms sufficiently offensive to the Romish faith to be carried by the Papists to their patron the King. A letter, signed by Sunderland, as secretary of state, was sent, on the fourteenth of June<sup>p</sup>, to Compton, Bishop of London, to suspend Sharpe from the exercise of his function, till the King's further pleasure should be known. Compton, who was then in correspondence with the Prince and Princess of Orange<sup>q</sup>, was not a person likely to obey from James an order which he deemed illegal. He refused, upon just as well as plausible grounds, to suspend Sharpe; and the King ordered him to be summoned before the new ecclesiastical court. That high commission had been addressed to three prelates, and to the Lord Chancellor, and the

C H A P.  
VII.

1686.

Bishop of  
London sus-  
pended.<sup>o</sup> James II. 1686.<sup>p</sup> Ibid.<sup>q</sup> D'Avaux.

Earls



CHAP.  
VII.

1686.

Encampment  
at Hounslow.

Earls of Sunderland and Rochester, together, with Herbert, chief justice of the King's Bench. The court met on the third of August. The Bishop of London was suspended, on the sixth of September, from his office, during his Majesty's pleasure; and two of the commissioners, the Bishops of Durham and Rochester, together with the Bishop of Peterborough, were authorised to officiate in his stead'. Sharpe was at the same time suspended; but he was restored, by the express directions of the King, after a few days.

THESE attempts to intimidate the church produced the usual effect of religious persecution. Men become most enamoured of their speculative opinions when they are most opposed. The clergy continued their polemical discourses against Popery; and James, though perhaps offended, had for some time the prudence to abstain from further animadversions on their conduct. The punishment of one Johnson, a clergyman, for writing a libel, was productive of some noise, in the present jealousy which prevailed in the kingdom. The King, having determined to support his authority, formed, during the summer, a camp on Hounslow-heath, consisting of fifteen thousand men. He spent a great part of his time in training and disciplining these troops; and this force was deemed by the people, and perhaps intended by James, as an ostentation of his own ability to overcome all opposition to his authority. Though the whole army consisted almost entirely of Protestants, the nation, new to a standing force, seemed to dread that, through the unlimited obedience of military discipline, they might be induced to support measures contrary to their own religious principles. Under this impression, Johnson, who had formerly been chaplain to the Lord Russel, wrote an address to the army. The paper was manifestly seditious. The author was tried for a high misdemeanor, found guilty', degraded from the character of a clergyman, and whipped from Newgate to Ty-

' Auct. citat. passim.

' Nov. 16.

burn.



burn<sup>t</sup>. Though the sentence might be within the strict limits of law, it was deemed severe by those who approved of Johnson's principles.

C H A P.  
VII.  
1686.

JAMES flattered himself, that to confine his measures to the precedents of any of his predecessors, was sufficient to justify his conduct to the world. Had he been as violently attached to the church of England as he was to the Romish faith, his high claims to prerogative, though they might not have escaped censure, would have been attended with no danger. The people, fatigued with the late contest with the crown, seemed willing to repose themselves under the wings of despotism. The fierce spirit of their ancestors had declined, under an imperfect civilization. The independence which individuals have derived from the prosperity of better times, was then neither known nor understood. The King had the imprudence to touch the only key which could rouse the nation to spirit. When he attacked the church, he undermined the chief pillar which supported his throne. Men might perceive, from that instant, that he was destined to fall by a religious zeal similar to his own. Nothing, however, could divert this infatuated Prince from the mad purpose of propagating his own faith. Even his vanity contributed, as much as his enthusiasm, to his ruin. The examples of former times could have no weight with a man who had ever construed his own obstinacy into firmness.

Imprudence  
of the King.

THE King's secret enemies seemed willing to hasten the ruin threatened by his own folly. Sunderland, to gain more of his confidence, pretended to yield to his arguments, and promised to become a Catholic. The Earl of Rochester, though he adhered to his former religious principles, was, from his attachment to monarchy, still agreeable to the King. To remove him from of-

Rochester  
dismissed.

\* Nov. 20. James II. 1686.



C H A P.  
VII.  
1686.

fice was deemed a point of consequence by Sunderland and his cabal<sup>a</sup>. They insinuated to James, that Rochester was determined to become one of his profelytes<sup>x</sup>. Overjoyed at this discovery, he pressed the Earl with great vehemence to change his religion. Rochester, enraged at an attack which he had not foreseen, refused the request of his master with great warmth. A conference of divines was proposed to argue the refractory treasurer out of his faith. They had scarce begun<sup>y</sup>, when he started up and said, that he was now more confirmed than ever in his former opinions. This behaviour produced an altercation between the King and Rochester, which terminated in an absolute quarrel. Rochester seems to have carried his resentment farther than his master. He was not, for some time after the conference, dismissed from the office of treasurer; and James ascribes to other causes, and not to his obstinacy in religion, his removal. The King, however, was grateful for his services, and settled upon him, out of the post-office, four thousand pounds a-year<sup>z</sup> for life with twelve hundred more payable at the exchequer<sup>a</sup>.

Intrigues of  
Sunderland.

THOUGH Sunderland, in effectuating the difference between the King and Rochester, entertained more distant views, his most obvious design was to possess himself of the office of treasurer. James declared, upon the removal of Rochester, that he would ever after continue the treasury in commission<sup>b</sup>; yet Sunderland concerted with Father Petre and Sir Nathaniel Butler, that he himself should be treasurer, Butler chancellor of the exchequer, and Petre secretary of state<sup>c</sup>. Notwithstanding the bigotry of the King, he deemed it too violent a step to deliver the seals into the hands of a priest, whose talents he despised<sup>d</sup>. But notwithstanding this appearance of caution in James with respect to English affairs, he pursued his designs in his other kingdoms with an

<sup>a</sup> James II. 1686.

<sup>x</sup> James II.

<sup>y</sup> Ibid.

<sup>z</sup> James II. 1686.

<sup>a</sup> Ibid.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid.

<sup>d</sup> Ibid.

eagerness



eagerness scarce consistent with common prudence. In Ireland, the vehemence of the Catholics carried forward his designs with precipitate fury. Talbot, a zealous Papist, had been raised to the dignity of Earl of Tyrconnel, and placed, as lieutenant-general, at the head of the Irish army. In consequence of the scheme of James for new-modelling his forces in that kingdom, Talbot's commission rendered him, in some degree, independent of the lord-lieutenant; and he consequently proceeded to what he called the reformation of the troops, with a violence suitable to his character.

PRIOR to the independent power trusted with Tyrconnel, the King, swayed by his councils, made several alterations in the civil departments in Ireland. The seals of that kingdom were taken from the primate, and Sir Charles Porter, a man of a more complying character, was appointed chancellor. Three Protestant judges were removed, and their places filled with Irish Catholics. Many of that sect were admitted members of the privy-council. Orders were issued to permit the free exercise of their functions to the Romish clergy. Protestant divines were prohibited from treating in their discourses of controversial points. Dejection and melancholy fears for the future prevailed among the Protestants. A degree of insolence, proportioned to their ignorance and success, appeared in the whole conduct of the Papists. To increase the terrors of the first, and raise the hopes of the latter, Tyrconnel arrived, with all his military powers, in Ireland. Officers and private men were dismissed, without distinction, and frequently with insults, upon various pretences. Though the King's instructions to the lieutenant-general contained no more than to admit all his subjects indiscriminately, Tyrconnel had the imprudence to issue orders to receive none but Catholics. The lord-lieutenant himself, though devoted in his principles to the prero-

Affairs of

\* Leland, vol. iii.



C H A P.  
VII.

1686.

Ireland.

gative, was alarmed, as well as the Protestant part of the nation. He dreaded consequences of the worst kind from the jealousies which the vehement conduct of the lieutenant-general had already raised; and he transmitted his complaints to the court of England<sup>f</sup>.

SUNDERLAND, the King's worst enemy, though now in his greatest confidence, prevented the representations of Clarendon from reaching his ears<sup>g</sup>. Having, by an artifice, turned the Earl of Rochester out of the office of treasurer, he was resolved to deprive his brother of the government of Ireland. In accomplishing this point, he obtained another of more importance, the rendering his master unpopular, to hasten his ruin. He concealed from that deluded Prince some prudent expedients proposed by Clarendon to reconcile the Protestant Irish to his government, by expelling their fears. No answer was returned to the lord lieutenant; and even complaints against himself were encouraged by the minister, and believed by the King. Tyrconnel came to England. He accused Clarendon of mal-administration in several instances. Though attached to the crown, he was not entirely suited to the wild projects of James, or the insidious designs of his principal servant. To appoint a successor to Clarendon became an object of deliberation. Tyrconnel, by stipulating to pay an yearly pension to Sunderland<sup>h</sup>, was, to the astonishment of the world, declared lord deputy of Ireland<sup>i</sup>. The news of Tyrconnel's promotion struck the Irish Protestants with the utmost consternation. They knew his violence, his prejudices, his abandoned character. Though destitute of veracity to a proverb, they could trust his passions for the execution of his former threats against themselves and their religion.

<sup>f</sup> Clarendon's Letters.<sup>h</sup> 5000l.<sup>g</sup> Clarendon's Letters, vol. ii. Leland.<sup>i</sup> James II. Kennet, Leland.

WHILE



WHILE the religious enthusiasm of James was busy in depriving him of the affections of his subjects, the ambition of the Prince of Orange was forming schemes for mounting his throne. He was even, in some degree, the author of the measures which had rendered his infatuated uncle unpopular. Sunderland, who had all along advised James, was in the pay of the Prince of Orange<sup>k</sup>, and promoted, with a strange kind of fidelity, his views. To encourage the King in his enthusiasm for Popery, was to furnish him with the certain means of his own ruin; and the Earl managed this weakness with such address, that his deluded master deemed himself in a prosperous condition, while the sceptre was ready to fall from his hands. To facilitate the intercourse between the Prince of Orange and Sunderland, Sidney, the uncle of the latter, was sent to the Hague<sup>l</sup>. Skelton, the English resident, was so certain of this secret correspondence, that he was afraid, for fear of a discovery, to write any thing to England against the Prince; sacrificing thus his fidelity to James to his own motives of prudence. But though the affairs of England were hastening to a crisis, they had not yet arrived at a point which could render certain the success of the Prince. He, however, hastened with unabating zeal his own designs. While he encouraged James in his most imprudent and arbitrary schemes, by the means of Sunderland, he kept Dyckfeldt in England to promote a revolt<sup>m</sup>.

C H A P.  
VII.

1686.

Secret  
schemes of  
the Prince of  
Orange.

BUT the prospect of obtaining, through the folly of James, the English throne, was not the sole design which employed the thoughts of the Prince of Orange. The jealousy which he had ever entertained of the too great power of France, had been lately inflamed, by personal injuries, on the part of Lewis the Fourteenth. The territory from which his family derived their title had been seized by that monarch unjustly; and it was still retained

His conduct  
in foreign  
affairs.<sup>k</sup> James II. 1685.<sup>l</sup> D'Avaux, vol. iv.<sup>m</sup> Ibid.

by



C H A P.  
VII,  
1686.

by force. He was resolved to be revenged, if he could not obtain justice. The famous league of Augsbourg, which took place in the year 1687, was projected by his abilities, and carried to a conclusion by his influence. This alliance united against France all her enemies in the preceding war. But still the league was deemed imperfect, as long as England observed a neutrality; and though James was not insensible of the honour of his kingdom, it could scarce be expected that he would offend France, by abetting the views of the known rival of his power. Nor was the backwardness of his uncle the only obstacle which the Prince had to surmount. Some members of the States of Holland, gained by France, or offended at his own arbitrary proceedings<sup>a</sup> as Stadtholder, obstructed his preparations for war. He was even so sensible of their jealousy, that he endeavoured to remove it by an ingenious artifice. He ordered a rumour to be spread, that, in his weak state of body, he could not possibly live two years<sup>o</sup>. This served the double purpose of his ambition. It prevented the opposition of his enemies at home, by the hopes of his death; and contributed to lull James into that security which soon after proved fatal to his power.

1687.  
Reflections  
on

THE schemes formed by his enemies against James, were less fatal to that deluded Prince than his own folly. His love of power, though great, was a secondary passion in his breast. Enthusiasm, that inherent disease of inferior minds, perverted his councils, and infected all his measures. The flatterers of this weakness were deemed his only friends. Men who warned him of the danger of his conduct were received with coldness, or considered as disaffected. In his eagerness to accomplish his own projects, he perceived not that they were disapproved by his people; and he construed that general silence, which sprung from fears for the future, into a mark of affection for the present

<sup>a</sup> D'Avaux, vol. iv.

<sup>o</sup> Ibid.



system of government. An outward appearance of national prosperity contributed to reconcile James to a continuance of his designs. Commerce flourished under his patronage and protection. Fruitful seasons had filled with plenty the kingdom. The rigours of the courts of justice had abated. Private property remained secure. The nation was protected by a powerful and well-appointed fleet; and though a strict œconomy prevailed in every branch of government, the regularity of payments gave its full vigour and force to every part.

DELUDED by this specious outside, James perceived not the mischiefs which lay lurking within. The very qualities by which he created, in some measure, this appearance of happiness, rendered him, on account of his known principles, an object of terror. His attachment to the Papists subjected his best measures to the worst constructions; and the suspicions of the people rose highest when he affected moderation the most. But, in the great line of his transactions, he seldom erred on the moderate side. In his extravagant affection for the prerogative, he took pleasure in exerting it upon every occasion. To obtain his point by address, to gain it slowly, but with certainty, through established forms, he deemed beneath his dignity. To command by influence, would be to own that mankind had some independent rights of their own; a position which this infatuated monarch seemed very unwilling to allow. He never considered that the personal authority of a Prince is in itself the gift of the people, and that it ceases to exist whenever their affections are changed.

the conduct  
of James.

THE success which had attended his wild projects rendered James less cautious in his conduct. The fall of the Earls of Rochester and Clarendon furnished places of the highest importance for two of his Catholic friends. The Lord Bellasis was made first commissioner of the treasury. The privy-seal, vacant by the removal

February.  
Papists promoted.



C H A P.  
VII.

1687.

removal of Clarendon, was bestowed on the Lord Arundel of Wardour. To open the field of preferment to all Papists, was the first object of the King's desire. He had made several fruitless attempts to gain the consent of parliament to the repeal of the tests. Though he closeted the leading members, though he threatened much and promised more, they refused their concurrence to measures which they could not approve. He found himself at last obliged to have recourse to the dangerous engine of the prerogative to effectuate his frantic designs. Though he had publicly declared, through his creatures, that the parliament was actually to meet on business on the fifteenth of February<sup>p</sup>, he prorogued that assembly to the twenty-eighth of April; nor were there any hopes of their being even then permitted to sit.

Indulgence in  
Scotland.

JAMES had hitherto availed himself of the service of his Roman Catholic subjects, by particular dispensations from the penal statutes. To prepare the nation for a more extensive indulgence to the favourite sect, the emissaries of the court were instructed to discourse of the reasonableness of a general toleration in matters of religion. The measure seemed to the King as prudent in itself, as it was suitable to his bigotry. He had lost, in a great measure, the church of England, through jealousy and recent injuries; and he hoped to balance their defection by gaining the Protestant Dissenters. He resolved, from a double consideration, to make the first experiment in Scotland. A great majority of his subjects in that kingdom were averse to the religion established by law; and he had placed the government in the hands of men who were from principle enemies to prelacy. On the eighteenth of February, a proclamation was issued at Edinburgh, granting a general toleration to all religious sects, suspending all penal and disabling laws, annulling and discharging all oaths by way of test, and breaking down all distinctions between subject and

<sup>p</sup> Journals, Feb. 15.

subject.



subject'. Though the language of the proclamation was highly despotic, and therefore imprudent, it scarce assumed any prerogative in ecclesiastical affairs that had not been lately conferred upon the crown by express acts of parliament.

C H A P.  
VII.

1687.

THE lords of the Scottish privy-council expressed, by letter, in the most abject terms, their approbation of the general indulgence. The measure itself was not, however, received by the Presbyterians with that joy which might have been expected from their former sufferings. Intolerant in their own principles, and peculiarly averse to the Papists, they looked with indifference upon that ease from persecution, which they were to share in common with a sect whom they abhorred. But nothing could discourage James from prosecuting his religious designs. He declared in council, on the eighteenth of March, that he was determined to extend to England the general toleration which he had established in Scotland. An uniformity of religion, he said, had been forced, in vain, for four successive reigns, upon the nation, by the joint efforts of the crown and parliament. The restraint upon Dissenters, he continued, without producing a single advantage, had brought many calamities upon the Prince and the people. He ascribed to the intolerance of the established church the misfortunes of his father's reign. He observed, that, as is usual in persecutions, the penal laws had increased rather than diminished the number of Dissenters; and he affirmed, that nothing could more conduce to the peace of the kingdom, and to the increase of the number and trade of his subjects, than an unlimited liberty of conscience. He had always, he said, entertained an opinion, that an entire freedom in matters of religion was most suitable to the mild spirit and principles of Christianity; and he concluded with informing them, that he had directed his

March.  
The same

P Gazette.

VOL. I.

Q q q

attorney



C H A P.  
VII.

1687.

in England.  
April.

attorney and solicitor general to permit no process to issue in his name against any Dissenter whatsoever<sup>1</sup>.

HAD James been sincere in these sentiments, they might have reflected honour upon his principles and moderation. But a Prince so notoriously attached to the opinions of one sect, could scarce gain credit to his wishes for the ease of the rest. His designs to serve only the Papists, were perceived through his professions in favour of the Protestant Dissenters. The declaration for England was published for the first time on the fourth of April. The Dissenters received the indulgence with extravagant joy. Addressees came from all sects and persuasions throughout the kingdom, filled with the most abject flattery, and the most rapturous professions of loyalty. Anabaptists, Presbyterians, and Quakers, crowded promiscuously the royal presence, and laid their offerings at the foot of the throne. James was compared to Cyrus, to Moses, to several other deliverers of the people of God in the ancient world. His piety was praised, his moderation exalted, his magnanimity raised to the skies. The adulation of civil societies yielded not to the vehement professions of religious sects. The grand jury and justices of Middlesex gave extravagant praises to the King, for his care and tenderness to the church of England. The benchers and barristers of the Middle Temple wished for the "voice of angels," to thank him for his condescension and clemency to all his subjects. They acknowledged their gratitude for the honour which he had conferred upon their profession, by asserting his own prerogatives, which were the very life of the law. They assured him, that they were resolved to defend "the DIVINE maxim, that the King derives all his power from God, and that all law proceeds from the King<sup>2</sup>."

<sup>1</sup> Gazette. Minutes of P. C.<sup>2</sup> Gazette.



WHILE James amused himself with the unmeaning addresses of an inconsiderable part of the nation, the body of the people, though silent, were offended. The Prince of Orange, who had long fixed his eye on the English throne, watched his motions, and made every advantage of his errors. When the Earl of Rochester was removed, and Tyrconnel sent to Ireland, he resolved to dispatch a trusty person to England, to foment the jealousy of the Protestants'. Dykvelt, a man of intrigue, and well known to the leaders of the party, was appointed for that delicate service. The Prince formed, by an artifice, a specious pretence for Dykvelt's embassy. The encroachments of the Dutch on the English East-India company, with regard to their commerce in Asia, were reported to have raised the resentment of James to a pitch that threatened the States with a war. Some naval preparations in England gave an appearance of justice to this tale; and the province of Holland, by the recommendation of Pensionary Fagel, employed Dykvelt as their minister extraordinary, to soothe the King of England. Dykvelt, under a public character, resided in England from February to the end of May. He held during that time a close correspondence with the Protestant leaders, and formed the outlines of that general revolt, which soon after precipitated the unfortunate James from his throne'.

C H A P.  
VII.1687.  
Intrigues of  
the Prince of  
Orange

JAMES was no stranger to the intrigues of Dykvelt. He even upbraided him for his conduct"; but mistaking the professions of a few for the voice of the nation, he became secure and confident in his councils. His chief object was to obtain for his favoured sect a total abolition of the test and penal laws. He had used in vain all his influence with the leading members of the two houses of parliament for this purpose; and he found, that those who opposed him the most, were the greatest friends of the Prince of

in England,  
May.

\* D'Avaux, vol. iv.

† Ibid.

" Ibid.



C H A P.  
VII.

1687.

Orange. The King therefore resolved to apply to the Prince for his consent. His eagerness to gain England as a party in the alliance of Augsbourg, furnish James with some hopes, that from a prospect of obtaining that object, he would yield to his request. But by the very conveyance which carried his letter to the Hague, the Prince received other dispatches that induced him to refuse his consent. The Earls of Nottingham, Clarendon, Rochester, Devonshire, Danby, Shrewsbury, and the Lord Churchill, committed to writing general offers of their service; and referred him for particulars to Dykvelt \*. This intelligence, together with the favourable accounts which Dykvelt gave of the state of opinions in England, induced the Prince to refuse his consent to a measure, which even his most hearty concurrence could never perhaps accomplish †.

An attempt  
on Cam-  
bridge.

AN attempt to introduce Papists into the two universities, was one of the most imprudent measures of the present reign. The vice-chancellor of Cambridge received a letter, on the ninth of February, from the King, commanding the university to admit one Francis, a Benedictine monk, to the degree of Master of Arts, without exacting the oaths. Though it had been usual with the two universities to confer honorary degrees, at the desire of the King, on eminent strangers, without any regard to religion; upon debating the matter in the consistory, it was resolved, that Francis could not be admitted without taking the oaths. A deputation was sent to his Majesty, to solicit him to withdraw his mandate. But the delegates applied to Sunderland, and they were neither admitted nor heard. The vice-chancellor was summoned before the ecclesiastical commissioners. He was tried, and, on the seventh of May, suspended from his office. The university filled his place with a man of known spirit. To make a second attempt

\* Dalrymple's Append.

† D'Avaux, *passim*.

would



would be only to renew the contest; and the King, with a prudence which he seldom exerted, desisted from any further attempt on Cambridge<sup>a</sup>.

C H A P.  
VII.  
1687.

DURING the dependence of the process against Cambridge before the ecclesiastical court, another dispute happened between the King and the university of Oxford. Clerk, the president of Magdalene-college, dying in the end of March, a vacancy was declared by the vice-president, and a day was appointed for a new election. Farmer, a supposed convert to Popery<sup>a</sup>, was recommended by a royal mandate, accompanied with a dispensation from the usual oaths. The members of the college, informed of this recommendation, dispatched two of their number, Smith and Bagshaw, with a petition to the King, humbly requesting, that he would either withdraw his present mandate, or recommend some person of a less exceptionable character than Farmer. The delegates waited upon Sunderland on the tenth of April<sup>b</sup>, and delivered their petition, together with a letter from the visitor, the Bishop of Winchester. Sunderland promised that the petition and letter should be presented to the King in council on the twelfth; but the delegates were informed, by a member of the council, that no mention at all was made of the affair. They, however, called upon Sunderland. He told them, in the most haughty and supercilious manner, that their petition and letter had been considered, and that the King sent for answer, "that he expected to be obeyed<sup>c</sup>." Bagshaw returned to Oxford. The college proceeded to election, and chose Mr. Hough, a man of sense, spirit, and integrity.

The affair

THE King having never heard of the petition of the fellows, was highly incensed at their contempt of his mandate. The pre-

of Magda-  
lene college.  
June.

<sup>a</sup> Kennet, Ralph.

<sup>b</sup> Rapin.

<sup>c</sup> MS. account by Smith, penes me.

<sup>d</sup> Ibid.

fidents



C H A P.  
VII.

1687.

fidents of the college had, almost uninterruptedly, been recommended by the King. Clerk himself, the last president, owed his place to the mandamus of the late King. A citation was issued, for the college to appear before the ecclesiastical commission, to answer for their disobedience. The matter came to a regular hearing. Questions were proposed by the commissioners. Time was given to the defendants to reply. They proved such articles of folly and vice against Farmer, as justified their conduct in rejecting him, without having recourse to the legal disqualifications under which he laboured. The commissioners, however, proceeded to deprive Mr. Hough, and to suspend the vice-president and Dr. Halifax, who had distinguished himself in his opposition to the royal mandate. The college, encouraged by the Protestant leaders, paid no submission to this sentence. The King issued a formal inhibition against all elections in Magdalene college, till his further pleasure should be known. The bad character of Farmer rendering him unfit for the office of president, a new mandate was sent to the college, to elect the Bishop of Oxford to the vacant presidency; but an answer was returned, that no new election could be made till the former should be LEGALLY annulled. The pride of James was inflamed at what he deemed the insolence of this refusal. He prepared himself for a more solid vengeance; and his enemies, who saw the slippery ground upon which he stood, encouraged the college to continue their obstinacy<sup>d</sup>.

July.  
Parliament  
dissolved.

THE Prince and Princess of Orange having formally refused their concurrence to the repeal of the test and the penal laws, the King, despairing of a majority upon that subject, dissolved the parliament on the second of July<sup>e</sup>. The expectation of forming, through the means of the Dissenters, a more pliant house of com-

<sup>d</sup> MS. account by Smith.<sup>e</sup> James II.

mons,



mons, induced the King to adopt this measure. Uncertain, however, of his success in that design, he made no mention, in his proclamation, of any intention of calling another parliament. The Prince of Orange was alarmed. He was afraid that a packed house of commons might be procured, and that their authority, by approving of the King's measures, might confirm him on his throne. He sent Zulistein<sup>f</sup>, one of his creatures, to England, to enlarge the breach between James and his subjects. The correspondence between the Protestant leaders and the Prince was renewed. The imprudence of the King contributed to render, every day, less necessary the conspiracy against his power. Though the Pope, from his connexion with the Emperor and his allies, had paid little attention to the ambassador of James, he thought proper to send Ferdinando d'Adda, Archbishop of Amasia, in the character of his nuncio, to England. This prelate was received in a public manner by the King at Windsor, and, two days after, with the like pomp by the Queen-dowager, at Somerset-house. This ceremonious reception of the nuncio was attended with a circumstance, which, by betraying the extreme bigotry of the King, offended the nation. The Duke of Somerset, who was in waiting, as lord of the bedchamber, refused to attend the nuncio to his audience, as a service contrary to the laws of the land. The King dismissed him in wrath from his place, and deprived him at the same time of his regiment of dragoons.<sup>g</sup>

THOUGH the conduct of James was as weak as it was impolitic, he could scarce have the folly to hope to render the Romish faith the established religion of his kingdoms. His utmost object, as he solemnly declared himself<sup>h</sup>, extended no farther than to give an unlimited toleration to the sect which he so much loved. Diffident of the force of his prerogative, which was only a temporary

August.  
The King's  
progress.

<sup>f</sup> August.

<sup>g</sup> Kennet, Ralph.

<sup>h</sup> James II. pass.m.



C H A P.  
VII.

1687.

pressure on the established laws, he could force no permanent safety to his schemes without the authority of the legislature. His repeated trials to seduce the majority of the house of commons into his measures had proved ineffectual; and he had lately dissolved the parliament, in hopes to find among the people the confidence which their representatives had denied. It was to solicit his subjects to return such members as suited his views for repealing the test and penal laws, the King is said to have made his progress, in the end of August, through some of the western counties. He was received in every place with the utmost respect and joy; and the most submissive assurances of compliance were made by all who obtained access to his person. To gain the confidence of the electors, the King, upon every occasion, declared, that he never meant any Catholic should sit in either house<sup>1</sup>.

Sect.  
He courts the  
Dissenters.

THE progress of the King in the western counties was short. In two weeks he rejoined the Queen, whom he had left at Bath; and having remained at that place a few days, he returned on the fourteenth of September to Windsor. But the success of his progress, and the power of the crown in the boroughs, were not sufficient to give to James a perfect confidence in the compliance of parliament, with regard to his favourite schemes. He found, from a near view, that a very great majority of the nation were extremely averse to a toleration, which might place the power of the kingdom in the hands of the sect they abhorred. He perceived that the abject addresses which he had received, were rather the effusions of the intemperate joy of a few, than the voice of the people; and that the general silence of the nation was by no means to be construed into an implicit approbation of his own conduct. He, however, resolved to adhere to his measures. Having lost the church of England, he endeavoured to balance their

<sup>1</sup> Ralph, vol. i. p. 963.



opposition by an attention to the Dissenters. He affected to place them on the same footing with the Catholics. He tried to gain their affection by caresses, and to secure their support through the channel of interest. They were admitted to offices, to magistracies, to places of trust. But this condescension was too little merited to be deemed sincere<sup>k</sup>.

C H A P.  
VII.  
1687.

THE Dissenters, however, seemed still to retain a grateful sense of the late indulgence. Sir John Shorter, the new lord-mayor, who was of the Presbyterian persuasion, invited the King to dine with the city on the day he was sworn into the chair. To pay a compliment to James, the company of D'Adda, the Pope's nuncio, was also desired. That minister was received with great ceremony by the sheriffs, at Temple Bar. He was treated with respect by the lord-mayor. An intercourse of civilities employed the attention of the court and city for some days. The Dissenters and the Papists, being equally relieved from what they called persecution, became in appearance warm friends. But this preposterous alliance was not destined to last long. Where religious opinions were so different, no political union could subsist. The Papists abhorred the republican principles of the Dissenters; and no common interest could reconcile the latter to a sect whom they deemed at once idolaters and slaves<sup>l</sup>.

Nov.  
He dines  
with the c<sup>y</sup>.

DURING this coalition between the Dissenters and the Papists, the church of England considered herself as persecuted by the crown. The affair of Magdalene-college having lain dormant for some months, was again resumed. A new ecclesiastical commission was issued to the Bishop of Chester, the Lord-chief-justice Wright, and Jennour, one of the Barons of Exchequer. Attended by three troops of horse, the commissioners repaired to Oxford on the twentieth of November, to take cognizance of the late proceedings

Proceedings  
against Mag-  
dalene-col-  
lege.

<sup>k</sup> Kennet, Ralph, Echard.

<sup>l</sup> State of Parties, 1687. MS.



C H A P.  
VII.

1687.

at Magdalene-college, as supreme visitors. Hough, the president, refusing to submit to the visitation, was, for contumacy, deprived. The fellows having determined not to submit to the Bishop of Oxford, that prelate was installed by proxy, as president, by the authority of the commissioners. The court, not satisfied perhaps with the legality of their own commission, shewed an inclination to accommodate matters without advancing to extremities. The college, encouraged by persons who had entered into a correspondence with the Prince of Orange, was obstinate. The pride of James induced him to proceed. To yield in one point was to annihilate his dispensing power in all. He was sensible of the danger of advancing, but he could not with honour recede<sup>m</sup>. He ordered therefore the commissioners to exert their authority; and, on the twenty-sixth of November, the vice-president, with all the fellows, except two, who had uniformly adhered to the King's mandate, were deprived<sup>n</sup>.

Dec.  
Reflections.

THIS arbitrary and illegal decision arose from the arts of the King's enemies as much as from his own violence. The presidents of Magdalene-college had been almost uniformly recommended by the crown<sup>o</sup>; and James, had he not thrown the supposition of Popery on Farmer, by dispensing with the oaths, could scarce, with any colour of decency, be refused in his demand. The choice of Mr. Hough, without any answer made to the royal mandate, inflamed the resentment of the King. Yet he seemed willing to avoid extremities, should the fellows make a show of submission, to gratify his pride. Had not the first petition of the college been suppressed by Sunderland, the affair of Oxford, like that of Cambridge, would have soon sunk in oblivion. James himself had the imprudence to render his dispute with Magdalene-college an object of the utmost importance in the eyes of the na-

<sup>m</sup> James II.<sup>o</sup> MS. 1687.<sup>n</sup> MS. account by Dr. Smith, one of the fellows, penes me.



tion. When he came to Oxford, in the course of his progress, he descended from his dignity by a personal altercation with the fellows; and expected, from his own threats, a submission to his authority, which had not been paid to the decision of a court of law. Fretted with disappointment, he gratified his enemies by an arbitrary exertion of power. He was led from step to step by the management of others, on his own unyielding maxims of government; and the mischief was effectually done before he perceived the snare. Great collections were made for the fellows when they were expelled. The Prince of Orange, with his usual policy, sent two hundred pounds in the name of the Princess, his wife<sup>p</sup>.

C H A P.  
VII.  
1687.

REPEATED encroachments upon the constitution, from whatever cause they proceeded, could not fail to alarm the nation. They could ascribe the King's measures to nothing less than a settled system to introduce his own religion and an unlimited power in the crown. Their fears arose in proportion to the means which he possessed to accomplish his designs. He had a numerous army by land, a formidable fleet ready to put to sea. The interests of the powers on the continent were so well poised, that his importance abroad seemed to equal his authority at home. A careful manager of his revenue, he was in no difficulties for money; and therefore there was no appearance of his calling a parliament, unless packed and prepared for an entire subserviency to his designs. The hopes of the timid and jealous arose only from his declining years. His death seemed no distant object; and they expected that a Protestant successor would soon restore the security of the established religion, which the King's enthusiasm had discomposed. But these hopes began suddenly to vanish,

1688.  
Jan.  
The Queen  
declared to  
be with  
child.

<sup>p</sup> MS. 1687.

R r r q

when



C H A P.

VII.

1688.

Surmises  
spread of an  
imposture.

when a proclamation for a public thanksgiving announced, on the fifth of January, that the Queen was with child<sup>a</sup>.

THE unpopularity of James became extremely conspicuous upon the present occasion. The body of the people, averse from his religion, and in fears for their own, were prepared to believe the worst of a Prince, whose enthusiasm for Popery had appeared in all his measures. His enemies, now deeply engaged in the views of the Prince of Orange, determined to spread reports that the Queen's pregnancy was a fiction, and that the Papists were resolved to support their interest in the nation, by providing a supposititious heir for the throne. A dropsy, a tympany, a cushion, a pillow, the Queen's maladies, the debilitated constitution of the King, became the objects of conversation and the topics of satire. Though the same unmanly tale had been propagated by the exclusionists in the year 1682<sup>b</sup>, when the Dutchess of York was with child, the bulk of the nation became the dupes of this stale artifice. Even men of sense and abilities, either blinded with zeal, or dishonest from design, affected to give implicit faith to a fiction, which has been long exploded by the most positive and convincing proofs. The Prince of Orange himself descended from his dignity of character, to encourage surmises so favourable to his ambition. The first public doubt of the Queen's pregnancy was printed at the Hague; and though he probably observed his usual prudence in his conversation upon the subject, he seemed to entertain doubts from his very silence<sup>c</sup>.

Secret projects

THE schemes which the Prince pursued in secret for mounting the English throne, required all his address to render them successful. The birth of a Prince of Wales would perhaps deprive him of

<sup>a</sup> Vide Auct. citat. passim.

<sup>b</sup> James II.

<sup>c</sup> Observator, Aug. 23, 1682.



some of his present friends, from their terrors for a disputed title to the throne. The bulk of the nation, though utterly averse from Popery, were invincibly attached to the line of succession; and there is no reason to presume, from the Prince's character, that, without a prospect of gratifying his own ambition, he would risk either his life or reputation to secure the religious and civil rights of the English nation. His conduct in a republic, where he obtained his authority by election, was no proof of his having any disinterested regard for public liberty. He had encroached upon the freedom of the towns<sup>u</sup>. He carried his own points in the assembly of the States, by means subversive of their independence as the delegates of a free people. Though he had deserved much of his country, he governed it more by his abilities and address, than through the channel of its affection for his person. His influence, however, was unbounded and decisive at home; and he had long employed the whole advantage of his situation, to acquire the kingdom, which he afterwards obtained abroad<sup>w</sup>.

INFORMED of the schemes of James, to pack an obsequious parliament, the Prince of Orange, as early as the preceding August, had made preparations for invading England. He contrived, by an artifice, to possess himself of nine thousand men and twenty-five ships of war, with which he could act upon any emergency without the previous consent of the States<sup>x</sup>. He apprized the English malecontents of his designs. They landed continually at the Brill and Rotterdam. They went through bye-roads to his court, and conferred with him in secret. A resolution was taken, that should a new parliament agree to the repeal of the tests and penal laws<sup>y</sup>, he should immediately throw off the mask, and, at the head of the Protestant party, declare against them and the King. When the King failed in his project of an obedient par-

and negocia-  
tions of

<sup>u</sup> D'Avaux, vol. iii. passim.

<sup>w</sup> D'Avaux, vol. iv.

<sup>x</sup> Ibid. Aug. 1687.

<sup>y</sup> Dalrymple's Append. D'Avaux.

liament,



C H A P.  
VII.

1688.

liament, the Prince laid aside all thoughts of an open rupture, and reverted to those secret practices with which he had managed, for seven years, the cabals of the English malecontents. The councils of James were, in the mean time, betrayed by his principal servants<sup>a</sup>. He himself, as if blinded by destiny, continued his unpopular measures, and disregarded the repeated accounts of the preparations conveyed to his ears<sup>a</sup>.

the Prince of  
Orange.

IN such a state of affairs, the Prince of Orange behaved with his usual prudence, in encouraging a fiction so favourable to his ambition. His plan was already so extensively laid, that nothing but the birth of a male heir to the crown of England could possibly preclude him from an almost immediate possession of the throne. He had the address to render two thirds of the powers of Europe interested in his success. The treaty of Augsbourg, formed to break the power of France, could not accomplish its object without the accession of England. The house of Austria, in both its branches, preferred their political views to their zeal for the Romish faith; and promoted the dethronement of James, as the only means to humble Lewis the Fourteenth. Odescalchi, who, under the name of Innocent the Eleventh, filled then the papal chair, was gained to the measures of the Prince of Orange by other considerations, as well as through his fixed aversion to France. The Prince sent his intimate friend, the Prince of Vaudemont, to Rome, to procure the aid of the Pope. He explained to his Holiness, that the Catholic Princes were in the wrong to expect any advantage to their faith from James, as his being a declared Papist rendered his people averse to all his measures. As for himself, should he have the good fortune to mount the English throne, he might take any step in favour of the Roman Catholics without jealousy; and he promised to procure a toleration

<sup>a</sup> D'Avau x, vol. iv.<sup>a</sup> Ibid.



for the Papists, should the Pope, the Emperor, and the King of Spain, favour his attempt. This negotiation produced the desired effect. Innocent contributed, with the money of the church, to expel a Roman Catholic Prince from his throne<sup>b</sup>.

C H A P.  
VII.  
1688.

THOUGH James was no stranger either to the designs of the Prince of Orange, or to the discontents of his own subjects, he altered not his conduct. He chose rather to trust his safety to fortune, than to seem to own, by concessions, his former errors. His situation was too delicate, for a Prince whose powers were perverted by religious zeal. Distrust, disaffection, and even resentment prevailed at home; and his weight with foreign powers decreased in proportion as his authority among his subjects declined. The States of Holland, knowing that he could not exert the force of the nation against Protestants, disregarded his remonstrance, and treated him with manifest contempt. They refused to withdraw their protection from English fugitives. They openly abetted his enemies. They encouraged indecent libels against his person and government. To complete the misfortunes of this infatuated Prince, he was betrayed by his servants abroad, as well as at home. One White, an Irish Roman Catholic, who had received the title of the Marquis of Albeville from the Emperor, was his envoy at the Hague. He was a man of a profligate character, and suffered his fidelity to his master to be purchased by his enemies<sup>c</sup>. Through this unfaithful agent, James demanded, in the end of January, the six English and Scottish regiments that were in their service. Instead of yielding to his request, the States entered into argument upon the subject; and the utmost he could at last obtain, was a pass for such of the officers of those regiments as should choose to quit the service.

February..  
King insulted  
by the Dutch.

<sup>b</sup> MS. 1688.

<sup>c</sup> D'Avaux.

BUT



C H A P.  
VII.1688.  
April.  
He renews  
his indul-  
gence.

BUT neither contempt abroad, nor unpopularity at home, could prevent James from pursuing with eagerness his favourite designs. Men, determined on his ruin, once more tempted his weakness<sup>d</sup>, and persuaded him to renew his declaration of indulgence<sup>e</sup>. This act of power, as it was altogether unnecessary, assumed in itself all the appearance of consummate folly. But when, after a few days, an order was subjoined to the declaration, that it should be read by all the clergy in all the churches and chapels, no doubts remained of its being a projected insult upon the established church. There was, however, a kind of precedent for this mode of promulgating the King's declaration. When Charles the Second dissolved his last parliament at Oxford, in the year 1681, his declaration, containing the reasons of his conduct, was ordered to be read by the clergy, after divine service. They submitted with cheerfulness to a command which was agreeable to the prejudices of their party. But the case was at present extremely different. The test and penal laws against Dissenters were, in a great measure, procured by the church; and the clergy deemed any countenance they might give to the dispensing power, a desertion of their own principles. They determined, therefore, not to obey orders of which they could not approve, and to risk any danger that might arise from the resentment of the King, for the preservation of their own influence among the people<sup>f</sup>.

May.  
The bishops  
petition.

SIX prelates, soon after the order for reading the declaration was published, met the Archbishop of Canterbury at his palace at Lambeth, and, with all privacy, consulted among themselves. Disobedience to the commands of the King was so inconsistent with the doctrine of non-resistance, that it was difficult to reconcile present opposition to past submission. Their fears for themselves contributed also to lengthen their debates. They, at last, resolved to petition

<sup>d</sup> James II. 1688.<sup>e</sup> April 27.<sup>f</sup> Echard, Kennet, Ralph, et Auct. citat.



the King, after extending their deliberations to fourteen days. Two days before the declaration was to be read, they presented themselves at Whitehall with their petition; in which, upon various grounds, but in submissive terms, they requested his Majesty not to insist upon their reading a declaration, which was at once contrary to their principles and the established laws. This unexpected opposition to his favourite measure, within two days of the time of its being carried into execution, raised the surprise and resentment of James. He told them, that he did not expect such conduct from the church of England. He informed them, that should he change his mind, they should hear from him; if not, he expected to be obeyed<sup>e</sup>.

WHILE the mind of the King was perplexed whether he should desert his prerogative or punish the bishops, his doubts were ended by Jefferys, the chancellor<sup>h</sup>. He told his Majesty, that they were liable to a legal prosecution for a tumultuary petition<sup>i</sup>; and he advised that they should be summoned before the council on the ninth of June. James, eager to support his authority, followed this pernicious advice. The conduct of the bishops themselves contributed to increase his resentment. The copy of the petition, which they had delivered, he carefully kept in his own pocket<sup>k</sup>; yet it appeared in print the succeeding day. This convinced him, that they wished to engage the nation in their own quarrel; a circumstance less to be forgiven than their disobedience to his commands. In the interval between the delivery of the petition and the appearance of the bishops before the council, they acquired courage from the approbation of the people. They resolved not to submit on any terms. They refused to give recognisances to appear before the King's Bench, to answer for this high misdemeanor. James was sensible of the strength of the ground upon which the bishops stood. He descended from his

June.  
and are com-  
mitted

<sup>e</sup> Auct. citat.

<sup>h</sup> James II. 1688.

<sup>i</sup> Ibid.

<sup>k</sup> Ibid.



C H A P.  
VII.  
1688.

usual statelinefs, and wished to get clear of the whole affair<sup>1</sup>. He begged them only to give a verbal promise for their appearance, in case of their being called<sup>m</sup>. They refused this moderate request, and his pride arose. A warrant, signed by all the counsellors present, being twenty-four in number, and all of them Protestants, committed them to the Tower.

to the Tower.

THE circumstances which attended the commitment of the bishops might have convinced James of the folly and imprudence of his measures. Though they were carried by water to prison, the people crowded to the river, and rent its banks with shouts of applause. The very soldiers, in whom the King had placed his last hopes, deserted the principles of obedience suitable to their order, and joined in the general approbation of the imprisoned prelates. Tumult, confusion, and noise prevailed. The King, whose temper was rendered more obstinate by opposition, was neither to be intimidated nor persuaded from his designs. He considered the populace as swayed by party more than by principle; and, with a spirit which might have been commendable in a better cause, he was resolved never to adapt his measures to the fluctuating opinions of the vulgar. This seeming virtue was one of the great defects of his character. Political courage degenerated into a vice, in a mind disgraced with weakness and bigotry. But his conduct on the present occasion was scarce accountable by his usual imprudence. He fell willingly into a snare laid by his enemies. He was informed, that, upon a double account, the bishops would refuse to enter into recognisances, or even to pass their words for their appearance. "A prosecution, they knew, would inflame the nation, and, at the same time, prevent the Archbishop of Canterbury from being present at the Queen's delivery<sup>n</sup>."

Birth of the  
Prince of  
Wales.

THE day after the commitment of the bishops, the Queen was brought to bed, at St. James's, of a son. The surmises which

<sup>1</sup> James II. 1688.

<sup>m</sup> Ibid.

<sup>n</sup> James II. passim.

had



had been spread concerning a fictitious pregnancy, induced the King to establish the validity of the birth by the most incontestible proofs. The delivery was made so public, that the common forms of decency were scarce observed. The utmost transports of gladness were exhibited by the adherents of the King upon the occasion. The party of the Prince of Orange seemed, by their silence, to have been, in some measure, disconcerted. The news was received throughout the kingdom with real or well-dissembled joy. Counties, corporations, and societies, crowded the royal presence with congratulations, expressed in the most extravagant terms of loyalty and submission. Some prayed with the utmost fervour, that God would bestow a male posterity of the SAME royal line, to sway the sceptre of England to the end of the world. Others were so transported with joy, that they knew not for what further blessing to pray. All flattered James upon his late measures. The most promised to send such members to parliament as, to use their own words, should unite his subjects in charity and Christian correspondence to repeal the tests. Several of the clergy paid their court by blaming the seven bishops; and, in short, could faith be placed in addresses, no Prince was ever more beloved than James by his subjects<sup>o</sup>.

ON the fifteenth of June, being the first day of the term, the Trial bishops were brought by water to Westminster-hall. The joy expressed for the birth of a Prince of Wales had not lessened the attachment of the people to the cause of the opponents of the King's designs. The vulgar poured from every street to meet the persecuted prelates. The better sort were not unconcerned spectators on the present occasion. They joined their shouts with the populace, and expressed, by their countenances and gestures, the concern which they took in the contested cause. The lord chief justice Wright, a man of small abilities, but devoted to the

<sup>o</sup> Gazettes, passim.



C H A P.  
VII.

1688.

court, appeared on the bench, assisted by Holloway, Powel, and Allybone, as puisne judges. The counsel on both sides were themselves a strange example of the fluctuating politics of the times. Williams, the late patriot speaker of the house of commons, who had been fined ten thousand pounds for defaming the King, acted in his cause as solicitor-general. Sawyer and Finch, who had distinguished themselves as violent royalists when attorney and solicitor-generals, had lost their principles with their offices, and appeared for the bishops. After some legal altercations, in which personal abuse was mixed with argument, the prisoners were admitted to bail. Their own recognisances for their appearance that day fortnight were taken; five hundred pounds for the archbishop of Canterbury, and two hundred pounds for each of the other bishops<sup>p</sup>.

and acquittal

ON the twenty-ninth of June, being St. Peter's day, the seven bishops were brought to their trial, upon an information for their publishing a libel concerning their refusal of reading the declaration of indulgence. The trial continued from nine in the morning till near seven at night. The King's evidence, to the number of twelve, laboured to prove the hands of the bishops to the petition. Sunderland, being examined upon the publication, gave an evidence suitable to his own secret designs. He carried, he said, the bishops to the King. They delivered a paper; but he could not affirm that it was the same on which the information was founded. The counsel for the defendants insisted, that the hands of the bishops were not proved; and if they had, they averred, that the petition was no libel. Finch and Polexfen, in the course of the argument, inveighed with great bitterness against the dispensing power. Sir Francis Pemberton said, that what the bishops did became them as peers; and he argued, with justice that if the dispensing power was against law, how came the de-

<sup>p</sup> Price to Beaufort; June 30, 1688, MS.



pendants to be criminals for not obeying illegal commands? Williams, notwithstanding his former patriotism, was vehemently eager against the bishops. He took the whole management of the argument; leaving only to the attorney-general the province of asking some leading question<sup>a</sup>.

C H A P.  
VII.  
1688.

THE bench itself was divided in opinion. The chief justice doubted as to the proof of the publication; but he declared that the petition was a libel. Allyn believed throughout, and doubted nothing. Powel declared himself, with great freedom, on the opposite side. He could not, he said, find the petition to be a libel; for then it must be false, scandalous, and malicious. False it was not, as the King could not legally claim a dispensing power; if he could, the statute-books were mere lumber, and the parliament itself an useless assembly. Scandalous and malicious it was not, because drawn with all privacy, and presented with all humility. Holloway joined Powel in his opinion, and declared against the dispensing power, as inconsistent with all law. The jury withdrew; and through the obstinacy of one Arnold, a brewer, who dissented, returned not their verdict till nine of the clock next morning. When the words, "Not guilty," were pronounced, the populace, who filled Westminster-hall and all Palace-yard, shouted thrice with such vehemence, that the noise was heard as far as the Temple'. The army encamped on Hounslow-heath are said, but upon what foundation is uncertain, to have expressed, in repeated shouts, their joy at the acquittal of the bishops. Though the event of the prosecution gave satisfaction to a great majority of the nation, the triumphs of the populace were, for the most part, confined to London.

of the bi-  
shops.

THOUGH James expected no favourable issue from the trial of the bishops, he was highly offended at the freedom which Powel

July.  
Further pro-  
jects of the  
King.

<sup>a</sup> Price to Beaufort, June 30, 1688, MS.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid.

and



C H A P.  
VII.

1688.

and Holloway had used with his prerogative. Holding for a maxim, that the judges should support the measures of the crown, he ever punished, by removing, those who deviated from what he deemed their duty. The fate of the refractory judges was foreseen in their conduct. In less than a week after the trial, they were both dismissed, and their places supplied with men of more accommodating minds. The King perceived that the fate of the dispensing power was decided by the acquittal of the bishops. But to satisfy in some degree the demands of his pride, the ecclesiastical commissioners were ordered to proceed against all the clergy who had not read the declaration. Citations were issued<sup>\*</sup>, but with such languor, that there is scarce any probability in the opinion, that they intended to proceed. In the present disposition of the nation, no obedience would be paid to the decisions of a court universally deemed illegal. The commissioners were released from the execution of an office, whose authority had totally declined by a sudden resolution of one of their own number. Sprat, Bishop of Rochester, though a sedulous courtier, saw that a longer adherence to the religious measures of James would be attended with great unpopularity, and perhaps with danger. He begged by letter to be excused from his seat at their board<sup>†</sup>. A similar panic seized the rest. They adjourned their proceedings<sup>‡</sup> to December; and it was universally understood, that they were never to meet again as a court<sup>§</sup>.

<sup>\*</sup> July 12.<sup>†</sup> Aug. 15.<sup>‡</sup> Aug. 16.<sup>§</sup> Ralph.

C H A P.



## C H A P. VIII.

*Unpopularity of the King.—Intrigues and preparations of the Prince of Orange.—Security and imprudence of King James.—He is betrayed by Sunderland.—Convinced at length of his error,—he endeavours to gain the people.—Charter of London restored.—Sunderland disgraced.—Reflections.—Prince of Orange takes leave of the States.—His declaration.—He sails, and is driven back.—English fleet detained by the winds.—Dutch land.—Distress of the Prince.—Many join him.—Petition of peers.—King joins the army.—Officers desert.—Princess Anne flies.—A general confusion.—A deputation to the Prince.—Queen and Prince of Wales sent away.—Dictatorial answer of the Prince.—Reflections.—The King flies.—He is seized at Feversham.—Confusion in London.—Conduct of the Prince.—A council of peers.—King returns.—He is seized by the Dutch guards.—He is sent to Rochester,—and escapes to France.—Observations.—Prince of Orange in London.—Assembly of Peers.—Paper left at Rochester.—Peers and commons address the Prince.—His secret intrigues for the crown.—Intrigues of Halifax and Danby.—Convention meets.—Reflections.—They thank the Prince.—Arguments.—Grand resolve.—Debates in the house of lords.—They amend the vote of the commons.—Reject a letter from James.—Prince of Orange declares himself.—Conference between the houses.—Crown conferred on the Prince and Princess.—Declaration of Rights.—Observations on the breach on the succession.—Reflections on the reign of James.—His character, views, and situation.—Arguments for the Revolution.*

THE contest with the bishops completed the unpopularity of the King. But he derived the suddenness of his ruin from the birth of a Prince of Wales. That circumstance increased the fears

C H A P.  
VIII.

1688.  
Unpopularity  
of the King.



C H A P.  
VIII.

1688.

fears of his subjects, in proportion as it raised his security and hopes. In the reign of a Prince to be educated under the prejudices of such a father, nothing but a continuance of the same unconstitutional measures could be expected. James, convinced in his mind of the indefeasible right of Kings, transferred his own weakness to his people; and vainly hoped to retain them by their principles of loyalty, after he had, through repeated injuries, lost their confidence and love. Guided in all his actions by a speculative system of policy, he seemed to suppose that monarchy must end where the first breach upon the hereditary succession began. Neither mortification nor misfortune itself could convince this infatuated Prince of his error. While he dreamed of security from the birth of a son, he might perceive that his own fall was near. So low was his credit sunk among his people, such prescience they all had of his fate, that the child had like to have died before a wet-nurse to suckle him could be procured<sup>r</sup>.

His political  
views.

IN this state of public indifference, James might have languished through an unimportant reign, were there any prospect that his system of unpopular policy would have terminated with his own life. But the nation dreaded from the son those grievances which they had experienced from the father. Though the decision of a court of law, though the concurring opinions of almost the whole nation had exploded the dispensing power, there scarce could remain a doubt, that James would embrace every favourable opportunity to exert it with zeal. He derived his attachment to this high prerogative from principle as well as enthusiasm. He believed that supremacy in matters of religion was an inherent right in the crown, which no regulation could alter, no act of the legislature extinguish. He considered the laws against toleration as obtained through faction, and carried into execution through envy. Besides, he weakly deemed that the right of the

y James II. 1688.

crown



crown to the service of every subject ought to supersede all restrictions to the contrary; and that the King, as guardian of the peace of his people, might at pleasure remit or execute laws calculated only for the safety of his own government. He averred upon every occasion that he never meant to extend his dispensing power to civil affairs<sup>z</sup>. But men rightly judged, that when the barrier was on one side broken down, a door was opened for general ruin.

C H A P.  
VIII.

1688.

WHILE James was busy in losing the affections of his people, the Prince of Orange continued his schemes for mounting the throne. The church of England, by recent injuries, were thrown into his scale; and he himself, by declaring his wishes for a general toleration of worship, had gained the Dissenters. Some men of high rank, who loved their country, afraid of the arbitrary schemes of James, favoured the Prince's ambition from patriot motives. Many through the love of novelty, several from disappointment, some from hopes of raising themselves, entered with eagerness into his designs. He, in the mean time, was employed with success in putting himself in a condition to accomplish his own views, as well as those of his friends. He retained the fleet, which the States had placed in his hands in the preceding year. He provided himself with treasure, by laying an embargo on the money produced by the levy on the two hundredth penny, imposed by the States. He received the sum of four millions of florins, by way of advance upon that tax, from the French refugees. Having the principal servants of James in his pay, he was minutely informed of the most secret transactions and even designs of that Prince. His intelligence came through Sidney, from Sunderland, who betrayed the very measures which he himself had advised<sup>a</sup>. The Prince had a fleet ready to sail, and troops provided for action, before the beginning of June<sup>b</sup>.

Intrigues

<sup>z</sup> James II. *passim*.<sup>a</sup> D'Avaux, vol. iv.<sup>b</sup> *Ibid*.



C H A P.  
VIII.1688.  
and prepara-  
tions

THE news of the birth of a son to James coming to the Hague on the fourteenth of June, the Prince was suddenly disconcerted in all his measures. Deceived by his informations from London, he deemed that the Queen could not be brought to bed till the middle of the succeeding month. In the first surprize of the news, he dispatched Zuylstein to congratulate James on the birth of an heir to the throne; and, by that means, gave publicly his countenance to a fact which he found soon after convenient to deny. Upon the arrival of Admiral Herbert, who had quitted the service of James, the Prince of Orange repented of his complaisance in felicitating his father-in-law. He took the sudden resolution to deny the birth of the Prince, and even to convince the States that he was a supposititious child. When the English envoy at the Hague gave a public entertainment upon the occasion, the States, influenced by the Prince of Orange, refused to attend<sup>c</sup>. The envoys of the allies denied their presence. Not one invited to the feast sent even an excuse for absence. Advices from England induced the Prince to take this decisive part. He found that the birth of the Prince had united all the Protestants in his own favour; and to prevent a relapse from their zeal, he resolved to own none nearer than his wife to the throne<sup>d</sup>.

of the Prince.

BUT though the Prince was no stranger to the strength of his party in England, he had hitherto received no formal invitation to pass into that kingdom, to settle its affairs. Resolved of himself to pursue the object of his ambition, he wished to have the sanction of the people to his important design. Many, who expected with impatience his presence, were unwilling to commit themselves to writing on a matter so full of danger. The Earls of Shrewsbury, Devonshire, and Danby, the Lord Lumley, the Bishop of London, and Mr. Ruffel, are said to have permitted Mr. Sidney to write an invitation, in their name<sup>e</sup>. This instrument, dated the very day that the bishops were tried, was rather a

<sup>c</sup> July 20.<sup>d</sup> D'Avaux, *passim*.<sup>e</sup> Dalrymple's Append.

matter



matter of form than an object of encouragement. Though the four peers possessed the influence of their rank in their country, the popularity of their names chiefly recommended the other three. But the Prince was too prudent to rest his whole hopes on spontaneous friends in England. He endeavoured to gain, through the channel of interest, those whom principle had not attached to his party. Zuylstein, when in England, corrupted with money those whom he could not persuade by argument. All the powers of management and intrigue were exerted by the Prince; while James sat in security on the edge of the precipice over which he was soon to fall<sup>f</sup>.

C H A P.  
VIII.  
1688.

THE Prince of Orange was persuaded by Admiral Herbert, that of Orange, it was absolutely necessary to convince the people of England of an imposture concerning a spurious Prince of Wales. The Prince himself found it equally necessary in Holland. He held a conference with the deputies of the States for secret affairs<sup>g</sup>. He represented to them the danger which threatened the Protestant religion should the imposture of a Prince of Wales be longer tolerated. The deputies giving no credit to this tale, Van Citters was brought to convince them from England. The Prince himself ordered a book to be written to prove the spuriousness of the birth. He resolved to enter his own protest. He promised protection to all those who should declare against the imposture. To carry forward the political farce with some solemnity, he ordered into his presence the preaching ministers at the Hague. They recommended to his care the perilous state of the Protestant faith. He answered them with a grave formality. He requested them to redouble their prayers to Heaven, for that religion was never in such danger before. But, if the ministers addressed themselves to God, they also used their influence with men. They inflamed the vulgar to a degree of madness by their discourses; and the

<sup>f</sup> D'Avaux, vol. iv. passim.

<sup>g</sup> August.



C H A P.  
VIII.

1688.

deputies of Amsterdam, who, from patriot views, had long opposed themselves to the aggrandizement of the Prince of Orange, durst not obstruct his present designs, for fear of being torn to pieces by the rabble <sup>h</sup>.

for invading

A COINCIDENCE of fortunate events favoured, at the same time, the designs of the Prince of Orange. The death of the Elector of Cologne, by interesting France and the allies in a new election, gave a colour to intrigues and preparations. Lewis the Fourteenth supported the pretensions of the Cardinal de Furstemberg. Prince Clement of Bavaria was abetted by the Emperor, the Dutch, and the court of Rome. The latter at length prevailed, through the partiality of the Pope <sup>i</sup>; and France threatened to recover by force what she had lost by intrigue. Under the pretence of danger from that side, the Prince of Orange formed a camp of twenty thousand men, between Grave and Nimeguen, in the month of August. To make up this body of troops, he stript Dutch Flanders of all her garrisons. He left Bergen-op-Zoom itself exposed. He continued, in the mean time, his preparations by sea. He equipped for service twenty ships of the line, without referring to the States. He ordered the artificers to work day and night, to fit out all the naval force of the United Provinces. Yet, amid all these extraordinary preparations, five only of the States were privy to his real designs. He had the address to lull James into security; and though Lewis the Fourteenth long suspected, and even was at length assured of the intended invasion, he adopted no effectual means to obstruct measures which, in the issue, proved highly detrimental to his own power <sup>k</sup>.

England.

BUT though the States were not formally admitted into the secret designs of the Prince of Orange, they could not have been

<sup>h</sup> D'Avaux, vol. iv. passim.<sup>i</sup> Histoire d'Allemagne, tom. vii.<sup>k</sup> D'Avaux, vol. iv.



strangers to his real views. The body of the people, being highly inflamed against France upon various grounds, exhibited an irresistible eagerness for every preparation for war. Their commerce had been diminished one fourth<sup>1</sup>, by restrictions on their usual trade to France. Their religious zeal was kindled by the hardships imposed by Lewis on the Protestants, by the impolitic revocation of the edict of Nantz. The terrors raised by the conduct of James in England had spread to Holland. His zeal for the Roman Catholic faith was exaggerated into the certain ruin of Protestantism. They saw themselves surrounded with perils on every side; and they lost the animosities raised by the jealousy of commerce against the English, in their pity for a people exposed to the inroads of Popery and arbitrary power. One half of Europe had even entered into a conspiracy against James, through the address of his son-in-law. The power, and above all, the insolence of Lewis, had conspired with the memory of former injuries to inflame the house of Austria against France. The princes of Germany were united against her by their fears; and nothing but the gaining the aid of England, by the removal of James, seemed wanting to complete their revenge<sup>m</sup>.

WHILE the half of Europe combined against the King of England, while many of his subjects were bent to oppose, and some to divest him of his power, he reposed himself in an unaccountable security. Lewis the Fourteenth, who had long received the most certain intelligence of the designs of the Prince of Orange, roused James in vain to attention, and offered to no purpose his aid. Having refused to accede to the league of Augsbourg, the King was publicly accused by his son-in-law with a private treaty with France. To convince his subjects of the falsehood of this charge, he declined to accept the offer of a French squadron to join his fleet. This offer, which was made in June, escaped not

Security

<sup>1</sup> D'Avaux, vol. iv.<sup>m</sup> Ibid.

the



C H A P.

VIII.

1688.

the vigilance of Van Citters. He complained to the King, who answered, that he would make no use of a foreign force, unless obliged by his masters<sup>n</sup>. Deceived by his servants, and betrayed throughout by the Earl of Sunderland, he had the weakness to believe, that the reports of an invasion were raised to frighten him into a strict connexion with France. Besides, he gave credit to the repeated assurances of the States, that the armament prepared in their ports was not designed against England. He even believed the asseverations of the Prince himself, whose interest it was to deceive<sup>o</sup>. Sunderland descanted against the possibility of an invasion. He turned to ridicule all those who believed the report. Having, by the prior consent of James, taken possession of all the foreign correspondence, he suppressed every intelligence that might alarm; and even all others whom James trusted, except Dartmouth<sup>p</sup>, affected long to give no faith to a tale which seemed to be propagated by France to forward her own political views.

and imprudence

THE loose and contradictory accounts sent by Albeville contributed to confirm the unbelief of the King. This profligate and needy adventurer was placed by Sunderland, in the character of envoy, at the Hague, for the purpose of being gained. Like his patron, he was at once a pensioner of France and in the pay of the Prince. He betrayed his master to the Prince<sup>q</sup>, and the Prince himself to Lewis. Skelton, who was in the same character at the court of France, was more faithful to his trust. Having received certain information of the designs of the Prince of Orange from one Verace, who had been dismissed from his service, he sent a circumstantial account of the whole to the King. Sunderland, however, either concealed this intelligence, or deprived it of credit. The zeal of Skelton, however, continued. Alarmed at the security of James, without the communication of his court, he induced the King of France to order D'Avaux, his ambassador

<sup>n</sup> James II. 1688.<sup>o</sup> Ibid.<sup>p</sup> Ibid.<sup>q</sup> D'Avaux, vol. iii.



at the Hague, to present a threatening memorial to the States. D'Avaux obeyed his instructions on the thirtieth of August. He assured the States, that his master concluded the armament made in their ports was directed against the King of England. He informed them, that the ties of friendship and alliance which subsisted between him and that Prince, would oblige him not only to assist him, but even to consider their first act of hostility as a declaration of war against himself.

C H A P.  
VIII.

1688.

THIS officiousness of Lewis was no sooner heard, than it was resented by James. He knew that no private treaty subsisted between himself and that monarch; and he was persuaded by Sunderland, that the memorial was an artifice to force him into a connexion with France. Besides, as he had assured the ambassadors of the allies in person, that he had entered into no alliance with Lewis, this event brought his honour in question. While, at the same time, it alarmed his subjects, it furnished the Dutch with a good pretence to continue their preparations for war. Van Citters, who had returned to England to lull him into security, complained with vehemence of the supposed French alliance. A council was immediately called. The King, by the advice of Sunderland<sup>a</sup>, resolved to disavow the proceedings of D'Avaux. Orders were issued to his ministers at the different courts of the allies to deny that any such alliance subsisted; and to declare, that the French memorial was presented without either the participation or knowledge of the King of England. He annexed to this weak measure an instance of vanity and folly. He desired Albeville to inform the States, that he was too powerful a Prince to put himself under the protection of France; and that he had too much spirit, as well as too high a birth, to be treated like the cardinal of Furstemberg. The Prince of Orange himself could not have dictated a declaration more suitable to his designs. James

of James.

<sup>a</sup> D'Avaux, vol. iii. Sept. 9, 1688.<sup>b</sup> James II.



C H A P.  
VIII.

1688.

September.  
He is betray-  
ed by Sun-  
derland.

seemed, in some measure, anxious to inspire his very enemies with courage<sup>t</sup>.

COUNCILS so feeble and undecisive left almost without regret a Prince devoted to ruin. The court of France, however, suspected that the security of the King of England proceeded from the arts of his enemies. Sunderland was known by every one, except James himself, to have been all along in the interest of the Prince of Orange; and he was supposed to have cut off every channel of intelligence from his infatuated master. To deceive that bigotted Prince, he had made a public declaration of the Roman Catholic faith, in the month of July. This artifice had a decisive effect on the apostolic weakness of James. His suspicions of Sunderland vanished upon his conversion. He would not believe that so good a Catholic could be so great a knave. But the art of Sunderland could no longer deceive. The invasion from Holland was now obvious, and almost publicly avowed. A powerful fleet was ready to sail. Several regiments fell down the Maese from Nimeguen to Rotterdam. They were replaced by German troops toward the Rhine. The transports, which had been hired in different ports, began to assemble. Cannon, arms, ammunition, horse furniture, provender, and provisions, were now openly embarked; and the ministers at the Hague began already to solicit the blessing of Heaven on the projected invasion<sup>u</sup>.

Convinced at  
length of the  
invasion.

THE King, at length convinced of the Dutch invasion, left Windsor immediately, and came to London. He ordered the fleet to be made up thirty men of war, all third and fourth rates, together with sixteen fire-ships. He commanded that the troops of horse and dragoons, and the companies of foot, except the guards, should be strengthened, each with ten men. He issued commissions for levying new regiments of horse and foot. He

<sup>t</sup> D'Avaux.<sup>u</sup> D'Avaux, *passim*.



ordered the troop of guards, that of dragoons, and three battalions of foot, to march from Scotland. He sent for three battalions, a regiment of foot, and one of dragoons, from Ireland. His troops, in all, consisted of forty thousand men: "A force," says he, "sufficient to deal with the Dutch and the Prince of Orange, had they retained their faith to their native King<sup>x</sup>." He consulted his principal officers and his council, whether he should send for the sixteen sail of men of war to Brest. His friends, as well as his enemies, were equally averse to an aid from France. The first dreaded that the measure would offend the nation; the latter, that it would disappoint the designs of the Prince of Orange. The pride of James himself favoured their concurring advice. Though he wished to be absolute, he loved to owe his power to himself<sup>y</sup>.

C H A P.  
VIII.  
1688.

To gain his people by lenity when he prepared for war, he determined to alter his former conduct. He had declared in council, on the twenty-fourth of August, three weeks before he gave any credit to the invasion, that he was resolved to call a parliament, to meet on the twenty-seventh of the ensuing November. But the writs were not issued till the fifth of September; a delay which induced his enemies to ascribe this popular measure more to necessity than choice. On the twenty-first of the same month he published a declaration, which seemed, in express terms, to own the errors of his former measures. He declared, that it was his fixed purpose to endeavour to establish a *LEGAL* settlement of an universal liberty of conscience for all his subjects; that he had resolved inviolably to preserve the church of England; that his intention was, that Roman Catholics should remain incapable of sitting in the house of commons; and he concluded with assuring his subjects, that he was ready to do every thing for their safety and advantage, as became a King, who will always take care of

He endeavours

<sup>x</sup> James II. 1688.

<sup>y</sup> Ibid. passim.



C H A P.  
VIII.

1688.

to gain the  
people.

the happiness of the people. On the twenty-sixth of September, he authorised the lords lieutenants of the several counties to restore to office the deputy-lieutenants that had been removed. He declared, at the same time, that he had given directions to the lord chancellor to place in a new commission of the peace such gentlemen as had been lately laid aside<sup>z</sup>.

In pursuance of his plan to regain the affections of his people by concessions, James published, on the twenty-seventh of September, a general pardon, with the exception of a few persons of inconsiderable rank and influence. He acquainted his subjects the next day, by proclamation, of the certainty of the intended attempt upon his kingdoms from Holland. In a conference with several prelates on the same day, he took off the suspension of the Bishop of London, and laboured to persuade them of his unalterable resolution to support the church in all her immunities, privileges, and rights. These general assurances being deemed insufficient, the King thought proper to invite again the bishops to aid his councils with their advice. He informed them by message, that he was ready to do whatever they should think necessary for the security of the Protestant religion, and the civil rights of all his subjects. On the third of October, nine prelates, being the whole of the order then in town, waited upon the King at Whitehall. They were led by the Archbishop of Canterbury. Even Compton, the Bishop of London, who had been restored three days before to his function, was one of the number. This prelate, though deep in the plot against the King, and in correspondence with the Prince of Orange, presented himself before him, with less sincerity than policy, to offer his advice. Six out of the nine prelates were of the seven bishops who had been committed to the Tower. Like good Christians, they had for-

<sup>z</sup> Gazettes, passim.



given the injury ; or they sacrificed their private resentment to the public good.

C H A P.  
VIII.

1688.

THE second of October was appointed for giving audience to the bishops ; but the King was employed on that day, and could not receive their advice. To gain the city of London was almost as necessary to the present state of his affairs, as to recover the support of the church. He sent in the evening for the lord-mayor, the aldermen, and the sheriffs, with several other eminent citizens. He declared, that, as a mark of his confidence, and to enable them to serve him with their usual loyalty during the threatened invasion, he had resolved to restore the city to its ancient charter and former privileges. To give more solemnity to this concession, the chancellor himself carried to Guildhall the instrument of restitution and confirmation, under the great seal of England. The aldermen that were superseded, after the judgment upon the *quo warranto*, took their former places. The vacancies were supplied by election, according to the ancient custom of the city of London. When the charter was restored, with great formality, by the chancellor, the hall rang with repeated shouts of joy. An address was immediately prepared, read, and approved. The lord-mayor, the aldermen, and sheriffs, waited upon the King in a body. They gave their most hearty thanks for his Majesty's great grace and favour for restoring their liberties and franchises ; and they promised to support the established government to the utmost hazard of their lives and fortunes <sup>a</sup>.

October.  
Charter of  
London re-  
stored.

THE bishops comprehended their advice in ten articles. They requested his Majesty to place the government of the several counties in the hands of persons qualified by law. They advised him to annul the ecclesiastical court, to restore Magdalene-college, to set aside all licences enabling persons of the Popish communion

Advice of the  
bishops.

<sup>a</sup> Gazette.



C H A P.  
VIII.

1638.

to teach public schools. They desired him, with all humility, to desist from the exercise of the dispensing power, and to inhibit the four foreign prelates, who styled themselves vicars apostolical, from invading the jurisdiction vested by law in the bishops of the church of England. They earnestly solicited him to fill the vacant sees with men of learning and piety, especially the archiepiscopal chair of York. They intreated his Majesty to supersede all further prosecution of Quo Warranto, to restore all corporations to their ancient charters, privileges, and franchises, to issue writs for a free and regular parliament, to secure the church of England according to the acts of uniformity. But at the same time they expressed their wishes, that provision should be made for a due liberty of conscience. They concluded, with earnestly praying his Majesty to permit his bishops to offer such arguments as, they trusted, would persuade him to return to the communion of the church of England, in which he was baptized, in which he was educated, and to which it was their daily and earnest prayer to God that he might be united<sup>b</sup>.

The King  
retracts his  
measures,

THOUGH these proposals, especially the last, would have raised at any other time, the indignation of the King, so sensible he was of the danger of his situation, that he thanked the bishops, and promised to comply with their advice. On the fifth of October he declared in council, that to protect the church of England, and to remove all suspicions and jealousies to the contrary, he had thought fit to dissolve the ecclesiastical court. On the twelfth of the same month, the King also declared, that as an evidence of his resolution to preserve the established church in all her rights and immunities, he had signified his pleasure to the Bishop of Winchester, visitor of St. Mary Magdalene-college in Oxford, to restore the expelled president and fellows to their former functions. All

<sup>b</sup> Printed Advice.



corporations whose franchises had been invaded in the former and present reign were on the seventeenth restored to their ancient charters, liberties, and rights. Orders from the council were issued the same day, for removing and displacing all mayors, sheriffs, recorders, town-clerks, aldermen, and common-councilmen, put in office by the present and late King, ever since the year 1679<sup>c</sup>. In the article of recalling liberty of conscience alone, the King adhered to his former measures. Sunderland advised him to recall his declaration of indulgence. But he now, though too late, suspected the fidelity of that lord; and concluded, that he only wished to disoblige the Non-conformists now that the church of England was offended<sup>d</sup>.

C H A P.  
VIII.  
1688.

THESE concessions, though they restored the constitution to its former state, were prized the less that they seemed to be extorted by fear. The conduct of the King in other respects was not answerable to the prudence of these conciliating measures. He raised one Hall, an obscure city divine, to the vacant see of Oxford, for the only merit of reading the declaration of indulgence, when refused by a great majority of his brethren, in the diocese of London<sup>e</sup>. The Prince of Wales was baptized, on the fifteenth of October, in the Romish communion; and, as if fate urged the King to his ruin, the Pope, represented by his nuncio, stood godfather to the child. This conduct was construed into an insult upon a church which he had promised to protect. Men could give but little credit to his professions in support of a faith in which he determined not to breed the heir of the crown. But he had so utterly lost the confidence of his subjects, that the whole nation were ready to receive impressions of the worst kind. His enemies were dispersed every where. The emissaries of those who secretly conspired against his authority were busy with his reputation. They placed

and makes  
concessions.

<sup>c</sup> Gazettes, passim.

<sup>d</sup> James II. 1688.

<sup>e</sup> Kennet.



C H A P.  
VIII.

1688.

Magdalene-  
college  
restored.

all his actions in the worst light. They construed his omissions into design; and his very follies were industriously represented as instances of depravity and vice.

IN such a state of publick opinion, the measures of the King must have been watched with jealousy. His concessions, as they were hasty and apparently forced, were deemed temporary and uncertain. The greater, therefore, was the necessity to execute with precision what he affected to promise with sincerity. The arts of his secret enemies, or perhaps only accident, furnished a new subject of distrust to the nation. The Bishop of Winchester, with a warrant for restoring Magdalene-college, left London on the fourteenth of October; but, instead of repairing to Oxford, he retired to Farnham. Urged, however, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, he arrived in the university on the twentieth, with the design of restoring the fellows the next day. But he had scarce gone to bed, when he received an official letter from the Earl of Sunderland, commanding his presence in council at ten of the clock on the twenty-second. This was no more than a general order, without specifying the business, sent to all the bishops, to be present at enrolling the depositions concerning the birth of the Prince of Wales. The messenger had gone to Farnham. He proceeded from thence to Oxford. The Bishop, without restoring the college, returned to London. James, finding upon inquiry that the Bishop had not executed his business, commanded him back, with expressions of some passion; and the president and fellows were, on the twenty-fifth of October, restored to their former functions<sup>s</sup>. This delay has been always produced as an irrefragable proof of James's want of sincerity in his concessions. Upon the news of a storm which had shattered the Dutch fleet, he has been said to have retracted his popular

<sup>s</sup> MS. Oct. 21, 1688.

measures.



measures. There is no truth in the assertion. The letter which accidentally recalled the Bishop of Winchester was written on the nineteenth of October: and the Prince of Orange was not driven back by the tempest till the twenty-first of the same month<sup>b</sup>.

C H A P.  
VIII.

1688.

BUT of all the stories propagated with such industry against James, none was so ruinous in its consequences as the surmises spread concerning the birth of his son. This fiction, which had been supported with ardour by the Prince of Orange, was revived with vehemence when he was upon the point of entering upon action. New whispers were daily spread concerning the imposture. The true mother of the pretended Prince was even said to have made her escape to Holland; and she was daily expected in the Dutch fleet. These reports, and the ungenerous suspicions entertained by his own subjects, reduced James to the humiliating necessity of proving judicially the birth of the Prince of Wales. An extraordinary council was called. The peers, both spiritual and temporal, were summoned. The Lord Mayor and aldermen of London and all the judges were present. A great number of the most respectable persons of either sex were examined. The evidence was striking, positive, decisive. No birth of a child was ever more circumstantially proved<sup>c</sup>. The Princess Anne, though invited, refused, under the pretence of her being breeding, to attend<sup>d</sup>; though it was afterwards found, that she was not at all with child. She had even gone to Bath in the preceding summer, notwithstanding the earnest solicitations of her father for her remaining in town, to be present at the delivery of the Queen<sup>e</sup>.

Birth of the  
Prince of  
Wales  
proved.

THE depositions concerning the birth of the Prince were carried by the Earl of Sunderland, as president of the council, to the court of Chancery to be recorded. This was the last act of that lord, as minister. When he returned to the King, he was ordered

Sunderland  
disgraced.

<sup>a</sup> D'Avaux, vol. iv.

<sup>b</sup> Printed depositions.

<sup>c</sup> Burnet.

<sup>d</sup> James II. 1688.

immediately



C H A P.  
VIII.

1688.

immediately to deliver the seals, and to retire with disgrace from the presence. He perhaps owed his head to the perils which surrounded the King. James, when too late, perceived that he had been all along betrayed by his minister; and that his own folly had been flattered with a design to accomplish his ruin<sup>m</sup>. His resentment was equal to his injuries. But it was no time to punish, when he wished the nation to forget former severities. Disgrace, however, was too slight an animadversion upon the double part acted by this profligate lord. Artful and insinuating by nature, he seemed to deceive for the love of treachery. He banished all morality from politics; and, swayed by his own selfish views, he slighted all the ties which bind men of honour and virtue. He conspired afterwards against William with the same deliberate apathy that he betrayed James to the Prince of Orange<sup>n</sup>.

Reflections.

JAMES, however, was too late in his concessions to the nation, as well as in the discovery of the treachery of his servants. Had he retracted his illegal and unpopular measures upon the first surmises of an invasion, in the preceding summer, had he even called a parliament, upon restoring their liberties and franchises to the corporations, prudence would have dictated to the Prince of Orange to lay up his fleet, and decline the projected invasion. The most hostile house of commons could scarce have demanded more than an absolute and legal confirmation of what James had already granted. But when he recalled the old, and issued no new writs for a parliament, men with great reason began to doubt his sincerity. They concluded that he intended to recall, should he succeed against the Prince, condescensions evidently extorted from him by mere necessity. James however asserts the contrary. He affirms, that his only reason for putting off the meeting of parliament was, that he could not, though both were necessary,

<sup>m</sup> James II. 1688.<sup>n</sup> MS 1694.

remain



remain at the head of the army, and attend at the same time the deliberations of the two houses°. But in clearing himself of design, he admits the folly of his conduct; and proves his own infatuated ignorance of the terms upon which he stood with the nation.

C H A P.  
VIII.

1688.

DURING these transactions in England, the Prince of Orange continued his preparations in Holland. Notwithstanding his ardour for the expedition, nothing but a happy coincidence of events on the Continent could have made it prudent, or even possible. France, prepared for war, hovered on her own frontiers with her armies. The storm was gathered; nor was it for a long time known where it was first to break. In this state of uncertainty, the Dutch could neither spare the Prince nor their troops. The intelligence which the Prince of Orange held with Sunderland, through Sidney, removed an obstruction which threatened the ruin of all his designs. Lewis the Fourteenth, by the advice of Louvois, wrote to James in his own hand, that, to divert the Dutch invasion from England, he would lay siege to Maestricht with thirty thousand men. James communicated the intelligence to Sunderland. That lord conveyed it to the Prince. Six thousand men were thrown into Maestricht; and the design of Lewis, as being impracticable, was laid aside°. Disgusted with this want of retention in James, he turned his arms on the side of Germany. The Dauphin laid siege to Philippsburgh on the fifth of October; and Prince Clement of Bavaria, by throwing a strong garrison into Cologne, effectually secured the States of Holland from any sudden danger from the arms of France°.

The Prince  
of Orange

EVERY necessary preparation being made for his expedition, the Prince of Orange took a formal leave of the States of Holland.

takes leave of  
the States.

° James II. passim,

° MSS. 1688.

° Auct. citat. passim.



C H A P.  
VIII.

1688.

He acknowledged their kindness to him upon many occasions. He took God to witness, that he had studied their interest ever since they trusted him with the government. With the like awful appeal to Heaven, he took God to witness, that he had not the least intention to invade or subdue the kingdom of England, much less to make himself master thereof, or to invert or prejudice the lawful succession. He averred, on the contrary, that his sole design was to assist the nation in re-establishing the laws, in recovering their liberties, and in securing their religion, by means of a free parliament. His intention, he said, was to aid that assembly in making such provision, in a legal way, as should place religion and liberty on a solid and lasting foundation. His other great design, he affirmed, was to put the nation in a condition to concur with the common cause of Christendom, and to restore and maintain the peace and tranquillity of Europe<sup>r</sup>. He recommended the Princess of Orange to the States, in case of his own demise; and he concluded with assuring them, that he would live their friend or die their servant<sup>s</sup>.

His declaration.

Six days before the Prince took this formal leave of the States, he published a declaration, penned by Fagel, to be dispersed upon his landing in England. This elaborate, but heavy performance, enumerated, in fifteen articles, the more notorious attacks made by James on the religion and laws of the British kingdoms. He concluded his charge against the English government, for he laid no blame on the King, with expressing the great and violent presumptions, that the prince of Wales was not born of the Queen. He assured the world, that his expedition was intended for no other design but to procure a free parliament, to heal the breaches between the King and his subjects. This declaration was translated by Burnet from the French of Fagel; and even printed, when intelligence arrived from England that the King had re-

<sup>s</sup> Neuville, tom. i.<sup>r</sup> James II. 1688.



tracted almost all the measures of which the Prince complained. A supplement was immediately added. The change in the counsels of James was perhaps justly ascribed to fear. The Prince expressed his resolution to procure a confirmation of the concessions already made, in a free parliament, which should assemble under the shelter of his arms. This self-denial of the Prince was too common to be deemed sincere. But the solemnity with which he called God to witness his own disinterestedness, greatly facilitated the execution of his designs.

C H A P.  
VIII.  
1688.

HAVING finished his preparations, the Prince sailed from the Brille and Helvoetsluys on the nineteenth day of October. His fleet consisted of fifty men of war, twenty-five frigates, and as many fire-ships; with as many transports as made up, in all, six hundred sail. The force on board consisted of fifteen thousand two hundred men, including five hundred and fifty-six officers. The Prince himself, with the Mareschal de Schomberg, embarked in a frigate of thirty-six guns, which carried the flag of England at the mast-head. Vice-admiral Herbert, a man who covered the profligacy of his private life by pretensions to public virtue, led the van; the Prince of Orange, with Bostiens, the center. The Zeeland squadron, under Evertson, brought up the rear. This enormous body had scarce got out to sea, when a dreadful tempest arose at south-west, and drove the fleet to the north. The storm raged for twelve hours. The ships were dispersed. The Prince returned next day to Helvoetsluys, with four men of war and sixty transports. Nine hundred horses were thrown over-board. But that was all the loss sustained. In less than seven days the whole fleet returned; and the Prince, having remounted his cavalry, was, in twelve days, ready to sail again<sup>a</sup>.

Sails, and is driven back.

THE Prince of Orange endeavoured to derive advantage from this misfortune. To lull James into security, a most lamentable

He sails again.

<sup>a</sup> D'Avaux, et Auct. citat.



C H A P.  
VIII.

1688.

relation of the loss of the Dutch was printed in their Gazettes. They averred, that nine ships of war were lost; that many transports foundered at sea. The most obnoxious of those Englishmen who attended the Prince were said to have been drowned. The States themselves were dismayed; and the Prince of Orange, they affirmed, would find it impossible to prosecute his design before the spring. James was elevated beyond measure at the disasters of his rival. He is said to have ascribed to the immediate hand of Heaven the storm which shattered the Dutch fleet. He, however, had not long any reason to boast of supernatural aid. On the first of November, the Prince put again to sea. The wind was at east; and he intended to land in Burlington-Bay, or a little below Hull, in pursuance of the advice of the Earl of Danby. But the next day, having changed his resolution, he suddenly tacked about, and drove westward right before the wind. On the third of November, he was discovered, between Dover and Calais, stretching down the channel with all his sails. The shores were covered with multitudes of spectators, who felt alternately the reverses of pleasure and terror at such a magnificent and awful sight. Seven hours this enormous body continued to pass, forming a line which extended seven leagues \*.

The English  
fleet detained  
by contrary  
winds.

WHILE this good fortune attended the Prince of Orange, James was persecuted by his own adverse fate. The Lord Dartmouth, who owed much to his favour, was inviolably attached to his person. He lay at the Gunfleet, with thirty-eight ships of the line and twenty-three frigates; a force more than sufficient to give a good account of the Prince and his six hundred sail. The tempests, which had raged for several weeks on the coast of Holland, prevented Dartmouth from visiting the Dutch on their own shores. The same east wind which gave a prosperous voyage to the enemy, confined the English to their own coast. When his scouts brought

\* Printed accounts.



an account to Dartmouth, that the Dutch fleet had passed, his yards and top-masts were down in a hard gale. Though the weather was foggy, six ships passed so near, that they were discerned from the English fleet. Three ships split their cables. They plied hard, and soon gave the signal of having discovered the Dutch. But the wind blew fresh and contrary. There was also a lee tide, and the admiral could not weigh till the next day, when he crowded all his sails in pursuit of the Dutch. Some captains, who inclined to the Prince, held a meeting upon the occasion<sup>y</sup>. But they concluded, that should it come to an engagement, they all must fight. A sudden calm, however, prevented any struggle between their fidelity to James and their affection for his son-in-law. Dartmouth was suddenly stopt by this accident; and, soon after, a furious gale at west effectually prevented his further progress. The fate of the Revolution depended upon the winds. The destruction of the Dutch fleet, even after the landing of the Prince, would have intimidated his adherents, and ruined all his designs<sup>z</sup>. The Lord Dartmouth came before Torbay, with a fixed resolution to attack the Dutch as they lay at anchor. But his fleet was dispersed. The tempest increased<sup>a</sup>. He himself was forced back to Spithead, in a shattered condition. Some of his ships were driven as far as the Downs.

C H A P.  
VIII.  
1688.

THE change of wind, which had stopt Lord Dartmouth in the pursuit, enabled the Dutch to gain Torbay, where the Prince had resolved to land. The unskilfulness of a pilot, or the strength of the gale, had carried the fleet to the west of Dartmouth. No safe port remained on their side of Plymouth; and that town was at a great and inconvenient distance from the capital. To tack in the teeth of the wind would be to tempt their own destruction. The English fleet, they knew, was coming down with all their

Nov. 5.  
The Dutch  
land.

<sup>y</sup> Lord Torrington's Memoirs. Dalrymple's Append. MSS.

<sup>z</sup> Auct. citat. passim.

<sup>a</sup> James II. 1688.



C H A P.  
VIII.

1688.

sails, led by a man bound by gratitude as well as duty to the King.

The same good fortune which had uniformly attended the Prince, deserted him not on the present occasion. While he was in the utmost perplexity, the easterly wind died apace away. A calm succeeded, but it lasted not long. A gentle gale rose at south. The whole fleet was carried into Torbay on the fifth of November; which, being the anniversary of the gun-powder treason, was regarded by the superstitious as a fortunate omen<sup>b</sup>.

James's pre-  
parations.

JAMES, apprized of the landing of the Dutch, called an extraordinary council. The declaration of the Prince of Orange having been received with ardour by the nation, he resolved to print it, with animadversions, by public authority. The remarks were drawn with great acuteness, and even ability. But the season of persuasion was past. The people concluded, that the promises of Papists were no longer binding than their priests pleased. Besides, men remembered that the King had paid little regard to the declarations made at his accession to the throne; and therefore they placed no faith in professions extorted from him by the perilous situation of his affairs. He, in the mean time, endeavoured to transfer the dispute from argument to the sword. He sent his son, the Duke of Berwick, with a force to defend Portsmouth. He recalled his troops from the north. He ordered his whole army to rendezvous on Salisbury plain. He placed the Earl of Feversham in the chief command, till he himself should arrive, being determined to lead his troops in person to the enemy<sup>c</sup>.

Nov. 9.  
Distress of the  
Prince.

THOUGH the Prince of Orange landed his troops in safety, he could not for some time boast of his good fortune. A great deal of rain had fallen. The roads were rendered almost impassable. He possessed neither cattle nor carriages to transport the baggage of his army. The soldiers were obliged to carry their tents and

<sup>b</sup> Burnet.<sup>c</sup> James II. 1688.



provisions. His officers were destitute of horses, servants, and every kind of refreshment. He, however, directed his incumbered march to Exeter; but not one joined him in his way. An emissary, whom he sent before him to Exeter, was seized and confined. The gates were shut against him, though the town possessed no means of defence; and, when he entered, the mayor would not acknowledge him in any capacity, or listen to his authority in any form. His army was discouraged<sup>d</sup>. In a council of war, his principal officers advised him to reembark. He himself was, beyond measure, perplexed. The common discourse of all was, that the Prince was betrayed; and he himself began seriously to think of abandoning his designs. During a week, which he spent at Exeter, no favourable change appeared. Impatient of disappointment, he is said to have declared publickly his resolution to permit the English nation to settle their own differences with their King<sup>e</sup>; and to direct James where to punish, by transmitting to him the secret correspondence of his subjects<sup>f</sup>.

C H A P.  
VIII.

1688.

THE adherents of the court exulted upon observing the coldness with which the Prince was received. But their cause of gladness was not of long duration. One Burrington had the merit of joining first the Dutch; and he was followed by many of the gentry of the county of Devon. Sir Edward Seymour, the creature and favourite of James, during the latter years of his brother's reign, formed an association, which was readily signed by all. But still the King might have prevailed, had the army continued firm. The Lord Cornbury began the defection among the troops, which soon after proved fatal to the authority of James. Upon his arrival at Salisbury, he pretended orders from the King, and marched, with three regiments of horse, to Blandford, Dorchester, and toward Honiton. Clifford, the major of his own regiment, distrusting his intentions, demanded, at length, a fight

Many join  
him.<sup>d</sup> Aust. citat. passim.<sup>e</sup> Burnet.<sup>f</sup> Dalrymple's Append.



C H A P.  
VIII.  
1688.

of his orders, or, at least, to know his designs in making so speedy and great a march toward the enemy. The farther he advanced, the more he was questioned; till he suddenly threw himself, with sixty men, into the hands of the Dutch at Honiton. The two other regiments, finding themselves betrayed, retreated in the utmost disorder; and Clifford even brought back to the King's army the main body of his own regiment<sup>a</sup>.

Petition of  
several peers.

THOUGH the number of the deserters was inconsiderable, the defection of Cornbury was attended with important consequences. A sudden panic seized the army. Suspicion, distrust, and despondence prevailed. The adherents of the Prince were encouraged. The Prince himself became animated with additional hopes. James was still at London. Feversham, who had just arrived at Salisbury, deeming the three regiments gone, ordered all his troops to retreat. March after march, he resolved to move back toward Windsor. The city of London was struck with apprehension and terror. James, by an express, commanded the army to stop. Though he thought his own presence necessary at the head of his troops, he was obliged to stay some time to settle the minds of the people. In the mean time, the most of the Protestant Lords, both spiritual and temporal, who were then in London, presented a petition for the immediate meeting of a free parliament. He answered them, that what they asked he himself most passionately desired. He promised them, upon the faith of a King, that he should call such a parliament as they desired, as soon as the Prince of Orange should quit the kingdom; but that, at present, it was impossible a parliament could be free, when an enemy possessed a part of the country which returned near one hundred members<sup>b</sup>.

The King  
joins the ar-  
my.

THIS answer, though plausible, contributed to ruin the King. Some construed the delay into a fixed aversion to parliaments.

<sup>a</sup> James II. 1688.

<sup>b</sup> Nov. 17.

Others



Others distrusted the performance of his promise, when the force which extorted it should be removed. Men in general justly deemed, that should the Prince be obliged to quit the kingdom, James would become the sole arbiter of his own conduct. His misfortunes might render him moderate; but it seemed dangerous to trust implicitly a Prince whom misfortunes only could tame. The day on which the King received the petition, he began his journey to Salisbury. Just before his departure, he called before him such general officers as were then in town. The Duke of Grafton, the Lord Churchill, Kirk, and others, attended; and he made to them a formal speech. He told them what he had promised to the petitioning peers. He informed them, that he was willing to grant whatever more they should demand. "But, after all," continued he, "if any of you is not satisfied, let him freely declare himself. I am willing to grant passes to such as choose to join the Prince of Orange, and to spare them the shame of deserting their lawful sovereign<sup>1</sup>." But when the King shewed one instance of spirit, he committed a new act of imprudence. When he left London, he comprehended two Roman Catholics, the Lords Bellasis and Arundel, with other persons, in a commission for the administration of affairs in his absence. In return, he was attended by a Protestant chaplain in his progress; who, having obtained an order for dislodging the priests, officiated in their stead<sup>2</sup>.

C H A P.  
VIII.  
1688.

ON the nineteenth of November the King arrived at Salisbury. His officers, in a body, expressed their abhorrence of the desertion of the Lord Cornbury in the strongest terms. His design was to have advanced to Axminster. But the Prince of Orange had already possessed himself of that place. He resolved the next day to visit the advanced quarter at Warminster. A sudden bleeding at the nose prevented him from falling into captivity, and saved,

Many officers  
desert.

<sup>1</sup> James II. 1688.

<sup>2</sup> Ralph, vol. i. p. 1041.



C H A P.  
VIII.

1688.

it is said, his life. The night before he left London, a conspiracy was formed by some of his chief officers to seize his person, and to deliver him into the hands of the Prince of Orange. The Earl of Rochester, the Lord Churchill, the Bishop of London, Sir George Hewit, with several others, met privately at Mr. Hatton Compton's lodgings in St. Alban's street. After a long debate, concerning the means of serving, to the best purpose, the Prince of Orange, it was at length resolved, that Rochester should attend the King to Salisbury, to betray his counsels to the Prince; that Churchill should endeavour to secure the person of James; which could best be done when Maine was staff-officer on duty<sup>1</sup>. Should Maine and the guards resist, no safety remained but in dispatching the King. Churchill, but perhaps very unjustly, is said to have undertaken this barbarous service. The design of seizing the King is ascertained from various quarters: but an intention to stab or pistol him, in case of resistance, is too shocking to merit credit, without the most positive, clear, and decisive proofs. The only evidence of the fact is the death-bed confession of Sir George Hewit; who, after having received emoluments and honours from William, repented, in his last moments, of his conduct toward his former master<sup>m</sup>.

He returns  
to London.

JAMES, suspecting Churchill and the Duke of Grafton, once intended to have sent them, under a guard, to Portsmouth<sup>n</sup>; but he judged that severity, instead of aiding, would hurt his affairs. In a council of all the principal officers, the Earl of Feversham, the Count de Roy, and the Earl of Dumbarton, entreated the King to retire to London. The Lord Churchill and his party declared their opinion for his remaining at Salisbury. James resolved to follow the first advice. The Duke of Grafton, Churchill, and many inferior officers, fled, under the cover of night, to the Prince. Successive misfortunes poured, without intermission, on the King. When he arrived at Andover, Prince George of Den-

<sup>1</sup> Reresby. James II.<sup>m</sup> MSS. 1688.<sup>n</sup> James II. 1688.



mark and the Duke of Ormonde fled. Trelawney, with all his captains, except Fox, deserted from Warminster. Kirk, though privy to the conspiracy of Churchill against the King, still adhered to his colours, but paid little regard to orders. Thirty common soldiers only attended the fugitive officers. The rest, when solicited, refused to desert their sovereign<sup>o</sup>. The King, suspecting the present and apprehensive of the future, continued his march toward London. Every day diminished the number of his officers; but the soldiers still adhered to his cause<sup>p</sup>. Having left the remains of his army in quarters at Maidenhead, Windsor, Egham, and Colnbrooke, he himself retired to London, on the twenty-sixth of November<sup>q</sup>.

C H A P.  
VIII.

1688.

To add to his misfortunes, he found, upon his return to London, that the Princess of Denmark had withdrawn herself secretly the night before. This defection in a daughter whom he had ever treated with the utmost tenderness and kindness<sup>r</sup>, whom he loved to such a degree, that he never troubled her, even upon the article of religion<sup>s</sup>, overwhelmed him with astonishment and grief. His constancy gave way. Tears started from his eyes. He broke forth into terms expressive of his deep sense of his own desolate and lost condition. "God help me!" he cried, "my own children have forsaken me in my misfortunes." To add to his distress as a parent, he was accused of being accessory to the death of his own child. Her nurse, and her uncle the Earl of Clarendon, went up and down like distracted persons, affirming that the Papists had murdered the Princess. They publicly asked the Queen's servants, whither they had conveyed her; and they contributed to inflame the populace, whose zeal had already roused them to tumult and disorder. It was, however, soon known that she fled, under the conduct of the Bishop of London, to Northampton. A

Princess Anne  
flies.<sup>o</sup> James II. 1688.<sup>p</sup> Ibid.<sup>q</sup> James II. passim.<sup>r</sup> Clarendon's Diary, Nov. 9, 1688.<sup>s</sup> Ibid.



C H A P.  
VIII.  
1688.

paper, bearing the title of a letter from the Princess to the Queen, appeared in print. But if this letter was really written, it was neither found in the apartments of the Princess, nor delivered to the Queen<sup>t</sup>.

General confusion.

LOADED with accumulated misfortunes, the firmness which James had hitherto preserved gave way. Every day, almost every hour, brought intelligence of some fresh defection or disaster. His nearest friends were his greatest enemies. They whom he had most obliged, were the first to forsake his side. Commotion and tumult prevailed. The people rose in various counties. The Lord Delamere was in arms in Cheshire. The city of York was seized by the Earl of Danby. In Derby, the Earl of Devonshire declared for the Prince of Orange. The Bishop of London, under pretence of a guard, formed a kind of an army round the Princess Anne, in Northampton. The Earl of Bath, governor of Plymouth, held that place for the Prince. A general confederacy seemed to prevail against the King among all his subjects. Those who opposed him not with open force, distracted, under the mask of friendship, his counsels; and embarrassed all his measures, by contradictory opinions and opposite demands. He threw himself, in the last resort, upon the peers, who were then in London. An assembly of that order was called on the twenty-seventh of November. But, instead of extricating him from his misfortunes, they seemed to take advantage of his distress, and to urge him forward to that ruin, which he could not now avoid without their aid.

Adv'ce of the  
peers.

SOME of the lords, with a freedom which bordered on insult, blamed the King severely for his former conduct<sup>u</sup>. Those who loved him best, were the most offended at those measures which had reduced him to inextricable distress. They moved him to

<sup>t</sup> James II. ut supra.

<sup>u</sup> Clarendon's Diary, Nov. 27.



call a parliament, and to send commissioners to treat with the Prince of Orange. To ensure success, some measures, as preliminaries, were proposed. They advised him to grant a general pardon; and, as a mark of his sincerity, to turn immediately all Papists out of employment. James, after hearing the debate, concluded the conference with a short speech. He told the peers, that he had heard them all; that they had spoken with great freedom, but that he was not displeased with what any had said. He assured them, that he was resolved to call a parliament; but that their other proposals were of such importance, that he would take one night's time to return his answer<sup>x</sup>. Writs for calling a free parliament, to meet on the fifteenth day of January, were the next day issued by the chancellor. A proclamation was published, that all peers, and such as should be elected members of the lower-house, should have full liberty to serve and sit in parliament, notwithstanding their having appeared in arms, or committed any act of hostility. The King declared, that he would send commissioners to treat with the Prince of Orange: but as to the removal of Papists, he would leave that matter to be debated in parliament<sup>y</sup>. This reserve, while it proved his enthusiasm, furnished his enemies with an argument against his sincerity.

ON the thirtieth of November, James appointed the Marquis of Halifax, the Earl of Nottingham, and the Lord Godolphin, his commissioners to treat with the Prince. Though the King suspected their attachment to his own person<sup>z</sup>, he was ignorant that all the three were deeply concerned in the conspiracy against his power<sup>a</sup>. But, whatever faith the Prince of Orange might place in the inclinations of the commissioners, he shewed plainly, that he deemed the time of treating was past. They left London on the second of December; but they were not admitted to an

King sends a  
deputation to  
the Prince.

<sup>x</sup> James II. 1688.

<sup>y</sup> Gazette.

<sup>z</sup> James II.

<sup>a</sup> D'Avaux. Dalrymple's Append.



C H A P.  
VIII.1688.  
December.

audience till the eighth of the month. To wear down the time, that he might use to the best advantage the favourable events which daily arose, he amused the commissioners, by sending them from place to place. Having at length admitted them to an audience, he desired that they should put their proposals in writing. They informed his Highness, that they were commissioned to attend him by the King, for the sole purpose of adjusting matters necessary for the freedom of elections, and the security of the sitting of parliament; that, in the mean time, the respective armies should, to prevent apprehensions, be restrained within certain limits, and at a proper distance from the city of London. The Prince, with great prudence, placed the burden of an answer upon a meeting of such English peers and gentlemen as had espoused his cause. Their debates were long and vehement. Though a free parliament was now the only object not obtained of all the articles of the Prince's declaration, a majority carried, that the writs issued for that purpose should be superseded. The Prince rejected this part of the answer; and, contrary to his usual caution, dropt an expression which explained his designs, "We may drive away the King," said he, "but it is not so easy to come by a parliament<sup>b</sup>."

Sends off the  
Queen and  
Prince of  
Wales.

JAMES, who had an hourly communication with his commissioners by expresses, perceived that no favourable answer could be expected from his son-in-law. Fears for his own personal safety were added to the despair which he entertained concerning his affairs. But what affected him most, was the terrors of the Queen for herself and her infant son. When intelligence arrived, on the ninth of December, that the whole affair was referred to men who were his avowed enemies, all the King's hopes of an accommodation vanished. He resolved to send off, that very evening, the Queen and the Prince of Wales. The latter had been just

<sup>b</sup> Clarendon's Diary.

brought



brought back from Portsmouth, whither he had been sent to be conveyed abroad. But the Earl of Dartmouth, either from attachment or terror, refused to obey the King's express commands for sending away his son. The Queen and Prince crossed the river in a boat, at Whitehall, in a stormy and rainy day. They were carried to Gravesend in a coach, under the conduct of the Count de Lauzun. A yacht, commanded by Captain Gray, which lay there ready for the purpose, soon transported them in safety to Calais<sup>c</sup>.

C H A P.  
VIII.  
1688.

WHILE this unfortunate Prince provided for the safety of his family, he himself was surrounded with inextricable difficulties. He was deserted in his own palace. Men perceived that his fall was near, and they were afraid of being involved in the ruin. A melancholy silence prevailed around him, except when it was broken by the news of some fresh disaster. The Prince of Orange, when he affected to treat, came on with all the appearance of force and war. The King's advanced guards, struck with a panic, fell back from Reading. The Scots and Irish, in whom he trusted, exhibited symptoms of disaffection or fear. His own despondency had infected all his troops. The common soldiers, who had, for the most part, hitherto preserved their fidelity, began to murmur and break from all command. A battalion of Douglas's regiment, in whom he confided the most, declared for the Prince. Deserted, avoided, despised, feeling much and fearing more, his mind became unequal to the difficulties of his situation; and, though naturally possessed of a perseverance, which obtained the name of firmness, he became wavering and distracted in all his counsels. His boasted sincerity was forced to give way to his fears. Deserted by those whom he deemed his best friends, he became suspicious of all mankind; and, being so often betrayed, he himself began to deceive. To some he said, he was almost certain of an

His own distress.

<sup>c</sup> James II. passim.



C H A P.  
VIII.  
1688.

amicable accommodation; to others, that he was still resolved to decide the contest with the sword. He now spoke of waiting for the enemy on Hounslow-heath, and now of stopping their progress at Brentford-bridge<sup>d</sup>.

The Prince's  
dictatorial  
answer.

THE reply of the Prince to the proposal of the commissioners put an end to the perplexities and doubts of the King. The dictatorial air of the answer convinced him, that he had nothing to hope, and every thing to fear. He was required to remove all the Papists, to recall all the proclamations that reflected on the Prince and his adherents, and to discharge from custody all persons committed for aiding in the invasion. The Tower was to be delivered to the city of London, for its safety; and Tilbury Fort, for the protection of its trade. It was stipulated, That, if the King should think fit to remain in London during the sitting of the parliament, the Prince might also be there, with an equal number of his own guards: That, should James be pleased to reside in any place from London, the Prince might remain at the same distance: That the respective armies should remove thirty miles from the capital: That no more foreign troops should be brought into the kingdom: That, in the mean time, to prevent the landing of French or other foreigners, Portsmouth should be placed in such hands as the King and Prince should mutually agree: That some sufficient part of the public revenue should be assigned to the Prince, for the maintenance of his army, till the meeting of a free parliament<sup>e</sup>.

Observations  
on the

THESE conditions, in fact, divested James of all authority. But the Prince of Orange would have been disappointed in his views, had they been received. Though the nation in general were offended with the King, very few dreamed of depriving him of the throne. The pity of the people would at last supply

<sup>d</sup> Ralph, Kennet. Publications of the times.

<sup>e</sup> Printed Answer.

the



the place of loyalty. Their present defection arose from their apprehensions from the Popery of the King, and not from any aversion to the legal authority of the crown. That republican enthusiasm, which had overturned the throne forty years before, was either altogether extinguished, or softened down into the more practicable principles of limiting the royal prerogative. A breach upon the regular succession, though perhaps the nearest way to the absolute security of public freedom, was neither understood nor desired. Men judged of the future by the past. A disputed title to the crown had dyed the annals of former ages with blood. No declaration of the legislature could alter at once the principles of mankind, or induce the nation in general to relinquish the first maxim of government delivered down from their ancestors. Few had yet arrived at that philosophy in politics, which gives its necessary weight to authority, without deeming obedience a moral duty.

C H A P.  
VIII.

1688.

THE folly of James gave the only justifiable cause to the Prince of Orange to invade his kingdoms. His credulity and timidity paved for him the way to his own throne. Had he accepted even the harsh conditions offered by his son-in-law, had he continued, upon any terms, in England, the latter would have found himself obliged to remain in the character of a mediator, or to throw off the mask, and seize the object of his ambition by force. But the panic, which had seized James, relieved the Prince from the necessity of adopting either alternative. Seeing himself divested of his authority, he resolved not to continue, after the departure of his power, in a country in which he had reigned. His injuries from the Prince of Orange had made such an impression on his mind, that he believed his own life in danger, should he continue within the reach of his power<sup>f</sup>. He considered not, that he might, perhaps, derive from the Prince's prudence the safety which he did

conduct of  
both.<sup>f</sup> James II. 1688.



C H A P.  
VIII.

1688.

not expect from his humanity. The death of the King would only bring him one step nearer to the throne. A nearer heir than the Princess, his wife, was still safe; and James, therefore, might trust his good sense, should he deem him otherwise capable of the atrocious crime of taking away his life. The Prince himself was not wanting in his endeavours to increase the fears of the King. The Marquis of Halifax, at the suggestion of the Prince, informed James, that there would be no security for his person in any part of the kingdom<sup>e</sup>.

The King  
flies.

URGED by the fears of others, terrified by his own, supported by none, and distrusting all, the King resolved, by withdrawing himself, to throw every thing into confusion. His conduct upon the occasion was marked with folly, as well as despair. He threw the great seal into the Thames. He left none with any authority to conduct affairs<sup>b</sup>. He ordered the Earl of Feversham to disband his troops. He vainly hoped to derive an advantage to his affairs from anarchy and disorder. Under the pretence of retiring to rest he privately quitted his palace. About twelve at night, on the tenth of December, he disguised himself, took boat at Whitehall and crossed the river. Sir Edward Hales, with another friend met him at Vauxhall with horses. He mounted, and, conducted through bye-ways by a guide, took his way through night to the Medway; which he passed, by Ailesford-bridge. At Woolpeck he took fresh horses, sent thither before by Sheldon, one of his equerries, who was in the secret of his flight. He arrived at ten o'clock at Embyferry, near Feversham, where a custom-house hoy, hired by Sir Edward Hales, lay ready to receive them on board. But the wind blew fresh, and the vessel had no ballast. The master, therefore, easily persuaded the King to permit him to take in ballast at Shilness. It being half ebb when they ran ashore, they designed to sail as soon as the hoy should be afloat<sup>i</sup>.

<sup>e</sup> P. d'Orleans. Reresby.<sup>b</sup> Auct. citat. passim.<sup>i</sup> James II. 1688.

BUT



BUT when the vessel was almost afloat, she was boarded by three fisher-boats belonging to Feverham, containing fifty men. They seized the King and his two companions, under the pretence of their being Papists, that wanted to escape from the kingdom. They turned up Feverham water with the tide; but still the King remained unknown. Sir Edward Hales placed privately fifty guineas in the hands of the captain, as an earnest of more, should he permit them to escape. He promised, but he kept not his word. On the contrary, he took what money they had, under the pretence of securing it from the seamen; and having possessed himself of their all, he left them to their fate. The unfortunate fugitives were at length carried in a coach to Feverham, amid the insults, clamours, and shouts of the sailors<sup>k</sup>. When the King was brought to the inn<sup>l</sup>, a seaman, who had served under him, knew him, and melted before him, in silence, into tears. James himself was so much moved at this instance of affection, that he wept. The other fishermen, who had treated him with such indignity before, when they saw his tears, fell upon their knees<sup>m</sup>. The lower inhabitants of the whole village gathered round him with every mark of respect. The better sort fled from his presence. Their prudence overcame their affection; or the memory of his past misconduct was not to be obliterated by his present misfortunes. The seamen formed themselves into a guard round his person, and declared aloud, "that a hair of his head should not be touched<sup>n</sup>."

C H A P.  
VIII.1688.  
He is seized  
at Feverham.

THE Earl of Winchelsea, and most of the gentlemen of the county of Kent, were in the mean time assembled at Canterbury. The Earl, with some of his friends, repaired immediately to the King. Sir James Oxendon, under the pretence of guarding him from the rabble, came with the militia to prevent his escape.

Confusion in  
London.<sup>k</sup> James II. 1688.<sup>l</sup> Ibid.<sup>m</sup> Dalrymple's Append. James II.<sup>n</sup> James II. passim.



C H A P.  
VIII.

1688.

The King found a change in his condition when he was taken out of the hands of the sailors. The commanders of the militia shewed him no respect. He was even insulted by the common men<sup>o</sup>. A letter, which he intended to send to London for clothes, a change of linen, and some money, was stoppt by those who pretended to protect his person. In the mean time, all things ran into confusion at London. The news of the King's flight was received by all with the utmost astonishment and surprise. Whispers, murmurs, tumult, confusion prevailed. All government was at once unhinged. All commissions seemed to be at an end. The magistrate was ignorant by what authority he could act. The people knew not whom to obey. The rabble, relieved from the restraint of laws, blindly followed their passions and their prejudices. They demolished the Popish chapels. They rased to the ground the houses of the ambassadors of Popish states and Princes. Riot, devastation, and anarchy were spread every where. The whole body of the people felt one general commotion. London was on the point of suffering from its own inhabitants, all the miseries experienced by other cities from foreign foes. To add to the public panic, the adherents of the Prince of Orange propagated a report, that the disbanded Irish had begun a general massacre, and were advancing toward London with all the terrors of fire and sword<sup>o</sup>. One Speke, a profligate native of the county of Somerset, claimed afterwards the merit of this pernicious fiction.

Dec. 11.  
A council  
of peers.

DURING this scene of distraction, anarchy, and riot, such peers, both spiritual and temporal, as were in London, repaired to Guildhall, to restore the public tranquillity, an office which now seemed beyond the power of the regular magistrate. They gave orders for raising the militia. They erected themselves into a supreme council. They executed all the functions of royalty. They issued

James II. passim.

p Ralph.

their



their commands to the fleet. They sent orders to the abandoned army of James. They extended their authority to all the garrisons in England. They issued a declaration, by which they unanimously resolved to apply to the Prince of Orange to settle the affairs of the kingdom, which had been deserted, through the influence of wicked counsellors, by the King. The assembled lords deputed one of each peerage to carry the declaration to the Prince, and to lay before him an account of what else they had done, to bespeak his concurrence and approbation. The city of London trod in the path of the lords. They sent an address full of respect and gratitude to his Highness. The Prince lay in the mean time at Henley; and the whole western road was covered with multitudes, who wished to gain his favour, by an early tender of their service<sup>a</sup>.

C H A P.  
VIII.

1688.

THE Prince, in the mean time, exercised in his own person the functions of royalty. He issued a declaration to the disbanded army, to re-assemble themselves. He ordered the secretary at war to bring to him a list of the King's troops. He commanded the Lord Churchill to collect his troop of horse-guards. He sent the Duke of Grafton to take possession in his name of Tilbury-fort. The assembly of the peers adjourned to the council-chamber at Whitehall, and to give the appearance of legality to their meeting, chose the Marquis of Halifax for their president. While this assembly were sitting, on the thirteenth of December, a poor countryman, who had been engaged by James, brought an open letter from that unfortunate Prince to London. It had no superscription; and it was addressed to none. But it contained, in one sentence, his own deplorable condition, when in the hands of a desperate rabble. This poor messenger of their fallen sovereign had long waited at the council-door, without being able to attract

Conduct of  
the Prince.<sup>a</sup> Sheffield's Works, vol. ii.



C H A P.  
VIII.  
1688.

the notice of any who passed. The Earl of Mulgrave at length, apprized of his business, had the courage to introduce him to the council. He delivered his open letter, and told the wretched state of the King with tears. The assembly were so much moved, that they sent the Earl of Feversham, with two hundred of the guards, toward Feversham. His instructions were, to rescue him first from danger, and afterwards to attend him to the sea-coast, should he choose to retire<sup>a</sup>.

King returns  
to London.

THOUGH the council of lords could not, with any decency, refuse this trivial aid to James, the Prince of Orange was offended at their conduct. He thought, that after they had invited him to take upon him the government of the nation, they departed from their duty in assisting their late King<sup>b</sup>. Accounts of his father-in-law's being stopt at Feversham, was carried to his Highness at Windsor. Disappointed beyond measure at the news, neither he nor his followers could treat with common decency the gentlemen who, in their zeal, brought the intelligence<sup>c</sup>. The Prince sent Zuylstein to desire the King not to advance nearer London than Rochester. But he missed him on the way. The Earl of Feversham, with the guards, had advanced to Sittingburn, whither James was conducted by the militia of the county of Kent. He sent Feversham with a letter to the Prince, to request his presence in London to settle the nation. He himself proceeded to that place, and arrived on the sixteenth of December. Doubting the fidelity of the troops who were quartered at Westminster, he chose to pass through the city to Whitehall. Never Prince returning with victory to his capital was received with louder acclamations of joy. All the streets were covered with bonfires. The bells were rung. The air was rent with repeated shouts of gladness. All orders of men crowded to his coach; and, when he arrived at Whitehall, his

<sup>a</sup> James II.

<sup>b</sup> Burnet.

<sup>c</sup> Napleton's contest with Burnet.

apartments



apartments were filled with persons who came to express their joy at his return<sup>x</sup>.

C H A P.  
VIII.

1688.

BUT this was only a transient gleam before the bursting of a storm. James had scarce retired to his bed-chamber, from the crowds who felicitated his safe arrival, when Zuylstein came with letters from the Prince. He informed him, that what Feversham had proposed, was of too great consequence to be immediately answered. He recommended to the King to remain in the mean time at Rochester. James replied, that had Zuylstein come before he left Rochester, he would have had no difficulty to comply with his nephew's desire. But now he hoped that the Prince, who was then at Windsor, would come next day to St. James's, to confer on the proposal sent by Feversham. "The Prince, I believe," said Zuylstein, "will not come till YOUR troops are removed from town." The King wrote a letter to the Prince before he knew that Feversham was confined by his Highness. He expressed the utmost surprise to Zuylstein. He complained vehemently of this flagrant breach of the law of nations; and he earnestly requested the Prince to release his prisoner. But he was now in no condition to enforce his demands, and favours were not to be expected. The Prince, leaving Feversham confined in Windsor-castle, advanced the next day to Sion. He even condescended not to answer the King's letter<sup>y</sup>.

The Prince  
of Orange

On the seventeenth of December, at nine at night, James was alarmed with the approach of a part of the Dutch army. The Count de Solmes, he was told, was coming to take possession of the posts at Whitehall, with the Prince of Orange's guards. The King, however, supposed that the Count was only to take possession of St. James's, where, in consequence of his letter, he ex-

forces him  
to retire

<sup>x</sup> James II. *passim*.

<sup>y</sup> James II. 1688.

pected



C H A P.  
VIII.

1688.

pected him the ensuing day. But he was soon undeceived. The Earl of Craven, who commanded the guards, came at eleven o'clock to the King, as he was going to bed, and informed him that Solmes was in St. James's Park, with three battalions of horse and foot. He also told him, that Solmes had orders to take post at Whitehall. James sent for Solmes, and told him that he believed he lay under a mistake. He replied, that his orders were positive; and he placed them in the hands of the King. Craven, though then in the eightieth year of his age, resolved rather to be cut to pieces than resign his post to foreigners. The soldiers exhibited a similar ardour. The Dutch were preparing for action. The King, explaining how little resistance now could avail, persuaded Craven and his troops to withdraw, and to give possession without contest to Solmes<sup>2</sup>.

under a  
guard.

WHILE the Dutch guards were advancing to seize the King, the Prince called at Sion a council of his English adherents. His resolution was formed: but there was prudence in demanding THEIR concurrence. They advised the Prince, that the King should leave Whitehall, and repair to Ham, a deserted seat of the Dutchess of Lauderdale<sup>a</sup>. A difficulty arose, who should carry this mortifying resolution to the King. The Marquis of Halifax proposed that it should be sent by some of the Dutch officers. The Prince, with spirit and prudence, replied, "The advice is yours, and you shall carry it YOURSELVES." With the same breath, he named Halifax, Shrewsbury, and Delamere to execute that office<sup>b</sup>. The two last were with Solmes, in the Park. When the King removed his own guards, the other commissioners were joined by Halifax. They were introduced by the Earl of Middleton, about one o'clock, to the King, who was waked to receive their message. James excepted to Ham, as the winter was extremely severe, and the house not furnished. He men-

<sup>2</sup> James I'. p. 11m.<sup>a</sup> Ibid.<sup>b</sup> Clarendon's Diary, Dec. 17.

tioned



tioned Rochester, as more suitable in itself, besides its being appointed before, in the letter, by Zuylstein. They obtained the consent of the Prince, with positive orders to the King to quit his palace by ten, the next day. He asked a guard of his own foot. Solmes placed round him an hundred Dutch soldiers. He signified his wish to be sent by water to Gravesend. Halifax with rudeness opposed his request. But Shrewsbury, with more civility, agreed to his desire<sup>c</sup>.

JAMES, surrounded by the Dutch guards, arrived at Rochester to Rochester. on the nineteenth of December. The restraint put upon his person, and the manner in which he had been forced from London, raised the indignation of several, and the compassion of all. Many, who were far from being fond either of his principles or government, were touched with pity, if not with regret. The English army, both officers and soldiers, began to murmur<sup>d</sup>. Their jealousy was kindled, and their pride began to rise. A spirit had gone abroad, which the precipitate folly of James could only prevent from turning to his advantage. Influenced by his own fears, or mortified at his present abject condition, he resolved to retire. He was convinced that he could not do a service more acceptable to his rival. The guards were not kept exact. The back-door of the house in which he lodged was left without any guard. The Prince forgot his usual prudence, in his eagerness for the flight of James. He sent public orders to the captain of the guards, not to look strictly after the King. James, however, was afraid either of poison or assassination<sup>e</sup>. He considered not, that his death, in either of those ways, would be more dangerous to the Prince than his life; and if he could not confide in his humanity, he might at least rely on his prudence. The flight of his uncle to France could alone secure to him the throne. The repub-

<sup>c</sup> James II. 1688.<sup>d</sup> Clarendon's Diary, Dec.<sup>e</sup> James II. passim.



C H A P.  
VIII.  
1688.

Being re-  
quested in  
vain to stay,

lean spirit which brought Charles to the block was by no means the characteristic of the present times. An enthusiasm similar to his own, precipitated him from his throne, and not those manly principles which deem every government unjust that is not free.

JAMES remained at Rochester three nights, in the midst of a few faithful friends. The Earls of Arran, Dumbarton, Ailesbury, Litchfield, and Middleton, were there, and, with other officers of merit, the gallant Lord Dundee. They argued against his flight with united efforts. Several bishops, some peers, and many officers entreated his stay in some part of England. Message followed message from London<sup>f</sup>. They represented that the opinions of mankind began to change. That events would rise daily in favour of his authority. James was perplexed between his own fears and the zeal of his friends. While others reasoned with calmness, Dundee added his native ardour to advice. "The question, Sir," he said, "is whether you shall stay in England, or fly to France? Whether you shall trust the returning zeal of your native subjects, or rely on a foreign power? Here you ought to stand. Keep possession of a part, and the whole will submit by degrees. Resume the spirit of a King. Summon your subjects on their allegiance. Your army, though disbanded, is not dispersed. Give me your commission. I will gather ten thousand of your troops. I will carry your standard at their head, through England, and drive before you the Dutch and their Prince." The King replied, "that he believed it might be done; but that it would raise a civil war; and he would not do so much mischief to a nation, who would come soon to their senses again." Middleton urged his stay, though in the remotest part of the kingdom. "Your Majesty, said he, may throw things into confusion, by your departure; but it will be but the anarchy of a month:

<sup>f</sup> Original Papers, 1688.



a new government will soon be settled, and you and your family are ruined<sup>f</sup>.

C H A P.  
VIII.

1688.

THESE spirited remonstrances produced no effect on a mind full of apprehension and fear. James resolved to quit the kingdom. Having communicated his design to a few of his friends, he passed at midnight through the back-door of the house where he lodged, and with his son, the Duke of Berwick, and Biddulph, one of his servants, went in a boat to a smack, which lay waiting for him without the fort of Sheerness. When day began to appear, the smack weighed, and stood out to sea. The wind blew hard at east-north-east. They durst not venture to turn down any lower than the Buoy of the Nore. They were forced to bear up the river toward Leigh, and to anchor on the Essex side, under the lee of the land. All Sunday they lay in that place. The gale slackened at night; and, when the tide broke, they got under sail. The weather being fair on Monday, without tacking, they reached the Buoy of the Narrows; but not being able to weather the Goodwin, they were forced to sail through the Downs. Seven ships lay there at anchor; but the smack passed unquestioned along. Unable to fetch Calais, she bore away for Boulogne. She anchored before Ambleteuse. The King landed at three o'clock in the morning of Tuesday, the twenty-fifth of December; and, taking post, soon joined his Queen at St. Germain<sup>g</sup>.

he escapes  
to France.

THE ambition of the Prince of Orange, the cabals of the discontented, the arts of private enemies, the treachery of supposed friends, and even the obvious necessity of circumscribing a prerogative which had been carried beyond its legal bounds, might ultimately strip the King of a part of his authority: but none but James could deprive himself of his throne. The desertion of his

Observations.

<sup>f</sup> Original Papers, 1688.

<sup>g</sup> James II. 1688.



C H A P.  
VIII.

1688.

people proceeded more from a dislike to his measures than an aversion to his person. Had he remained in England, his very misfortunes would have brought back the old, or created new friends. The ardour of his rival for possessing the regal power, had already overcome his usual prudence and reserve. Ungaining in his manner, persevering in the pursuit of his own schemes, as negligent of friends as he was careless of enemies, the Prince was not likely to retain, for any length of time, the popularity which he had acquired. The utility of his public measures would be forgot in his private conduct. His actions would become daily more and more inconsistent with his declarations; and he would at length sink into a mere mediator between the King and his people; or rise to the throne through all the horrors of a civil war. But, fortunately for the Prince, the ignorance and timidity of James opened for him a peaceable accession to a crown, which, though he might seize, he could never retain by the force of his arms.

The Prince  
arrives in  
London.

WHILE James was carried down the Thames, surrounded with Dutch guards, the Prince arrived at St. James's, with a numerous retinue of courtiers and friends<sup>a</sup>. The populace, who had received the King with such acclamations two days before, transferred their shouts to his nephew, with their usual inconstancy. But notwithstanding these outward expressions of satisfaction, the late measures of the Prince raised a secret disgust in the minds of the people. The restraint laid upon the person of the King, the time, the manner of his removal from his own palace, the posting of the Dutch guards where English soldiers had stood with their arms, the taking possession of the Tower with a foreign force, the quartering of troops all over and round the town, raised a kind of general jealousy and ferment<sup>b</sup>. Whispers of dissatisfaction went round. Men began to construe "this specious undertaking into

<sup>a</sup> Dec. 18, 1688.<sup>b</sup> Burnet.

a disguised



a disguised and designed usurpation<sup>k</sup>." But in the midst of this private disgust, public bodies expressed their zeal for the Prince and his cause. The clergy of London, the dissenting ministers, the city itself<sup>l</sup>, and the lawyers, presented addresses full of panegyric, and expressive of gratitude<sup>m</sup>.

C H A P.  
VIII.

1688.

THE lords, who had formally assumed the administration of affairs during the first evasion of the King, desisted from the exercise of their power when the Prince arrived. During two days, no form of government subsisted. But the expectations of mankind, and the authority of the Prince of Orange, preserved effectually the public tranquillity. After deliberating the matter fully with his own intimate friends, he called upon the peers<sup>n</sup> for their advice and concurrence for the settlement of the kingdom. He laid before them his declaration, as the foundation of their deliberations. He withdrew, and left the matter to their own debates. Thanks were voted to the Prince. The association for the safety of his person, which had been framed at Exeter, was presented, and signed by a great majority. The Duke of Somerset, the Earls of Pembroke and Nottingham, the Lord Wharton, and all the bishops except Compton, Bishop of London, refused to sign the association, on account of some expressions which it contained. To give more authority to their future deliberations, they resolved to adjourn to their own house, where they met the next day<sup>o</sup>, and chose for their speaker the Marquis of Halifax. Nothing material was however done. The King was still at Rochester; and he had therefore still many adherents in the assembly of the peers.

Assembly of  
peers.

WHEN James resolved to withdraw himself to France, he left inclosed in a letter to the Earl of Middleton, a paper, written in his own hand, containing the reasons which induced him to fly.

Paper left by  
the King at  
Rochester.

<sup>k</sup> Burnet.

<sup>l</sup> Dec. 20.

<sup>m</sup> Ralph, Burnet, Kennet.

<sup>n</sup> Dec. 21.

<sup>o</sup> Dec. 22.

He



C H A P.  
VIII.  
1688.

He complained of the Prince's refusal to treat, and of the imprisonment of his messenger, the Earl of Feversham, against the practice and law of nations. He dwelt on the hardships which attended his removal from his own palace. He proposed as a question to the world, How could he hope to be safe in the hands of a man who had invaded his kingdom without any just cause? who had traduced his character with the utmost malice, in the clause of his declaration which regarded the Prince of Wales? He appealed to mankind, he left it to the conscience of the Prince himself, whether he believed him capable of the unnatural villainy of imposing a supposititious heir on his kingdoms. "What," concluded he, "had I then to expect from one who has taken so much pains to render me as black as hell to my people, as well as to all the world? I was born free," he said, "and am resolved to continue free. I have ventured often my life for my country; and, old as I am, I shall venture it still to redeem my subjects from slavery." He insinuated, that it was to avoid his person being so secured, as to prevent him from setting his country free, he had determined to retire; but that he would remain "within call," whenever the eyes of the nation should become open to the imposition put upon them by the specious pretences of liberty and property. Notwithstanding this appearance of spirit, he betrayed in the conclusion a degree of his former enthusiasm. "He hoped," he said, "that when a legal parliament should be called, among other things necessary to be done, a liberty of conscience should be granted to all Protestant dissenters, and such a share of it conferred on those of his own persuasion, as should enable them to live peaceably in their own country".

rejected by  
the lords.

WHEN the lords met, on the twenty-fourth of December, the Earl of Berkley moved, that the Earl of Middleton should be

Printed reasons.

I

ordered



ordered to attend with the paper left by the King at Rochester. A debate ensued. But the Lord Godolphin assuring them that nothing contained in the paper would give satisfaction, the motion was dropt. In the course of this debate, it was urged, that the King, by withdrawing, had divested himself of his authority; and that government itself had suffered a demise in law<sup>1</sup>. A free parliament was declared to be the only means to obtain a settlement. The Earl of Clarendon moved that the declaration should be considered, and the birth of the Prince of Wales examined. This nobleman had joined the Prince of Orange, from a firm persuasion that he would adhere to his declaration: but when he found that he aspired to the crown, he deserted his cause. The Lord Paget made a motion, that the Princess of Orange should be declared Queen. He was however overruled. The result of all was, that an address should be presented to the Prince of Orange, to take the administration of government, and to summon a convention to meet at Westminster on some day in the ensuing January<sup>2</sup>.

C H A P.  
VIII.

1688.

THIS address, as far as the thing could be done by the peers, invested the Prince with a regal authority, though not with the name of King. The offer was too agreeable to be refused. But it was necessary to strengthen the resolution of the lords with the approbation of the commons. The Prince assembled at St. James's all those in town who had sat as members in the two last parliaments of Charles the Second. To these he joined the Lord Mayor of London, the court of aldermen, and fifty delegates, chosen from their own number by the common-council. In a formal speech, which he read to this motley assembly, he explained the absolute necessity of their coming immediately to some resolution<sup>3</sup>. They retired to the house of commons in Westminster. They chose Mr. Powle for their chairman. They quickly agreed to

They and an  
assembly of  
commons<sup>1</sup> Clarendon's Diary, Dec. 24.<sup>2</sup> Publications passim.<sup>3</sup> Clarendon's Diary, Dec. 26.

present,



C. H. A. P.  
VIII.

1688.

address the  
Prince to call  
a convention.

present, in substance, the same address with the lords. They presented it accordingly the next day<sup>1</sup>. The Prince required time to consider "this matter of weight," before he should give his answer. He sent for them on the twenty-eighth of December. He promised to exert his utmost endeavours to accomplish their desire. But he neither thanked them for the confidence which they had reposed in his honour, nor for their voluntary surrender of the government into his hands<sup>2</sup>.

THE lords and commons, however, surrendered at this time no power to his Highness that he had not exerted before. He had assigned quarters to the King's forces by his own authority. He ordered Barillon, the French ambassador, to depart the kingdom in twenty-four hours; and, when that minister applied for further time, he sent him under a party of the Dutch guards to the sea-side<sup>3</sup>. He issued his commands to the English troops, as if he had been already their King. He ordered the people to deliver back upon demand such arms as they had received in exchange for necessaries and provisions from the disbanded troops. But these irregularities, though inconsistent with the avowed designs of the Prince, may be forgiven, on account of the distracted situation of the times. All government being in a manner dissolved by his own invasion, there was a kind of necessity for his assuming the authority which he had disturbed. Besides, the Prince, though he endeavoured to suit his behaviour to his interest, suffered frequently his love of power to appear. Harsh and untractable in the temper and disposition of his mind, dissimulation was a burden, which he often seemed to wish to lay down, though his natural coolness, and his determined resolution to possess the object of his ambition, laid, in general, a kind of restraint on his conduct.

<sup>1</sup> Dec. 27.<sup>2</sup> Sheffield.<sup>3</sup> Publications of the times.



THE important year 1688 ended with the Prince's first act of authority. He published a declaration on the thirty-first of December, empowering all civil officers and magistrates, not being Papists, to act in their respective offices, till the meeting of the convention. He dispatched his circular letters to the various boroughs, counties, and corporations, for the election of representatives. He sent a printed invitation to each of the peers. That the members might be chosen without any colour of force or restraint, he ordered the troops to march out of their quarters where any election was to be made<sup>2</sup>. He at the same time applied to the city of London for a loan. The late distractions had either dissipated the revenue, or prevented its being collected with precision. Forty thousand pounds remained only in the Exchequer, when the Prince assumed the government. The English army, though they had sacrificed their duty to the King to their fears for the Protestant religion, were by no means pleased with the Prince. They were offended at real or supposed indignities. Their natural jealousy of foreigners added to their resentment. Besides, many of the officers were attached to James, through personal obligations. The Prince resolved to model and reform the refractory corps. But this could not be effected without money to pay their arrears. He applied therefore to the city of London, and they resolved to supply his Highness with a loan of two hundred thousand pounds, to be repaid in six months<sup>1</sup>.

C H A P.  
VIII.1689.  
His first acts  
of authority.

BUT public business employed not the whole attention of the Prince of Orange during the interval between his assuming the government and the meeting of the convention. Though he himself was cold and reserved, his emissaries and friends were busy in insinuating his expectations from a people, who acknowledged

Private in-  
trigues of the  
Prince for  
the crown.<sup>1</sup> Jan. 5.<sup>2</sup> Gazette.



C H A P.  
VIII.

1689.

that he had extricated them from public misery and political distress. The distance which he observed, and the very silence which he kept, though partly springing from his natural temper, explained his views. The state of opinions, even without either his force or his aid, seemed to promise the gratification of his hopes of the throne. The general defection of the nation from James, and even his own desertion of the nation, had created a mutual distrust, which rendered a reconciliation dangerous, as it could not be deemed sincere. Besides, the Prince, already possessed of power, became the only object to which the ambitious, who are naturally the leaders of party, turned their eyes. The Marquis of Halifax and the Earl of Danby longed each to recover the political consequence which they had possessed in a former reign. Though irreconcilable enemies themselves, the only contest was to try which could most oblige the Prince. These two noblemen led two parties in the kingdom, while a third, which perhaps at bottom were more numerous than both, lost their spirit through their want of success.

Intrigues of  
Halifax and  
Danby.

THE Marquis of Halifax, however, either through his own acuteness, or from better information, adopted views more judicious than those of his competitor for power. He resolved to make a present gift of the throne to the Prince, to gain his future favour. He justly judged, when once a breach was made on the succession, that it mattered little how far the settlement of the crown should deviate from the genuine line. The Princess of Orange had no better title than her husband to the throne, while her father and brother were alive. Besides, he perceived that he could add to the number of his own party, with the same measure which should gratify the Prince. Men of republican principles highly favoured an alteration in the succession, as the means of weakening, or perhaps abolishing monarchy. They were the  
chief



chief instruments in guiding, and even terrifying the people to the mode of settlement promoted by Halifax, who seemed himself to act only under the direction of the Prince's Dutch servants and friends. Their eagerness upon this head had led them into an error destructive of their own romantic views. They had even invested already the Prince with the first prerogative of the crown, the privilege of calling a parliament. Instead of issuing directions, when they met in convention, for the choice of a free parliament, they, with peculiar absurdity, employed the Prince of Orange in accomplishing that work; as if they could transfer to a foreigner, who possessed no office that the constitution recognised, a right, which they were afraid to exert themselves.

C H A P.  
VIII.

1689.

THE Earl of Danby, though seemingly more moderate, was more absurd than Halifax. He wished to preserve inviolable the claims of monarchy, yet resolved to break the succession. He endeavoured to gain the Prince, by transferring the crown to his wife, as the next heir. The folly which induced him to believe before, that the Prince of Orange invaded England for a less prize than the throne, gave him hopes that he would now rest satisfied with the honour of having a queen for his consort. Danby was not, however, destitute of support in his opinion. The warm abettors of monarchy were half reconciled to an expedient, which overturned not quite their principles. The friends of James approved of a measure which tended to disappoint the Prince in his ambitious views. The dispute ran high between the parties; but the contest was unequal. The person most concerned was already in possession of the whole force and revenue of the kingdom, and supported by a foreign army. He had not declared his sentiments; but there was an eloquence in his silence, which sufficiently explained his designs. Besides, his Dutch friends, though they pretended to speak from no authority, discovered his sentiments. Fagel, at a meeting held at the Earl of Devon's, put

Danby fa-  
vours the  
Princels.



C H A P.  
VIII.

1689.

Convention  
meets.

an end to the doubts of Danby. When that lord urged his own visionary scheme of settling the crown, he was plainly told, that the Prince of Orange would not be his wife's gentleman-usher<sup>c</sup>.

THE expectations of the Prince of Orange were sufficiently known before the meeting of the convention, on the twenty-second of January. The choice of the two speakers fell, as before, on the Marquis of Halifax and Mr. Powle<sup>d</sup>. The first obtained the chair, after a competition with Danby; the latter without any opposition at all. A letter from the Prince was presented to both houses. He told them, that he had done every thing in his power for the public safety and peace. He even knew not that any thing was omitted for the preservation of either, since the administration of affairs had been placed in his hands. As he had done his part, he said, it lay with them to fix the foundations of a firm security for their religion, their laws, and their liberties. He doubted not, but from such a full and free representative of the people, the ends of his declaration would be obtained. He represented, that the dangerous state of the Protestant interest in Ireland required a large and speedy succour. He affirmed, that the least delay in their counsels might prove fatal, in the present state of foreign affairs. He magnified the generosity of the Dutch, by whom he had been enabled to rescue the nation. He expressed his fears, that they would feel the bad effects of the aid which they gave. He requested their early assistance against a powerful enemy, who had declared war against the States. He was confident, he said, that their cheerful concurrence to preserve this kingdom, would merit its assistance to preserve themselves<sup>e</sup>.

Reflections  
on the le-  
gality

TO men who endeavour to deduce all the political rights of mankind from precedent and law, the present assembly will not

<sup>d</sup> Dalrymple's Append.<sup>e</sup> Journals, Jan. 22, 1689.<sup>c</sup> Ibid.

appear



appear to be by either supported. The convention which restored Charles the Second, was by no means similar to that which raised William the Third to the throne. The long parliament, however much they might have abused the authority, derived their own existence from a source recognised by the constitution and laws. The two other estates of parliament having been excluded from their functions by the violence of others, their whole power devolved, in a regular succession, upon the commons. They were *de facto*, though perhaps not *de jure*, the supreme authority in the nation; and, as such, they had a kind of right to remit the people to the choice of a new representative. In the present instance, the members of parliaments, regularly dissolved, met upon the invitation of a person vested with no authority recognised by the laws. They devolved a power, which they possessed not themselves, upon a Prince who had not even the small advantage of being a native of England. He exerted his fictitious authority, and summoned an assembly, who, by virtue of powers derived solely from himself, conferred upon him the crown.

NECESSITY, however, has been urged as a sufficient justification of this irregularity. The King, by deserting the functions of his office, had dissolved all government. Things reverted to their first principles; and the people had a right to establish what authority they pleased to govern themselves. But men have not considered, that there cannot happen a partial dissolution of government. When the chain is broken in the upper link, confusion pervades the whole. Upon the principle, that all authority is dissolved, what right had a small part of the nation, as the freeholders confessedly were, to determine upon a point in which the whole body of the people were concerned? Could THEIR exclusive privileges subsist, after the political fabric had fallen? But, if the freeholders at large lose their relative privileges, by a total

C H A P.

VIII.

1689.

of that assembly.



C. H. A. P.  
VIII.

1689.

total dissolution of government, they can have no representatives, as they can transfer no power. The truth is, the expediency of the thing must supply the place of right. The people at large are too unwieldy a body to act for themselves. A kind of usurpation is necessary to guide and even to command them to their own good. Besides, they are never minutely tenacious of their natural rights. They voluntarily yield a superiority to particular persons; and their acquiescence is afterwards construed into duty.

Address of  
thanks.

THESE arguments neither suggested themselves to the convention, nor were they suitable to their views. They considered themselves as possessed of the power, and they deemed that they had a right to settle the government. The two houses voted an address of thanks to his Highness. They appointed a day of thanksgiving for the deliverance. The power of executing the government, which the former convention had conferred upon the Prince, expired the moment the two houses were formed. They besought him, in their address of thanks, to continue his administration; and the lords and commons, the greatest compliment ever paid to a King, waited upon him in a body<sup>f</sup>. But neither the zeal of their professions, nor their offer of power, seemed equal to the expectations of the Prince. He was stately, cold, and reserved. He made no immediate reply; and, when he delivered his answer the next day, it partook more of the disobliging dryness of his manner, than the warm gratitude which they had some reason to expect. He told them, that he was glad they were pleased with what he had done; and that, as they desired him to continue the administration of affairs, he was willing to accept their offer. He again recommended to them the consideration of affairs abroad, which rendered it fit for them to expedite their business at home<sup>g</sup>.

<sup>f</sup> Journals, Jan. 22.<sup>g</sup> Jan. 23.



THE commons, instead of entering immediately either on foreign or domestic affairs, adjourned for three days<sup>a</sup>. When they met again, on the twenty-sixth of January, they appointed the twenty-eighth for considering the state of the nation<sup>i</sup>. On that day<sup>k</sup> they resolved themselves into a committee of the whole house. They chose Hampden for their chairman. Mr. Dolben began the debate with a speech. He endeavoured to prove, that the King's deserting the kingdom, without appointing any person to administer the government during his absence, amounted, in reason as well as in law, to a demise. There was no novelty in this argument. It had been frequently urged without doors, ever since it was first mentioned in the assembly of the peers in December. Men more violent than Dolben objected to his motion of a demise, as too narrow a foundation for a firm and permanent settlement. They affirmed, that this political demise inferred, that the crown ought immediately to fall on the next heir. But as this would be attended with the same inconvenience which they wished to remove, they insisted, that there could be no descent in the present case; and that the throne being vacated by the desertion of the Prince, the royal authority had fallen to the disposal of the people, from whom it originally arose. Finch, on the other hand, offered several arguments for a regency. Sir Christopher Musgrave, and even Sir Edward Seymour, who first promoted the association at Exeter, urged strenuously against the vacancy of the throne<sup>l</sup>.

AFTER a debate of many hours, the committee came to this memorable resolution: They resolved, that James the Second, having endeavoured to subvert the constitution, by breaking the original contract between King and people, and having violated the fundamental laws, and withdrawn himself, had abdicated the

Grand re-  
solve..<sup>a</sup> Journals, Jan. 23,<sup>i</sup> Jan. 26.<sup>k</sup> Jan. 28.<sup>l</sup> Debates.

kingdom;



C H A P.  
VIII.

1689.

kingdom; and that the throne was thereby become vacant". This complicated resolution, after having been approved in the house, was carried up to the lords. The peers were divided into various parties. The high-churchmen were for a regency. The Whigs were for conferring the crown upon the Prince of Orange. A third, but the most considerable party, adhered to the unfortunate King; some, from an affection to his person; but more, from a despair of the Prince's favour, which seemed to be altogether engrossed by the Whigs. The lords resolved themselves into a committee of their whole house, to consider the resolution of the commons. The Earl of Danby was placed in the chair. The first matter considered was a regency". Nottingham began the debate with moving, "not to agree with the commons, that the throne was vacant." He supported his motion with various arguments. He urged the precariousness of the throne, should the power of judging the King remain in the people. He argued, that the first breach upon the line of succession would render, in fact, the crown elective. He declared for a regency, as the only means to exclude James, without ruining monarchy; and he affirmed, that all other expedients were only calculated to please the republican party, who deemed that the King was accountable to the people, from whom he derived his power.

Debates in  
the

THE lords who opposed the motion urged arguments still more specious. They affirmed, that a regency appointed without the consent of the King, was a greater breach upon monarchy than the filling of the throne by election. They could find no difference, they said, between dethroning the King and depriving him of all authority. They urged the manifest absurdity of having two kings at the same time; the one possessed of the power, and the other of the title; especially when, in the very

<sup>m</sup> Journals, Jan. 28.<sup>n</sup> Burnet.



nature of the thing, they must be in perpetual opposition. A regency in the present case, they said, would be more illegal, as well as more unsafe, than a King with even a disputable title. The law of England, they continued, had provided for the security of the subject, in submitting to the King in possession; but no statute had made any provision for the safety of those who should adhere to a regent against the lawful Prince. Should the government, they said, be carried on in the name of James, the nation would consider him still as their real King; and should any person endeavour, either by plot or insurrection, to restore him to his authority, such person could not be prosecuted, as for high-treason, for an act which the laws construed into a duty. In the weakness or infancy of a Prince, for instance, they said the case was extremely different. The will of the regent was then considered as the will of the King. But, in the present case, a perpetual contest must subsist between them; the one endeavouring to recover his power, the other to preserve his authority.

THESE arguments, or, what is more probable, the views of a majority of the lords, determined the question against a regency, should the throne be declared vacant<sup>p</sup>. The house resolved itself into a committee the next day<sup>q</sup>, to consider further the vote of the commons. The subject of debate was, whether there was an original contract between the Prince and the people? A question more speculative and less important could scarce engage the attention of a deliberative assembly. When men are forced to return to first principles, there is a kind of ridicule in searching for precedents. Arguments from reason might be produced, that a kind of compact was understood to subsist between the subject and the sovereign. But the actual existence of such a compact was as unnecessary as the fact itself was untrue. Neither the concessions of ancestors, nor the encroachments of former monarchs, can con-

in the house  
of lords.

<sup>p</sup> 51 against 49.

<sup>q</sup> Journals of the lords, Jan. 30.



C H A P.  
VIII.

1689.

stitute any precedents against the natural rights of mankind. Freedom must not be received as a legacy. It is the property of human nature; and all men have a right to assert it with ardour. When either accident or force unhinges a government, expedience only is to be considered in the settlement of public affairs; and those who best provide against future evils, by such a settlement, deserve the most applause. But men seldom act with sufficient coolness upon such occasions. Their passions interfere with their deliberations; and the result proceeds from accident more than from wisdom. The question was decided, after a long debate, for an original contract; and the house almost immediately resolved, that James had broken that contract<sup>r</sup>.

They amend  
the vote of  
the commons.

THE lords, on the same day<sup>s</sup>, took under their consideration the word ABDICATED, contained in the vote of the commons. No inquiry was made in the debate which ensued, whether the King withdrew himself voluntarily, or was terrified away from his kingdom by open force<sup>t</sup>, or by the fears of private violence. The peers soon concluded, that DESERTED was a more proper word. The next question concerned the vacancy of the throne. The bench of bishops, the Tory peers, those who were discontented with the Prince, or who derived no hopes from his power, recurred to the trite maxim of law, that the King never dies. As a proof of this position, they urged the oath of allegiance, which binds the subject to the heirs of the King as well as to himself. The adherents of the Prince affirmed, that the oath of allegiance regarded only a natural demise; and they justly observed, that there was no provision made in law for a civil demise. Upon this foundation the whole ought to rest. No one could deny but the convention might make a precedent upon a new matter as well as their ancestors. But men were inflamed by prejudices; and they

<sup>r</sup> Journals of the lords, Jan. 30.

<sup>t</sup> Ralph, vol. ii.

<sup>s</sup> Clarendon's Diary, Jan. 30.

wandered



wandered to flight quibbles from solid reason. The result of the whole was, by a majority of eleven<sup>u</sup>, that the words, "the throne is thereby vacant," should be expunged from the vote of the commons. But from this decision a new question arose. If the throne was not vacant, by whom was it filled? James was excluded already; and it was not yet agreed who was the next heir. A motion was made, that, instead of "the throne is hereby vacant," should be inserted, "that the Prince and Princess of Orange should be declared King and Queen." This also, upon a division, was rejected by a majority of eleven votes<sup>x</sup>.

C H A P.  
VII.  
1689.

THESE important amendments upon their vote were sent down on the first of February to the commons. When the peers met the next day, a letter was placed in the hands of the Marquis of Halifax, their speaker, by the directions of the Lord Preston. This letter was understood to have been sent by the King from St. Germain. Some demanded it should be read. Others forbid it with clamour. The enemies of James prevailed. But the letter soon found its way to the press. The King, to a recapitulation of reasons, which he had already given, for withdrawing from Rochester, added new matter. He complained, that the Prince of Orange had intercepted and suppressed the copies which he had sent to his privy-council and peers. He wondered not, however, that all arts were used in concealing his sentiments from his subjects. He affirmed, that it was to prevent the hearing of proposals, which would please all reasonable men, the Prince chose to expel him from Whitehall. But for his part, he said, whatever crimes should be committed, he was resolved to remain innocent. He assured them, that he was ready to return whenever he could return with safety. He resolved, that nothing should be omitted which could tend to the absolute redress of all disorders,

Feb.  
Reject a letter  
from James.

<sup>u</sup> 55 against 44.

<sup>x</sup> 52 against 41.



C H A P.  
VII.

1689.

in a free and legal parliament, held without constraint. He promised to secure the church of England, to give such indulgence to Dissenters as should prevent all jealousy, to heal by the advice of parliament all divisions, to cover with oblivion all faults, to restore the happiness of his people, and to lay their liberties on a solid and lasting foundation. These blessings, he affirmed, could never be effectually derived from any other power<sup>z</sup>.

Prince of  
Orange de-  
clares him-  
self.

THE Prince of Orange, who affected to remain an unconcerned spectator of the contests in the convention, was alarmed by the last vote of the lords. The natural phlegm of his disposition, as well as his pride, and perhaps his prudence, had hitherto kept him silent. But finding that he was likely to lose the chief object of his ambition, he at length broke through his seeming apathy and reserve. He called together Halifax, Shrewsbury, Danby, and some other leaders. He told them, that to prevent all restraint upon the deliberations of the commons, he had hitherto avoided to interfere with their debates. He informed them, that he had heard some were for placing the government in the hands of a regent. He would not oppose the measure, he said, but he assured them, that he was resolved not to be THAT regent. He told them, that others seemed inclined to place the Princess on the throne, and to confer upon him, by courtesy, the name of a King. He assured them, that though he esteemed the Princess, he was determined not to owe to HER that favour; and he desired them to rest satisfied, that he would not take the title of an office, of which he possessed not the power. He insinuated, that he expected the crown should be settled upon him for life. That if they should think fit to act otherwise, he would not oppose their designs: but he assured them he would return to Holland, and interfere no more with their affairs<sup>z</sup>.

<sup>y</sup> Printed letter.

<sup>z</sup> Burnet, Ralph.



C H A P.  
VIII.1689.  
Conference  
between the  
houses.

THESE threats might have had weight, had they been deemed sincere. But the Prince rested not upon them all his hopes. Though distant, cold, stately, and reserved himself, his agents were extremely busy in soliciting votes. The Dukes of Ormond, Southampton, Grafton, and Northumberland, who first declared for a regency, were either persuaded out of their former principles by argument, or gained through the channel of interest. The commons had, by a considerable majority<sup>a</sup>, rejected the amendments of the lords, upon their grand resolve. To shew their adherence to the Prince of Orange, they thanked the clergy who had opposed the encroachments of James. They thanked the fleet and army, for deserting his cause<sup>b</sup>. On the fifth of February, a conference was held between the two houses. The conference was managed with more ingenuity than ability. The debate consisted of a mere play upon words. ABDICATE, DESERT, and VACANCY, were the subjects of contest, when the fate of the kingdom depended upon the debate. The dispute was more suitable to the pedantry of schools than to the dignity of the two houses of parliament. Both sides were obstinate. The parties who managed the conference, retreated, without bringing any thing to a conclusion, to their respective houses<sup>c</sup>. When the report was made to the lords, a violent debate arose. Halifax and Danby profited from their conference with the Prince; and urged vehemently for closing with the commons. The managers of the conference maintained their former opinions with heat and obstinacy. The Earl of Nottingham distinguished himself upon the occasion, though he was one of those who invited the Prince of Orange. The question at length was put; and, notwithstanding the influence of the court, it was carried to agree with the commons only by two votes<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> 282 against 151.<sup>b</sup> Journals, Feb. 1.<sup>c</sup> Feb. 5.<sup>d</sup> Ralph, vol. ii.

WHEN



C H A P.  
VIII.

1689.  
Lords declare  
the Prince  
and Princess  
of Orange  
King and  
Queen.

WHEN the difficulty was removed, the Marquis of Halifax made a motion, that the crown should be immediately conferred upon the Prince of Orange. He was seconded by the Lord Colepepper: but the house remained silent. He then made a motion, "that the Prince and Princess of Orange should be declared King and Queen of England." This question was carried by a majority of twenty votes. The lords the next day<sup>e</sup> declared, that the Prince and Princess should enjoy the crown of England during their natural lives and the life of the survivor. That the sole and full regal power should be in the Prince. That, after the decease of both, the throne should be filled by the heirs of the body of the Princess. That, in default of such issue, the Princess of Denmark and the heirs of her body should succeed. That, in default of these, the heirs of the body of the Prince of Orange should possess the throne. That, in case of a failure of these, the crown should pass to the person that should be limited and regulated by act of parliament; and, in default of such limitation, to the lawful heirs of the Prince of Orange. The lords sent this declaratory vote to the commons. But the lower house, though they seemed eager for a vacancy, were not so precipitate in filling the throne. They deemed it indecent to transfer the kingdom from their former sovereign, without gaining some points for the people. They ought to consider, that when they conferred the crown, they might have given it upon their own terms. A committee had been appointed to draw up the claims of the subject, under a new settlement, a precaution which the lords had neglected, in the violence of their debates. The report consisted of two branches. The first was declaratory of ancient rights. The second, introductory of new laws. The first only was annexed to the vote of the lords, to which the commons agreed on the eighth of February<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>e</sup> Feb. 7.<sup>f</sup> Feb. 8.

THE



THE limitations proposed by the commons were by no means agreeable to the Prince of Orange. Though too prudent to appear an enemy to public freedom, he wished to receive the crown with all its prerogatives. When the lower house hesitated to accede to the vote of the lords till the claims and demands of the subject were known, he became apparently uneasy. He sent the Lord Wharton to the leaders of the commons. He ordered him to acquaint them, that if the convention insisted upon new limitations, he would leave them to the mercy of James<sup>e</sup>. This threat, which had so good an effect upon the lords, served his views with the commons. They dropt for the present the claims introductory of new laws, and contented themselves with annexing the former demands of the subject to the vote which raised the Prince of Orange to the throne. But this complaisance of the commons finished not the business of the settlement. The lords made amendments. The commons approved of some and rejected others. Great heats still prevailed in the upper house. The final vote was with great difficulty carried<sup>h</sup>. It was even proposed by the minority, to leave in a body the house, as a kind of perpetual protest<sup>i</sup>. The Earls of Nottingham and Pembroke overruled this dangerous design. They perceived the necessity of a settlement; and they were resolved, for the public good, to support a government of which they did not approve. The whole was finished on the twelfth of February; and on that very day the Princess of Orange arrived at Whitehall, from Holland. She took possession of her father's palace, and his very apartments, with an air of levity and unconcern, that gave great offence to her best friends<sup>k</sup>.

C H A P.  
VIII.1689.  
The commons agree,  
after some  
hesitation.

THE two houses of convention, led by their respective speakers, went in state, on the thirteenth of February, to make a tender of the crown to the Prince and Princess of Orange. To a pre-

Declaration  
of rights.<sup>e</sup> Great Britain's just complaint.<sup>h</sup> Burnet.<sup>i</sup> Echard.<sup>k</sup> Burnet. Mem. of the Dutches of Marlborough.



C H A P.  
VIII.

1689.

amble, containing a detail of the grievances of the preceding reign, they annexed the claims of ancient rights and liberties. They declared that the dispensing power, as it had been lately assumed, was illegal. That the late ecclesiastical commission was contrary to law. That the levying of money without the authority of parliament was unlawful. That the subject has a right to petition the King. That the raising or keeping a standing army in the time of peace, except by the consent of parliament, is against law. They asserted the right of subjects, being Protestants, to possess arms. They declared that the election of members and the debates of parliament ought to be free. They affirmed that excessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed. They declared, that jurors, in matters of treason, ought to be freeholders. That all grants and promises of fines and forfeitures before conviction are illegal and void. They insisted, that parliaments ought to be held frequently, for the redress of grievances, and for amending, strengthening, and preserving the laws. The declaration of his Highness, they said, had encouraged them to this demand; and, having an entire confidence in the Prince of Orange, they hoped that he would still continue those rights which he had already preserved<sup>1</sup>.

Observations.

No hereditary monarch could refuse his assent to this declaration, which was presented to an elected King. The rights that were claimed had been recognised in the most arbitrary reigns, though they were sometimes evasively invaded. Great omissions, it was urged by many, were apparently made in this new settlement of the crown. A King was chosen: but he received the prerogatives, as well as the throne, of former Kings. He was armed with the same powers. The people were equally subject to his ambition and arbitrary views. A great alteration was made. But men only, and not measures and securities, were changed.

<sup>1</sup> Journals.



The convention altered the succession upon republican reasons. They established the new settlement upon high monarchical principles. In vain, they said, the people assumed the power of making a King, if the work of their own hands should become independent when made. They observed, that the elected Prince possessed the same authority with his predecessors over parliaments, who are accounted the guardians of public freedom. Their elections remained as insecure as before. Their meetings were as uncertain. They were not made the masters of their own sessions. No provision was made for their meeting annually, duennially, or even once in three years. Their whole constitution, it was affirmed, remained precarious. Their best measures were liable to be defeated by adjournment, prorogation, and dissolution. Even the present popularity of the Prince, his very attachment to Protestantism, his being chosen in the name of the nation, seemed to require stricter limitations than a monarch, whose measures, from their being suspected, were certain of being opposed.

BUT men who argued in this manner seem not to have perceived, that the change in the succession was a great point obtained for the people against the crown. The reverence with which some political zealots looked up to the sovereign, must naturally have been diminished, when he ceased, according to their ridiculous maxim, to derive his right to their allegiance from God. The line of monarchy coming down without interruption from antiquity, even excited a kind of veneration dangerous to freedom, among the body of the people. They were unable to separate the duty which they owed to the kingly office from the personal authority of the King. But when the chain was once broken, the monarch could possess no more power than what the established laws bestowed. The crown was respected more than the Prince. It was no longer considered as private property, since the hands which gave might resume it again. Besides, the Prince

in the suc-  
cession.



C H A P.  
VIII.  
1689.

himself would derive moderation from the very circumstance of his owing to others his power. His disputed title would naturally throw him on his people, as their adherence only could preserve the authority which they conferred. The popularity of William was scarce an objection to his elevation. It sprung from accident, and was not likely to last. His ungracious address, his forbidding manner, the phlegm of his disposition, and even the ungracefulness of a sickly and emaciated form, were by no means qualities either to gain or retain the affections of the vulgar. He however derived security from the state of the times, as well as from his own parts. Men could less forgive James for the injuries they had done to that deluded Prince, than for those which he himself was supposed to have done to the laws.

Reflections

SUCH was the end of the reign of James the Second, a Prince, whose impolitic conduct deprived, in a great measure, his very misfortunes of regret. He met with the common fate of the unfortunate: he was more blamed than he deserved. His enthusiasm in favour of a religion which his subjects abhorred, was a species of madness rather than a crime. There is, however, scarce any reason to believe that he himself, with all his bigotry, ever entertained hopes of establishing the Romish faith in England<sup>m</sup>. He was evidently hurried into some of his worst measures by servants, who were bribed by his enemies to betray him to his ruin. The Popish cabinet, who first advised the dispensing power<sup>n</sup>, was formed by Sunderland, then in the pay, as well as privy to the views, of the Prince of Orange; and the violence of Jefferys kindled a difference with the bishops, which hastened his master's ruin<sup>o</sup>. His attack upon Magdalene-college, in Oxford, though sufficiently expressive of his dangerous principles, was carried to extremity more through the arts of Sunderland, than by his own violence. Though he avowedly designed that college as a seminary for his favourite

<sup>m</sup> James II.

<sup>n</sup> Ibid.

<sup>o</sup> Ibid.



fect<sup>p</sup>, there is scarce any reason to doubt, had he heard of the first petition of the fellows, but he would have dropt his persecution of Oxford, as he had relinquished his attempt on Cambridge.

C H A P.  
VIII.

1689.

HE is, however, by no means to be excused in many other parts of his conduct. His haughtiness to his parliament when they sat, his tampering with them afterwards, to favour his views, his keeping on foot a great army, without the excuse of domestic disturbances or foreign war, were irrefragable proofs of his arbitrary principles, and ultimately of his designs. His interference with the common course of justice, by displacing judges who interpreted not the laws according to his inclination, was a dangerous grievance, and raised, with justice, the jealousy, and even the indignation of his people. His partiality to Papists, to the exclusion of his other subjects, was full of injustice and weakness. His own open profession of the Romish faith, his encouraging the priests of that religion to appear at his court in the habits of their respective orders, his licensing places of worship for his favourite sect, his erecting Popish schools, to seduce the children of his subjects from Protestantism, were instances of insult to his people, as well as of folly in himself. His whole reign, in short, was full of imprudencies in his own conduct, and with attacks on the favourite prejudices of his people.

on the reign,

IN many respects, it must be owned that he was a virtuous man, as well as a good monarch. He was frugal of the public money. He encouraged commerce with great attention. He applied himself to naval affairs with success. He supported the fleet, as the glory and protection of England<sup>q</sup>. He was also zealous for the honour of his country. He was capable of supporting its interests with a degree of dignity in the scale of Europe. In his private life he was almost irreproachable. He was an indulgent parent,

and character,

<sup>p</sup> James II.

<sup>q</sup> Ibid. passim.



C H A P.  
VIII.

1689.

a tender husband, a generous and steady friend. In his deportment he was affable, though stately. He bestowed favours with peculiar grace. He prevented solicitation by the suddenness of his disposal of places. Though scarce any Prince was ever so generally deserted, few ever had so many private friends. Those who injured him the most were the first to implore his forgiveness; and even after they had raised another Prince to his throne, they respected his person, and were anxious for his safety. To these virtues he added a steadiness of counsels, a perseverance in his plans, and courage in his enterprises. He was honourable and fair in all his dealings. He was unjust to men in their principles, but never with regard to their property. Though few monarchs ever offended a people more, he yielded to none in his love of his subjects. He even affirmed, that he quitted England to prevent the horrors of a civil war, as much as from fear of a restraint upon his person from the Prince of Orange. His great virtue was a strict adherence to facts and truth in all he wrote and said, though some parts of his conduct had rendered his sincerity in his political professions suspected by his enemies.

views.

THERE is, however, nothing more certain than that the people found themselves aggrieved; and that, consequently, they had a right to do justice to themselves. Though, in England, apprehensions for the future were much greater than present grievances, yet that conduct in the Prince, which raised those apprehensions, ought to be opposed. There is reason to believe, that the preference given to a sect, whom the people in general abhorred, raised more indignation than actual fears of the establishment of the Popish religion. The thing itself was, even at the time, deemed, by men of sense, impossible\*. The Papists scarce bore the proportion of one to two hundred Protestants in the nation. Scarce one in fifty of the army, which created so much terror and

\* Marquis of Halifax to the Prince of Orange.

jealousy,



jealousy, was of the Popish persuasion. Though several of that sect were in office, they were men of mean abilities; and they even seemed afraid of violence. The enthusiasm of the King was the great object of disgust to the nation. The appropriation of all confidence to persons whom their religious opinions only recommended, disappointed men who, from a former possession of power, were still fond of office. The abilities of those, working upon the fears of others, had actually disarmed James at home before he was invaded from abroad. His wild projects were effectually defeated by a jury at London, before he was discomfited by the terrors of a Dutch army. He had made the most ample concessions for the injuries done to the laws. He left the constitution much better than he received it from his brother's hands. Nothing remained to confirm the liberties of the nation but the sanction of a parliament, whose elections were now entirely independent of the will of the King.

C H A P.  
VIII.

1689.

BUT his neglecting to call a parliament, however specious his excuses might be to the contrary, justly alarmed a people, who wished to render themselves secure against his future views, and, perhaps, against his resentment. Men foresaw, that, should James defeat the Prince of Orange in the field, he might either refuse or adhere at pleasure to his concessions. Though they placed some confidence in his natural sincerity, they could never trust his enthusiasm. Their very prejudices against his religion suggested terrors, which proved fatal to his authority. They believed him capable of making a show of yielding, to recover the power of doing more harm. Upon this principle was founded that general desertion which, without assigning this reason, might be deemed unaccountable, if not disgraceful. A more honourable conduct might certainly have established liberty on a solid foundation. Had the officers declared for a free parliament, instead of quitting their colours, when a foreign enemy was in the kingdom,

and situation  
of James.



C H A P.  
VIII.  
1689.

kingdom, a doubt can scarce be formed that the hands of James might be sufficiently tied from effecting further mischief. An era of liberty might have commenced without the expence, or even danger of a change. The power of the crown might have been more circumscribed than when the sceptre was placed in the hands of the Prince of Orange. James had lost all influence among his subjects, except that which he derived from the adherence of some to the line of succession. Even these would have yielded to any regulation that should not deprive him of the name of King.

Arguments  
for the Revolution.

His flight to France, however, must change the whole state of the argument. He was in the hands of a powerful monarch, whose ambition would take advantage of what chance had thrown in his way. With more than two thirds of Europe leagued against Lewis the Fourteenth, it was his interest to procure at least the neutrality of England. To render James useful to his views, he might find it necessary to aid him in the recovery of his former power. An army might be easily transported into the kingdom of a Prince already in his interest. The Prince of Orange, disappointed in his ambition, would either leave the nation to their fate, or place the crown upon his own head by conquest. Dangers threatened from every side. The necessity of an immediate settlement was obvious. A foreign force was in possession of the capital. The national army was either dispersed, without a leader, or under the orders of the candidate for the crown. No resource remained, but to grant with a good grace what he otherwise might command for himself, or throw in disgust, and without any terms, at the feet of his rival. Upon this obvious ground of necessity the convention ought to have proceeded, and to leave puerile quibbles about words to the idle declamation of the schools.

C H A P.



# WILLIAM AND MARY.

## C H A P. IX.

*Reflections.—Promotions.—King's first speech.—Convention converted into a parliament.—Transactions in parliament.—Commons refractory.—Coronation.—Affairs of Scotland.—Administration conferred on the Prince of Orange.—Convention meets.—Letters from the two Kings.—A secession.—Settlement of the crown.—Affairs of Ireland.—Strange neglect of that country.—Commutations.—Rout at Drumore.—James arrives in Dublin.—Wretched state of his army.—Proceedings of the parliament of England.—War with France.—State of Europe.—English fleet defeated.—Discontents.—Parliament adjourned.—Affairs of Scotland.—Military operations.—Battle of Killicranky.—Death and character of Dundee.—A violent opposition.—Irish affairs.—James before Derry.—He holds a parliament at Dublin.—Their proceedings and violence.—Coin debased.—Siege of Derry.—De Rozen's cruel order.—Siege raised.—Rout at Newton Butler.—Factions at court.—Distress of James.—Schomberg's invasion.—James offers battle in vain.—Both armies retire to winter-quarters.—Foreign affairs.*

**T**HOUGH Mary was comprehended in the royal title, she neither possessed the authority of a Queen, nor the influence of a wife. Her unambitious and easy temper had been long subdued by the stern severity of a husband, whom few of her sex would

C H A P.  
IX.

1689.  
Reflections.



C H A P.  
IX.

1689.

would admire. Habit had reconciled her mind to implicit obedience; and her passions, which were never strong, had yielded to an opinion of duty. Removed from her native country and from her father when very young, her affections for both had greatly declined. Brought up in a manner under the tuition of her spouse, in some degree confined by his orders<sup>a</sup>, accustomed to adopt his political maxims, and even his very thoughts, surrounded by his creatures and persons of an inferior degree<sup>b</sup>, he guided, with no difficulty, a mind which he himself had formed. In her want of importance with HIM, she ceased to be an object of consequence in the eyes of the nation. The whole authority of the crown was now vested in William, by the opinion of the people, as well as by the declaration of the convention. The conceit of subjoining the name of Mary to her husband's title, was a puerile subterfuge; and the circumstance therefore deserves no further attention in the history of the present reign.

Promotions.

WILLIAM began his reign with issuing a proclamation<sup>c</sup>, continuing in office all Protestants who had been in place on the first of the preceding December. The eagerness with which the nation looked up to the new King's measures, induced them to perceive a singularity in a paper of mere form. They observed that a Prince, who had just received the crown by the election of the people, expressed himself, in the first sentence of his first public deed, as deriving his right from God. On the seventeenth of the month he formed his privy council. The list chiefly consisted of such persons as had been most active in raising him to the throne<sup>d</sup>. To gratify as many as possible of his friends, the several boards, and even the chancery, were put into commission. The benches of the Exchequer and common law were filled with persons who had distinguished themselves against the measures of the late King. The Earl of Nottingham, who had so violently opposed

<sup>a</sup> D'Avaux, vol. iii.<sup>b</sup> Ibid.<sup>c</sup> Feb. 14.<sup>d</sup> Feb. 17.



the elevation of William, and the Earl of Shrewsbury, who had adhered to his views, were made secretaries of state. The Marquis of Halifax and the earl of Danby, though rivals in policy, were admitted into the cabinet; the first as lord privy seal, the latter as president of the council. His Dutch and foreign friends were not in the mean time forgot by the King. Bentinck, his favourite, was made a privy-counsellor, groom of the stole, and privy purse. Auverquerque was appointed master of the horse. Zuylistein received the office of master of the robes. Schomberg was placed at the head of the ordnance<sup>e</sup>.

C H A P.  
IX.  
1689.

THOUGH these instances of gratitude were perhaps necessary to William, they were far from pleasing the generality of the nation. The prejudices of the people were strong against foreigners. The Tories, who had departed from their principles to serve the King, were offended at their being excluded from his favour. These discontents rose only gradually, as the new appointments were made. While places remained vacant, the hopes of some kept in silence the whole. The first advice demanded by William of his privy-council was, Whether the convention might be legally converted into a parliament? A majority having expressed themselves in the affirmative, the King, for the first time, went in state to the house of lords on the eighteenth of February. He told the two houses, in a speech from the throne, that he was very sensible of their kindness. He assured them, that he highly valued the confidence which they had reposed in his conduct; and that he was resolved never to do any thing that might justly lessen their good opinion. He recommended to their care the perilous condition of Holland. He shewed the necessity of a good settlement at home. He represented the dangers which threatened Ireland. He left it, he said, to them to consider of the most

William's first  
speech as  
King.

<sup>e</sup> Kennet, Ralph, Gazette.



C H A P.  
IX.

1689.

The conven-  
tion convert-  
ed into a par-  
liament.

effectual means of preventing the inconveniencies arising from delays, and to judge of the forms most proper to attain the good of the nation, which, on his part, he should be always ready to promote<sup>f</sup>.

WILLIAM had scarce left the house of lords, when a bill was brought in to prevent and remove all questions and disputes concerning the assembling and sitting of the present parliament. The bill was read twice immediately, and the next day<sup>g</sup> passed. The commons, in a committee of their whole house, fell into a violent debate, "Whether a King elected, by coming to and consulting with the lords and commons, did not constitute as complete a parliament as if such King had ordered new elections to be made by writs." Several members insisted, that the King's writs were as necessary to form the legality of a parliament as his presence. Some argued, from precedents, against this position. Others, with more reason, affirmed, that the present state of affairs required expedition; and that after all the loss of time which should be incurred by the new election, the parliament would remain upon the same footing of legality as before. The majority of the house, afraid of the trouble of re-elections, seemed to incline to the latter argument. The resolve already mentioned was in the mean time brought down from the lords. The bill was read immediately for the first time. Great opposition was made. But the bill passed the house on the twenty-second of February, and received the next day the royal assent. The malecontents among the commons were so much exasperated, that they declared, in the course of the debate, they would give no countenance, by sitting in it, to such an illegal parliament. They accordingly retired to the country, in appearance to adhere to their professions. But their enemies affirmed, that they only retired to avoid taking the oaths to the new King<sup>h</sup>.

<sup>f</sup> Journals, Feb. 18.<sup>g</sup> Feb. 19.<sup>h</sup> Publications of the times.



THE same day that William gave his assent to the act for converting the convention into a parliament, a motion was made in the house of commons, for entering, prior to the King's speech, upon a consideration of grievances. A bill was brought in, for taking away the court holden before the council and president of Wales<sup>1</sup>. But before the house proceeded further in a line which circumscribed the power of the crown, the adherents of the court prevailed, upon the ground of necessity, that the speech should be first considered. A question was accordingly proposed, Whether the revenue was expired, or whether it devolved on the present King? The eagerness with which the commons raised William to the throne seemed to have already abated. The ministry urged with vehemence, that the revenue, together with the crown, devolved on their present Majesties. But the house resolved, notwithstanding, that the revenue of the late King expired with his power. When this question was carried, the committee broke up abruptly. A motion was made when the house was resumed, that a revenue should be settled upon the King. Day after day the commons, under various pretences, avoided to come to a decision. The crown, now destitute of resources, was in their power. They seemed inclined to obtain those securities which they had neglected when they elected a new King. The necessity of the times broke in part through this procrastination of the commons. William acquainted the house, by message, that Ireland was threatened with a French invasion, under the late King. Four hundred and twenty thousand pounds were voted to be levied by a monthly assessment; a sum as inadequate for the service of the kingdom, as it was beneath the expectations of the King<sup>k</sup>.

NOTWITHSTANDING the frugality of the commons, they exhibited an instance of extraordinary complaisance to William. They waited upon him in a body, with an offer of their lives and

C H A P.  
IX.

1689.  
Frugality of  
the commons.

The Habeas  
corpus act  
suspended.

<sup>1</sup> Feb. 23.

<sup>k</sup> Feb. 28.



C H A P.  
IX.

1689.

fortunes in support of his alliances, in reducing Ireland, and in defending their religion and laws. Upon a message from the King, they even condescended to suspend, by a temporary bill, the *habeas corpus* act, the chief bulwark of the liberties of the subject. James himself never presumed to stop the operations of this salutary law, nor even demanded a suspension of it, by means of an obsequious parliament, when a double rebellion shook his kingdoms. The lords were still more complaisant than the commons. They addressed the King, to take an extraordinary care of government in the present conjuncture. They desired him to secure all disaffected persons; and they declared, notwithstanding an express law to the contrary, that he might retain persons so committed to the first day of the ensuing term. The commons, with some spirit, refused their concurrence to an address that established in the crown the dispensing power, which they had recently condemned. They sent a bill to the upper house, in answer to their demand of a concurrence in their address. The act of *habeas corpus* was suspended, by an express law, till the seventeenth of April, arming thus, in a constitutional way, the government with powers to protect itself.

William endeavours to gain the commons.

WILLIAM endeavoured, by a popular concession, to secure the continuance of the favour of his parliament. He sent a message to the commons, giving up<sup>1</sup>, upon a promise of being supported in another way, the hearth-money, a tax which had been long regarded as a grievance. This produced an address of thanks. But the generosity of parliament equalled not their professions of duty. Their expressions of gratitude led the King to demand large supplies. He represented<sup>m</sup> to them the exhausted state of Holland, and the desperate condition of Ireland<sup>n</sup>. He desired that the expence of an expedition which had delivered England from Popery and slavery, should be refunded to the former. He

<sup>1</sup> March 1.<sup>m</sup> March 8.<sup>n</sup> Ibid.

urged



urged that the latter could not be reduced without an immediate provision of an army of twenty thousand men. Instead of granting immediately the demanded aid, the commons resolved, the next day, to bring in a bill for appropriating, for little more than three months, the revenue paid to James to the service of the crown. The expence of the Dutch expedition was soon<sup>o</sup> after laid before the house. The sum amounted to near seven hundred thousand pounds. The commons granted but six hundred thousand. They either thought the account unreasonable, or they wished to shew their own power. They exhibited the same frugality in their other grants. They provided but for six months for the army destined for Ireland. They gave scarce more than half the sum demanded for the charge of the navy. William ascribed this conduct to a dislike to his person, more than to the patriotism of the commons.

C H A P.  
IX.

1689.

volum A  
bellup

THE new government, it must be confessed, trembled through all its frame. William, through want of health or inclination, interfered but little in the affairs of the nation<sup>p</sup>. Ireland had been strangely neglected, either through inattention or design<sup>q</sup>. The King seemed to fall into the weakness of his predecessor, in encouraging dissenters against the established church. The prejudices of James, in favour of the Papists, were almost equalled by those of William, for the Calvinists. Halifax and Danby, who had raised him to the throne, caballed with the other side<sup>r</sup>. They perceived that the people, with the same levity that induced them to desert their former sovereign, were beginning to be discontented with the reigning Prince. Every thing seemed to tend to a change. Halifax himself declared, that were James to conform with the Protestants, he could not be kept four months from reascending his throne<sup>s</sup>. Danby averred, that were the late King to give

Tottering  
condition of  
the new go-  
vernment.<sup>o</sup> March 14.<sup>p</sup> Reresby.<sup>q</sup> Dalrymple's Append.<sup>r</sup> Reresby.<sup>s</sup> Ibid.



C H A P.  
IX.

1689.

satisfaction for the security of religion, it would be difficult to oppose his restoration. Both wished to provide for their own safety, a circumstance decisive with regard to the distracted state of the times. The emissaries and friends of James assumed boldness from the apparent discontents of the nation. They tampered with the servants of the crown. They inflamed the army. They alarmed the former with a prospect of a sudden change. They roused the latter into indignation, by the manifest preference given by William to his own countrymen, the Dutch.

A mutiny  
quelled.

WILLIAM, perceiving the discontents of the army, resolved to transport to Holland the regiments whose spirit seemed most dangerous. The States had demanded their own troops. But the King was not willing to part altogether with soldiers upon whose fidelity he could rely. The royal Scottish regiment of horse, and Dumbarton's regiment of foot, the command of which had been conferred upon Schomberg, were ordered to Ipswich, to embark for Holland, to replace the Dutch battalions that William chose to keep in England. The horse almost totally deserted. They were followed in a body by five hundred foot, headed by five captains'. They directed their march toward Scotland, with drums beating and colours flying, carrying also along four field-pieces. William, upon receiving intelligence of this mutiny, sent a message upon the subject to the two houses". He, in the mean time, dispatched, under the command of Ginkle, three regiments of Dutch dragoons, in pursuit of the deserters. The mutineers exhibited neither conduct nor courage upon an occasion where both were necessary. Damped either by the treachery or cowardice of other corps, who had promised to support them, they surrendered to Ginkle at discretion. They were brought back with every mark of disgrace; and, by way of punishment, sent to Holland according to their former destination. Both parties were pleased: the

' Kennet, et Auct. citat. passim.

" March 15.

Scots,



Scots, for escaping so well, and William, for having quelled with such facility a mutiny, which, if conducted with spirit, would have endangered his throne.

C H A P.  
IX.

1689.

THE suppression of this ill-concerted and frivolous revolt neither intimidated the enemies of William, nor secured his authority. All the bishops except eight, and many temporal peers refused, under a pretence of conscience, to take the oaths to the new government. The house of commons, though far from being unanimous in favour of the Revolution, were less scrupulous in their sentiments. Under the shelter of a statute of Henry the Seventh, which provides, that no person for adhering to a King in possession shall be impeached or attainted, swore allegiance to William and Mary. The King, offended at the refractoriness of the church of England, in her bishops, began openly to indulge his own prejudices in favour of the Dissenters. Having come to the house of lords, to pass some bills, on the sixteenth of March, he made a speech, to urge the necessity of admitting all Protestants indiscriminately into the public service. He told his parliament, that he had something to communicate, which would conduce as much to their settlement, as the settlement would to the disappointment of their enemies. He informed them, that he was employed in filling up the vacancies in offices of trust; and he hoped that they were sensible of the necessity of a law to settle the oaths to be taken by such persons as should be admitted into place. As he doubted not, he said, that they would sufficiently provide against Papists, so he hoped that they would leave room for the admission of all Protestants that should be willing and able to serve\*.

Parliament  
refractory.

His predecessor, in all his frantic schemes of religion, could not have proposed a more impolitic measure. The sacramental test, which excluded all Dissenters, was deemed the great security

Reject a pro-  
posed com-  
prehension.

\* March 1689.

of



C H A P.  
IX.

1689.

of the established church. The conduct of William was compared, with disadvantage, to the indiscriminate tolerance of James; as more ought to be expected from the former than from the latter. The adherents of the church complained, that the ruin, which they feared from the Papists, in the preceding reign, was now to be dreaded from the Protestant Dissenters. They affirmed, that if the established religion was to be destroyed, it mattered little by whose hands it must fall. A majority of the two houses adhered with vehemence to the church. A bill, brought in by the ministry, for abrogating the former oaths of supremacy and allegiance, was rejected. An attempt to dispense with the sacramental test was made without success in another form. The court-party proposed, that any man should be sufficiently qualified for office, by producing a certificate of his having received the sacrament in any Protestant congregation. But this motion was also rejected in the house of lords by a great majority. Disappointment rendered William more obstinate. He repeated his attempts of a comprehension. But he was ultimately unsuccessful; and, as his perseverance in this line was construed into a kind of enthusiasm for Calvinism, the jealousy of the church continued to increase. The commons, however, were at first more favourable than the lords. They endeavoured to intimidate the latter, by agreeing to an amendment upon the oath-bill, when sent down from the peers, to oblige the clergy to take the oaths before the first of August<sup>y</sup>.

Coronation.

DURING the tedious dependence of this bill before the two houses, another was introduced by the commons, for settling the coronation-oath. The church party, who seemed to be the majority, inserted a clause highly favourable to themselves. To the part of the oath where the King swore to maintain the Protestant religion, they subjoined the words "as established by law." This addition seemed, by an artifice, to exclude the Dissenters from his

<sup>y</sup> Journals of the commons, March 16.

protection.



protection. The ministry were disconcerted. The King himself was offended. He had entered with vehemence into the scheme of a comprehension, which seemed to argue that his conscience was concerned. The friends of the court, supported by the adherents of the Dissenters, endeavoured by an addition to defeat the amendment made by the church-party upon the motion. They could not however prevail. The question was carried against them by a considerable majority<sup>z</sup>. The bill was passed, and sent to the lords. The lords, already favourable to the church, were ready to agree to any thing which suited either her interest or even her prejudices. An opposition, though ineffectual, was made. The bill, however, in its first state, received the royal assent on the ninth of April. Two days after, the King and Queen were crowned at Westminster. William is said, by his enemies, to have discovered an apparent unwillingness to swear to maintain the church of England, as established by law<sup>a</sup>. Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, declined to assist at the ceremony, not choosing to acknowledge the new settlement of government. His refusal had been foreseen. A clause in the coronation-act gave power to the King to be crowned by either an archbishop or bishop; and therefore the Bishop of London was chosen to officiate upon the occasion<sup>b</sup>.

C H A P.  
IX.  
1689.

WHILE William was established in the throne of one of the British kingdoms, another was hastening to lay her crown at his feet. The religious jealousy, which had roused the English nation against James, prevailed with equal fervour, though not with equal justice, among the Scots. The severities of the preceding reign had been very much mitigated, even before a general indulgence freed the adherents of the covenant from the animadversion of the penal laws. The memory of past persecutions, the comparative lenity of the present times, had raised sentiments of grati-

Affairs

<sup>z</sup> 138 against 118.

<sup>a</sup> Caveat against the Whigs.

<sup>b</sup> Gazette.



C H A P.  
IX.

1689.

tude in the breasts of the Presbyterian ministers. They had addressed James with expressions of submission and thanks. They executed the duties of their function with freedom; and an unusual tranquillity prevailed in a kingdom, long distracted with the persecuting zeal of government and the fanatical fury of an ignorant populace. The civil affairs of Scotland were, in the mean time, transacted with unusual mildness. The privy-council had ceased to be a board of inquisition. The laws were less frequently converted, by those in power, into the means of gratifying either revenge or avarice. Commerce was encouraged, by the mercantile genius of James; and the people might have been happy under him, had they not been inflamed with a religious enthusiasm similar to his own. He assumed no new powers in Scotland, notwithstanding the absolute air of his declarations. The nation had, by their representatives, resigned their liberties to the crown; and it is remarkable, that those proclamations which have given so much offence, are only a transcript of the words of the acts which invested the King with an absolute power in ecclesiastical affairs<sup>c</sup>.

of Scotland.

BUT the same weakness which had induced James to place his affairs in the hands of Roman Catholics in England, guided his choice of his principal servants in Scotland. Though he joined some persons of the Presbyterian persuasion with his favourite sect, in the administration of government, his conduct in that respect was ascribed to design. The people, in the absence of flagrant oppressions, were silent. But their jealousy of the King, and their rooted aversion to Papists, rendered them ripe for any change. Several Scotsmen, either persecuted by government, or to pay their court to a Prince who seemed destined one day to mount the throne, had retired to Holland. These, by their emissaries, inflamed the prejudices of the people, and kept alive their fears. The Prince of Orange dispersed by their means his decla-

<sup>c</sup> Mem. of Scotland. Woodrow. Ralph. Acts of parliament.



ration in Scotland. The zeal of the majority of the nation for the religious tenets of Calvin, had long prevailed over their attachment to the ancient line of their Kings. The Prince was of their own persuasion, a circumstance which rendered him extremely popular. He had undertaken to deliver Scotland as well as England. He had disavowed all selfish designs in his expedition. The news of his landing in England was proclaimed in the western counties with the greatest demonstrations of joy. The army having marched by order to England, no power remained to repress the fury of the populace, or to protect the government. The persons who composed the regency were either hated or despised. Besides, they had quarrelled among themselves. The Marquis of Athol formed a party against the Earl of Perth, and forced him to resign his office. To facilitate the views of the Prince of Orange, they reduced, by their own authority, the few troops that remained in Scotland. The populace, when this check was removed, became insolent and outrageous; and the Marquis of Athol, who in some degree had raised the storm, exercised a kind of government in the midst of anarchy and confusion<sup>d</sup>.

C H A P.  
IX.  
1689.

THE Marquis, in the mean time, deeming that his designs were ripe, assembled the council. He proposed a warm address to the Prince of Orange; but it was rejected by the majority, for one more moderate. Disappointed in his views, he repaired to London. The remaining part of the council, under the protection of a few guards, who had not been disbanded, assumed an appearance of authority. A kind of languid obedience was paid in the capital to their orders. The rest of the kingdom knew not whom to obey. The Earl of Balcarras had been dispatched to London some time before, to lay the distracted state of the kingdom before the King. He arrived in that capital the day after James first withdrew himself from Whitehall. Defeated in the purpose

Confusion at  
Edinburgh.

<sup>d</sup> Publications of the times.



C H A P.  
IX.  
1689.

of his journey, he applied to the Duke of Hamilton, a man of temporizing principles. The violence of the Duke for the Prince of Orange rose in proportion to his opinion, that James was never to return. He demanded from Balcarras the letter of the regency to the King; and when his request was refused, he left his Lordship and some other privy-counsellors in a rage. His rashness upon the present occasion was succeeded by an instance of meanness. When the King unexpectedly returned to London, he endeavoured, through the mediation of the Lord Dundee, to be reconciled to the rest of the lords. He excused in person his former passion, and offered his future service. He even assisted at the only council which James held at Whitehall after his return. But when that unfortunate Prince was sent under a guard to Rochester, he resumed his former zeal for the Prince of Orange\*.

The administration conferred on the Prince of Orange.

THE intrigues of the Duke, the influence of the Prince, the hopeless condition of James, and the necessity of a settlement, soon produced a favourable change in Scottish affairs. Thirty peers and near eighty gentlemen, then in London, waited, in the beginning of January, on the Prince of Orange. Without any authority from the regency, still subsisting in Edinburgh, they formed themselves into a kind of convention. The Prince of Orange, in a formal manner, asked their advice. He withdrew, and they adjourned to the council-chamber at Whitehall. The Duke of Hamilton was unanimously chosen their president. He explained, in an extraordinary speech, the distracted state of Scotland. He represented, that disorders, anarchy, and confusion prevailed; and he urged the absolute necessity of placing the power somewhere, till a convention of states should be called, to form a solid and lasting settlement. A debate ensued; and the meeting adjourned to the next day. When the heads of their address to the Prince of Orange were settled, and ordered to be engrossed, the Earl

\* Balcarras's Memoirs.



of Arran, the Duke of Hamilton's son, unexpectedly rose. He proposed to invite back the King. A general silence prevailed. None seconded his motion. The meeting however adjourned. When they resumed the subject the next day, Sir Patrick Hume, encouraged by the contempt shewn to Arran's proposal, arraigned his conduct. Hume's motion, however, was deemed officious and unnecessary. The meeting adhered to their former advice to the Prince; and requested him to take into his hands the administration. They waited upon him in a body, and he thanked them for the trust which they had reposed in him<sup>f</sup>; a condescension which he had not shewn to the lords and commons of England, upon a similar occasion<sup>g</sup>. A convention was ordered to meet at Edinburgh on the fourteenth of March; and a provision was made, that no exception or limitation whatever should be made, except that the members should be Protestants<sup>h</sup>.

C H A P.  
IX.

1689,

THE current of the people turning toward a revolution, a great majority of the members chosen to the convention, were men disaffected to James on the score of religion. His adherents were either dispirited by the state of the times, or averse from joining an assembly which they deemed illegal. The convention, however, met not without some apprehensions for their own safety. The Duke of Gordon, a Roman catholic, still held the castle of Edinburgh for the King. But, being a person of a timid character, they hoped to terrify him into a surrender of that fortress. The Duke of Hamilton and the Marquis of Athol, who had contended at London for William's favour, were now candidates for the office of president of the convention. The Duke had the good fortune to prevail. The first business of the convention was to summon the Duke of Gordon to quit the castle in twenty-four hours. The Earls of Lothian and Tweeddale were the bearers of this requisition. The Duke, yielding to his fears, promised to

The conven-  
tion meets.<sup>f</sup> Jan. 9.<sup>g</sup> Auct. citat. Balcarra's Mem.<sup>h</sup> Printed paper of advice.

obey.



C H A P.  
IX.

1689.

obey. But he was afterwards induced to retract, by the Earl of Balcarras and the Viscount Dundee. To evade his engagement to the two noble messengers of the convention, he demanded terms, which could not with decency be granted. Several messages were interchangeably sent upon this business, and the Duke demanded twelve days to consider of a surrender. The result was an open rupture; and the convention summoned him by the heralds at arms, in all their formalities, to surrender the place, under the pain of treason. The Duke having refused to obey, was, on the same day, proclaimed a traitor at the market-cross of Edinburgh<sup>1</sup>. Assuming an appearance of spirit upon the occasion, he dismissed the mutinous part of his garrison; but their place was amply supplied by volunteers<sup>k</sup>.

Letters from  
the two  
Kings.

THE day after the Duke of Gordon was declared a traitor, a letter from William to the convention arrived by express from London. A letter from James was at the same time presented to the president, under a motion to be read. A violent debate ensued. The majority seemed inclined that both letters should be read; and the Earl of Lothian finished the contest, by observing, "that since they met by the desire of the King of England, it was proper to pay him the compliment of reading his letter first." William informed the convention, that he was highly sensible of the kindness and concern that many of their nation had evinced for HIM and his undertaking; and that he doubted not of their confidence in his conduct, as such a considerable number of their nobility and gentry had already desired him to assume the administration of affairs. He left, he said, a settlement to their own deliberation and wisdom. He recommended an union with England, as the two kingdoms had one common interest of religion and liberty. James with eagerness endeavoured to retain his Scottish subjects in their duty, and to recall those that had strayed, to their alle-

<sup>1</sup> Balcarras's Mem. Ralph.<sup>k</sup> Auſt. citat. paſſim.

giance.



giance. He had applied, he said, with success to his ancient people, in his greatest misfortunes. He requires them again to support his royal interest against the usurped authority of the Prince of Orange. He exhorted them not to suffer themselves to be either frightened or cajoled out of their duty to their lawful Prince. He entreated them to avoid the infamy and disgrace of rebellion in this world, and its punishment in the next. He told them, that to act the most dutiful was the safest part. He assured them of a speedy and powerful assistance; and he solemnly promised to secure to themselves and their posterity, in a parliament to be legally called, their religion, laws, properties, liberties, and rights. He insinuated, that though Almighty God might, for a time, permit "the blackest of usurpations, the most unjust and unnatural attempts to prevail, and the wicked to prosper, confusion must in the end overtake the workers of iniquity." He promised a general pardon to all those who should return to their duty before the last day of March; and he threatened such as should stand out in rebellion with the rigour of the law<sup>1</sup>.

C H A P.  
IX.

1689.

THIS vehement letter produced no favourable effect for the de-throned King. Crane, an Englishman, who had brought it to the convention, was ordered into custody. He was, however, soon after dismissed, with a pass instead of an answer<sup>m</sup>. One resource still remained to the royal party. The Archbishop of Glasgow, the Earl of Balcarras, and the Viscount Dundee, were authorised, by an instrument signed by James, then in Ireland, to call a convention of estates at Stirling. This measure was first disappointed by the wavering disposition of the Marquis of Athol, and afterwards by the delay and folly of the party. The Marquis had resumed his loyalty to James, on account of disappointments from William. He was, however, irresolute and fluctuating in his conduct. The time of the departure of the royalists was deferred. An accident

A secession  
from the con-  
vention.<sup>1</sup> Gazette.<sup>m</sup> Ralph.

effectuated



C H A P.  
IX.  
1689.

effectuated it at last with an abruptness which disconcerted all their views. The Viscount Dundee, terrified with an information of a design formed by the covenanters to assassinate him, left Edinburgh, at the head of fifty horse. When he passed under the walls of the castle, the Duke of Gordon made a signal to call him to a conference. He scrambled up against a precipice, and informed the Duke of all his designs, and conjured him to hold out the castle, under a certainty of being relieved. The novelty of the sight collected multitudes of spectators. The convention were alarmed. The president ordered the doors to be locked, the keys to be laid on the table. The drums were beat to alarm the town. A parcel of ill-armed retainers were gathered together in the street by the Earl of Leven. Dundee, in the mean time, rode off with his party. But when they found themselves secure, the Duke of Hamilton adjourned the convention, which relieved the adherents of James from dreadful apprehensions for their own safety. Fifty members retired from Edinburgh; and that circumstance procured a kind of unanimity in all the succeeding resolutions of the convention<sup>n</sup>.

Crown settled  
on William.

To encourage his friends, and to intimidate his enemies, William had ordered from England four regiments of foot and one of dragoons. These forces were under Mackay, appointed commander of the troops in Scotland. The convention were not idle in securing themselves. They ordered by proclamation all persons between the age of sixteen and sixty to be ready to take arms. They gave the command of the militia to Sir Patrick Hume. They raised eight hundred men for a guard, under the Earl of Leven. They sent the Earl of Mar, who had deserted the adherents of James, to take possession of the castle of Stirling. They required, by their macer, the attendance of all their members. They empowered the president to secure all disaffected and suspected per-

<sup>n</sup> Balcarras's Mem.



fons. A committee, consisting of eight lords, eight knights, and eight burgesses, was appointed to prepare the plan of a new settlement of the kingdom°. This committee consisted of men of spirit, as well as abilities. Instead of amusing themselves in nice distinctions, and the latent meaning of words, they agreed that James had FOREFAULTED his RIGHT of the crown; and that the throne was become vacant. The term FOREFAULTED was meant to imply a perpetual exclusion of James and his whole race from the crown. The convention approved of the resolution, and they ordered the committee to prepare another act, for raising William and Mary to the vacant throne, to consider of the destination of the crown to other heirs, and to form an instrument of government, for securing for the future the people against the grievances of which they at present complained. On the eleventh of April, the King and Queen were proclaimed at Edinburgh. The Duke of Hamilton, to shew his zeal for the new government, read in person the act of the convention. The Earl of Argyle, in the name of the lords, Sir James Montgomery, for the knights, and Sir John Dalrymple, for the burgesses, were ordered to repair to London, to invest William with the government; and the convention, having appointed a committee to preserve the public peace, adjourned to the twenty-first of May<sup>p</sup>.

THE impolitic conduct through which James lost the two British thrones, had been carried to excesses still more alarming, in his management of the affairs of Ireland. The Earl of Tyrconnel, having, by corrupt means, obtained the interest of Sunderland<sup>q</sup>, was raised, in the year 1687, to the government of that kingdom. Tyrconnel was a man of profligate abilities, violent in his temper, and, through faction more than religion, a bigotted Roman-catholic. His arrival in Ireland was attended with a general con-

° March 26.

<sup>p</sup> Balcarras's minutes of the convention. Ralph. Burnet.<sup>q</sup> James II. Mem. of Ireland.



C H A P.  
IX.  
1689.

ternation among the Protestants, and an intemperate joy among the Popish party. The first dreaded a renewal of all the violence of former times. The latter, who formed a great majority of the nation, hoped to regain the importance of which they deemed themselves unjustly deprived. The new lord-deputy seemed, by his conduct, to justify, in a great measure, the prior opinions of the people concerning his principles. Having received, on the twelfth of February 1687, the sword of state from the Earl of Clarendon, he entered upon the exercise of his government. The army had already, in a great degree, been purged of the more obnoxious protestants. The next measure was to place the civil power in the hands of Papists. The admission of that sect into the several corporations, proceeded languidly under the government of Clarendon; who, though a submissive royalist, was a strict Protestant. To place the power of modelling all parliaments in the hands of the Papists, was to invest them with the whole power of the kingdom. Quo warrantos were issued against many corporations. The judges, and perhaps the juries were parties. In the space of two terms judgments were pronounced. Dublin itself was forced to surrender its charter. Other corporations yielded with a good grace what they could not retain by the forms of justice. Though Protestants were admitted indiscriminately with Papists, the former could bear no proportion to the latter in a kingdom, where five in six parts of the inhabitants were Roman catholics<sup>r</sup>.

of Ireland.

THOUGH Tyrconnel confined his measures in general to the strict forms of law, it was only because the laws themselves were now in his power. Distrust, jealousy, and even a degree of violence, prevailed. Many Protestant families deserted the country. The industry of those who remained was greatly diminished, on account of the supposed insecurity of their property. The revenue

<sup>r</sup> Secret consults. Mem. of Ireland. Ralph. Leland.

began



began suddenly to decrease; a circumstance sufficient, when known, to overcome, in the mind of a Prince so frugal as James, even his predilection for Popish measures. The Catholics of England, being men of moderate principles, were highly offended at the violence of their sect in Ireland. The King himself, who never entertained any affection for Tyrconnel\*, began to listen to complaints against his conduct. Informed by his patron, the Earl of Sunderland, that James was advised to appoint a more prudent governor of Ireland, the lord-deputy obtained leave to meet his Majesty, on his progress to Chester†. He left his government in the hands of Fitton, the chancellor, a person of a profligate character, and of the Earl of Clanrickard. He himself repaired to England. Rice, the chief baron of the Exchequer, a man of plausible abilities, attended him to Chester. Rice gave such an account of the state of Ireland to James, as was best calculated to recommend his patron. To confirm the King in the opinion that Tyrconnel was unjustly traduced, he brought several addresses from the Protestants of Ireland. The result of all was, that James, distrusting the informations which he had received, remitted Tyrconnel to his government‡.

THE intrigues against Tyrconnel, however, continued. The Earl of Castlemain had fixed his views on the government of Ireland; and both he and his party found means to convey the mismanagements of the lord-deputy to the King. Tyrconnel was again alarmed. To gain the favour of James through the channel of interest, he offered to his consideration a scheme, which, though wild, unjust, and dangerous, seemed calculated to establish his views. He proposed to call a parliament, which, in consequence of the late usurpations on the charters of corporations, must have proved entirely devoted to government. Under the plausible pretence of relieving some distressed and really injured

An attempt  
to break the  
acts of settle-  
ment.

\* James II.

† Aug. 1687.

‡ MSS. 1688. Leland. Ralph.



C H A P.

IXI.

1689.

Papists, a bill was framed, which should artfully destroy the whole settlement of the kingdom. To gain his protection and assent to the bill, he complimented the King with the disposal of almost all the lands in Ireland. The lord chief baron Rice, who had formed the scheme, was, with others, commissioned to lay it before the English council. To secure success, the Earl of Sunderland, together with Father Petre, were gained by promises of great advantage\*. James listened at first to the proposal; but when the matter came to be debated in council, he changed his mind. The majority of the lords present, and even the Catholics, argued with great vehemence against the measure. Sunderland and Petre, perceiving that the current was changed, remained silent. The Irish commissioners were dismissed with contempt by the council. The populace, informed of their want of success, treated them with indignities, and hooted them from London with scorn†.

Disappointed  
in England.

THIS disappointment mortified the Catholics, and terrified Tyrconnel with the fear of a change. He derived moderation from the uncertainty in which he was placed. But though no glaring acts of oppression were committed, the terrors of the Protestants continued. Their jealousy of the Papists, the loss of those exclusive rights, which had so long established the authority of the few over the many, the partiality of the lord-deputy to his own sect, the memory of the past and apprehensions for the future, all conspired to render them unhappy in the midst of tranquillity. They complained of the insolence of the Papists. They were afraid of their injustice. The timid resigned themselves to despair. The prudent remained quiet, though they entertained little hopes of being soon relieved from their fears. In this situation affairs continued during the greatest part of the memorable year 1688. A reiteration of an intention of altering the acts of

\* Secret Consults, p. 117, 118.

† Publications of the times.

settlement,



settlement, mentioned by some writers, is neither well authenticated nor probable. When the Prince of Orange landed in England, the terrors of the Protestants were transferred to the Papists. Though they first affected to despise both the Prince and his invasion, the accounts of his success and the misfortunes of James induced them to change their tone. Instead of persecuting the Protestants, they endeavoured, by acts of friendship, to gain their protection. Tyrconnel himself descended from his pride to flattery. He boasted of the impartiality of his own government. The truth is, though he has been accused of tyranny, few authentic facts have been produced to justify the charge. His manner was more blamable than his measures. In perpetual fears of being superseded, he observed, in general, a conduct more cautious than could have been expected from his political principles, and the known violence of his natural disposition<sup>2</sup>.

DURING the troubles in England, which terminated in placing William on the throne, the two parties in Ireland were kept in a kind of tranquillity by their mutual fears. The Protestants were terrified at the prospect of another massacre. The Papists expected every day to be invaded by the joint force of the English and Dutch. But the terrors of the Roman Catholics were ill-founded. A strange neglect prevailed in the counsels of the Prince of Orange, with regard to Ireland. Though Tyrconnel sent several messages to the Prince, that he was ready to deliver the kingdom to any force that might render a surrender decent, his offers were rejected. William was persuaded by the Marquis of Halifax, that should Ireland yield, no pretence could remain for keeping an army in pay; that should he have no army to protect his authority, he might be as easily *turned out*, as he had been *brought in*; that the English nation could never be pleased long; and that he might perceive they began already to be discontented<sup>3</sup>. These

William's  
strange ne-  
glect of Ire-  
land.

<sup>2</sup> MS. 1688.

<sup>3</sup> Dalrymple's Append.



C H A P.  
IX.

1689.

infidious arguments, combining with William's determined resolution to retain by force what he had received by an appearance of choice, encouraged in his mind that neglect of Ireland, which is justly deemed one of the greatest blemishes of his reign. His enemies, but perhaps with no good reason, assign a worse cause for his negligence. He knew, say they, that should England be confirmed under his government, Ireland could not long resist his arms; and that, in the mean time, the obstinacy of his Irish enemies would give a pretence for forfeitures to gratify his English, and especially his foreign friends<sup>b</sup>.

The Protestants take arms.

TYRCONNEL, disappointed in his views of surrendering Ireland to the Prince of Orange, affected to adhere to James. The whole regular force of Ireland seemed very inadequate to such a hazardous undertaking. The army consisted only of four thousand men. Not above six hundred of these were in Dublin. Their own safety prevailed over their attachment to the King. They seemed all willing to quit the service. The lord-deputy issued new commissions for levying forces. These were indiscriminately granted to all. An half armed rabble, rather than an army, rose suddenly in various parts of the kingdom. Without any pay from the King, they affected to appear in his service. Discipline was little regarded. Those privileged marauders supported themselves with a species of depredation. A false information of a massacre gained credit, from the violences committed by the new levies. The Protestants in the North of Ireland, who had before prepared to oppose the government, now armed themselves in their own defence. The city of Londonderry, relying on its situation and a slight wall, shut its gates against the new-raised troops of the King. Tyrconnel was disconcerted by this unexpected opposition. He dispatched the Lord Mountjoy, who was a Protestant, to reduce the refractory city. His Lordship

<sup>b</sup> Publications of the times.



was received as a friend, rather than an enemy. They admitted him, upon conditions. He assumed the command, but less with a resolution to serve James than to aid his rival. The spirit of the inhabitants of Londonderry animated all the northern Protestants. They rose every where. Parties assembled, under various leaders in Downe, Donnegal, Tyrone, Armagh, and Monaghan. They published declarations. They declared their resolution to unite in self-defence, to preserve the Protestant religion, to continue their dependence on England, and to promote the meeting of a free parliament<sup>c</sup>.

C H A P.  
IX.  
1689.

WHILE these associations were formed in the North, Tyrconnel resigned himself to political fears in Dublin. The majority of his council were struck with similar terrors. The sword of state seemed ready to fall from the lord-deputy's hands. But William was neither ready nor willing to receive what Tyrconnel wished to resign. To preserve appearances, more than from any hopes of success from the measure, the King of England began to practise secretly with the governor of Ireland. He sent General Hamilton, an Irishman and a Roman Catholic, to treat with that lord. But, instead of persuading Tyrconnel to yield to William, he advised him to adhere to James. The latter Prince, in the mean time, assured the lord-deputy, by a trusty messenger, that he was ready to sail from Brest with a powerful armament. His party assumed spirit from their hopes of aid. Hamilton marched against the northern insurgents. They abandoned Newry. They were routed, with considerable slaughter, at Drumore. Hillsborough, where they had fixed their head-quarters, was taken without resistance. The insurgents endeavoured to make some stand at Coleraine; but the enemy forced the passage of the river Bann, and drove them, through various routes, to Derry. The Lord.

They are  
routed at  
Drumore.

<sup>c</sup> Publications of the times.



C H A P.  
IX.

1689.

James arrives  
in Ireland.

Mountjoy having been sent to France, by the artifice of Tyrconnel, the government of Derry devolved on Lundy. This officer, who seemed at first to temporize, caught, at length, the spirit of the inhabitants, and resolved to hold the place against the Irish Catholics to the last extremity<sup>d</sup>.

HAMILTON's breach of faith, and the dangerous state of Ireland, roused William, at length, from his unaccountable inactivity. He issued a declaration on the twenty-second of February, requiring all the Irish to submit to his government, by a certain day in April. Thirty ships were, in a few days, put into commission, and the command conferred on Admiral Herbert. This armament proceeded with languor. In five weeks, scarce a third part of the fleet destined for Ireland was ready to put to sea. James, in the mean time, prepared himself for an expedition into that kingdom, by the assistance of France. Lewis the Fourteenth furnished that unfortunate Prince with an aid better calculated to continue for some time, than to finish suddenly the war. The whole force of the expedition consisted of fourteen ships of war, six frigates, and three fire-ships. Twelve hundred of his native subjects, in the pay of France, and one hundred French officers, composed the whole army of James. The Count de Lauzun was intended for the chief command. But, through some disgust, he declined to accept of that honour. The Marechal de Rosen, a German by birth, was substituted in his place. James sailed from Brest on the seventh of March. He landed without opposition at Kinsale, on the twelfth of the same month<sup>e</sup>, and was received in that place with the utmost demonstrations of joy<sup>f</sup>. The Irish Catholics were peculiarly elevated with the presence of a Prince, who had lost his two other kingdoms for his predilection for their religion.

<sup>d</sup> Publications of the times.<sup>e</sup> James II. 1689.<sup>f</sup> M<sup>s</sup>. Journals, corrected by James himself, 1689.



THE first care of James was to secure, in the fort of Kinsale, the money, arms, and ammunition, which he brought from France. The very aids, which he received from that kingdom were proofs of his abject dependence on the French court. One part of these supplies was furnished by the department of M. de Luvois; the other, by that of Seignelai, and each sent his own commissaries, who were only accountable to their principals for their disbursements. James formed a kind of cabinet-council at Kinsale, into which D'Avaux, the ambassador of France, was admitted. He ordered the Irish officers, particularly Sir Thomas Nugent, the lord chief justice, and the Lord Mount-Cashel, who had come to receive him, to lay before him the state of Ireland. They magnified the services of the lord-deputy. They represented the zeal and loyalty of the native Irish. They affirmed, that, by means of commissions promiscuously given by Tyrconnel, one hundred thousand men were already in arms. They ascribed the inactivity of William to his fears from their own preparations. They, however, owned that great inconveniencies had proceeded from their measures. The troops, they said, having had no pay, were forced to live on the people. Terror, they allowed, and a degree of tyranny, prevailed. The disarming of the Protestants, they said, though a necessary measure, increased the insolence and injustice of the Catholics, who deemed themselves justified, upon this change of fortune, to render back those ill-offices which they had formerly received at their hands. This, they owned, provoked the Protestants, already inclined to revolt. These, under the pretence of safety, they said, had formed themselves into troops; and committed disorders in the North, of which the informants greatly complained<sup>s</sup>.

C H A P.  
IX.  
1689.  
Informs himself of the state of that country.

HAVING left Kinsale in some state of defence, James advanced to Cork. Tyrconnel arrived soon after, and brought intelligence

His transactions at Dublin.

<sup>s</sup> MS. Journal, passim. James II. 1689.



CHAP.  
IX.

1689.

of the rout at Drumore. Pleased with his attachment and services, the King raised him to the rank of a Duke. He himself advanced toward Dublin. The condition of the rabble, that poured round him, under the name of an army, was not calculated to raise his hopes of success. The most of them were only provided with clubs; some with sticks tipped with iron. The troops who were armed the best, had at most but two muskets in a hundred fit for service. At Dublin, James was received with every appearance of a general joy. He proceeded immediately to business. He ordered, by proclamation, all Protestants who had abandoned the kingdom to return. He commanded, in a second proclamation, all Papists, except those in his army, to lay up their arms, to put an end to the robberies and depredations, which they had committed in their violence and zeal. He invited the country to provide his troops, for their money, with provisions. He raised the value of the currency, by a proclamation; and he summoned a parliament to meet at Dublin, on the seventh of May, to settle the distracted affairs of the kingdom. The Protestant clergy represented their grievances, in an address. The university of Dublin appeared with complaints and congratulations at the foot of the throne. He assured the first of his absolute protection, and a full redress. He not only promised to defend, but even to enlarge the privileges of the latter.

Wretched  
state of his  
army.

JAMES, soon after his arrival at Dublin, found that he had been too much flattered<sup>1</sup>, in the accounts which he had received of the state of Ireland. He was ill-informed of the number and resolution of the Protestants. He was convinced of the necessity of finishing the disorders of Ireland, before he could extend his views to Britain. He resolved to strengthen Hamilton, to enable him to take Coleraine. He ordered the Marquis de Pufignian, with a numerous detachment, to march to the North. While

<sup>1</sup> Lesley's Answer to King.

<sup>2</sup> James II.

this.



this reinforcement were preparing themselves for their general rendezvous at Charlemont, James consulted with his principal officers concerning the siege of Derry. He examined the magazines; but they were totally destitute of every implement of war. Workmen were employed to make the necessary tools and instruments for a siege. Few skilled in that craft could be found; and such as were, being Protestants, proceeded slowly, from their aversion to the business. Cannon were no more to be found than tools. There was not one piece of battery ready mounted in all Ireland. Twelve field-pieces and four mortars formed the whole artillery of the kingdom, and these were already in the possession of Hamilton. James, in an appearance of prosperity, was involved in the utmost distress. His army were naked and undisciplined, subject to panic, and averse from command. Their very numbers harried their sovereign, and ruined the country. He therefore resolved to disband the most of the half-armed rabble, who assumed the name of an army. More than one hundred thousand already were on foot, in different parts of the island, and of these he reserved only fourteen regiments of horse and dragoons, and thirty-five regiments of foot. The rest he ordered to retire to their respective homes. He supplied, in a great measure, the remains of his troops with arms. To encourage his friends, as well as to terrify his enemies, he resolved to place himself at the head of the reinforcement, which he had committed to the charge of the Marquis de Pufignian<sup>\*</sup>.

WHILE James was thus strengthening himself in Ireland, the parliament of England was chiefly engaged in religious disputes. The avowed patronage of the court to Dissenters, though hitherto unsuccessful, had not abated. The members, who had seceded from the house of commons, resumed their seats. The supposed danger of the church called forth, a second time, men who had

April.  
Proceedings  
of the Eng-  
lish parlia-  
ment.

<sup>\*</sup> MS. Journals, 1689. James II.



retired, in a perfect despair of the state. Joining with those who adhered to the established faith, they formed a majority against the court, in all matters where religion was concerned. A bill to restore corporations was read in the lower-house, and committed. A motion was made to instruct the committee, that none should be admitted to any office of magistracy, without having received, within a twelvemonth before, the sacrament, according to the church of England. The court-party opposed a measure, which indiscriminately excluded all Dissenters; but the opposition prevailed, by a majority of two voices<sup>1</sup>. The adherents of the church carried further their victory. They procured an address to the King, to issue writs for a convocation, to advise him in ecclesiastical matters. The lords, after a violent debate, gave their concurrence to this address. William, in his answer, promised to protect the church. He promised to call a convocation; but he specified no fixed time for the meeting of that assembly<sup>m</sup>. The church-party, however, prevailed in the two houses; and the Dissenters, who expected to be gratified with offices, were obliged, at length, to rest satisfied with being relieved from the penalty of certain laws.

Address for a  
war with  
France.

To strengthen his own interest, by removing the fears of his enemies, William recommended to his parliament to pass an act of general indemnity. The two parties which divided the nation were unanimous in their thanks for this message. The Whigs, who were still the court-party, wished to gratify the King. The Tories were anxious to save themselves. While this temporary unanimity prevailed, the subject of a war with France came under the discussion of the commons<sup>n</sup>. Without one dissenting voice, they promised to support the King. Hampden, who had made the first motion for taking into consideration the war, was placed in the chair of the committee appointed to form

<sup>1</sup> 116 against 114.

<sup>m</sup> April 19.

<sup>n</sup> April 16.



the address on the vote of the house. The address itself, when presented to the house, consisted of a string of invectives against the French King. But however just the reflections might be deemed in themselves, they seemed too undignified to be adopted by the commons at large. A more temperate paper was framed and presented on the twenty-sixth of April. The commons laid before the King the destructive methods taken by the court of France against the trade, quiet, and interest of the kingdom. They complained of the invasion of Ireland, and the support given to REBELS in that island. They promised to give such assistance, in a parliamentary way, as should enable the King to reduce France into such a condition, as might prevent her for the future from violating the peace of Europe. William was cautious in his answer. He considered the war as no longer a matter of choice, but of necessity. He relied, he said, on their promise of support; and he assured them that they might rely upon him in applying their aids to the proper use.

C H A P.

IX.

1689.

THESE matters being thus adjusted, war was declared against France upon the seventh of May. The declaration contained some reasons that were merely speculative, and others that were founded in fact. Many of the causes that were alleged bore no relation to England. But the necessity of a rupture was apparent, as Lewis, though languidly, supported James in Ireland: yet his espousing the cause of that unfortunate Prince, can scarce be comprehended in those acts of perfidy which are enumerated in the declaration. His supposed attachment to France, as much as his bigotry in religion, accomplished the ruin of the late King. Could the allies on the Continent have seduced him into their party, his subjects would have been left to settle their own differences at home. The urgency of the measure was not necessary to recommend a war against the French to the English nation. Their enmity was ancient and hereditary.

War declared.



C H A P.  
IX.

1689.

State of  
Europe.

hereditary. Envy was joined to the memory of former injuries. The English were hated for their wealth and happiness by the French. The French were abhorred by the English for their ambition and their stupendous power. The seeds of war seemed to have been sown between both by the hand of nature; and William could not have conferred a greater favour upon his subjects, than by gratifying his own resentment against Lewis, in turning upon that monarch the whole weight of England.

THE arts of M. de Louvois, combining with the vanity and insolence of Lewis the Fourteenth, united the arms of all Europe against France. The diet of Ratisbon had declared the French King and the Cardinal de Furstemberg enemies of the empire. The Elector of Brandenburg took up arms against a nation, whom he called the common enemies of Christendom. Denmark and Sweden were reconciled among themselves, and gained to the grand alliance. The house of Austria in both its branches were the irreconcilable enemies of France. The Empire and Spain, remembering former injuries, seemed anxious for present revenge. An alliance offensive and defensive was formed between the Emperor and the States of Holland. They stipulated to co-operate with all their forces against the French King. They engaged themselves, that neither should enter, upon any pretence whatsoever, into a separate treaty. That no peace should be made till the objects of the treaties of Westphalia, Osnaburgh, Munster, and the Pyrenees, should be vindicated. That, in case of a treaty by common consent, an interchangeable communication of the transactions should be strictly maintained. That the Emperor should invite the court of Madrid, the States, and the crown of England, into a participation of this treaty. That, in case of the death of the King of Spain without issue, the States should, with all their forces, aid the Emperor to mount his throne; and that



they would use their endeavours with the electors, their allies, to raise Joseph, the Emperor's eldest son, to the dignity of King of the Romans<sup>a</sup>.

C H A P.  
IX.  
1689.

WILLIAM must have long foreseen the necessity of the war which he now openly declared against France. But his preparations at sea, where that kingdom was most vulnerable, were slow, neglected, and unsuccessful. Though James, in his care of the marine, had placed the navy of England upon a respectable footing, he seems to have expended his naval stores in the great effort which he made to defeat the Dutch invasion, by the means of his fleet. Besides, the seamen shewed an almost invincible unwillingness to serve against the late King<sup>b</sup>. Of the thirty ships put in commission in the end of February, twelve only were ready for sailing in the middle of April. Herbert was ordered, at the head of his squadron, to go in quest of the French fleet, which was preparing for another voyage to Ireland, by way of convoy to some transports, laden with arms, ammunition, and money. Driven by stress of weather into Milford-haven, he remained there a few days to refit. Reinforced with some ships, he took advantage of the first easterly wind, and stood away for the port of Kinsale<sup>c</sup>. His whole squadron consisted of eight third rates, ten fourth rates, one fifth rate, and two tenders. On the twenty-ninth of April, his scouts made a signal, that they discovered a fleet keeping their wind. To prevent their getting into Kinsale, Herbert did the same. The French, however, failed into Bantry-bay. Herbert stood in to the bay on the first of May. The French, consisting of twenty-eight ships of war, weighed anchor when the English first appeared. They formed their line, and bore down on Herbert with a full sail. He endeavoured to gain the wind, but in vain. A smart engagement, which lasted two hours, ensued. Château Renault, who commanded the French, behaved with spi-

May.  
English fleet  
defeated.

<sup>a</sup> Hist. d'Allemagne, tom. vii.

<sup>b</sup> Gazettes.

<sup>c</sup> April 24.



C H A P.  
IX.

1689.

rit. Herbert was obliged to yield to superior force, and he stood off to sea, leaving a victory obtained with little bloodshed to the enemy. Château Renault landed his stores in safety, and returned in triumph to France<sup>r</sup>.

June.  
Discontents.

BUT neither the disgrace thrown upon the arms of England, nor the dangerous state of Ireland, were capable to create that unanimity in parliament which the times required. Though the commons had authorised William, with a promise of supporting his measures, to declare war against France, they shewed no inclination to furnish him with ample supplies. The King himself discovered an inactivity unsuitable to the high opinion which had been formed of his character. He exhibited no symptoms of ardour for prosecuting a sea-war against France. His preparations for the relief of the Protestants in Ireland, were languid and insufficient. The commons were disappointed in their own hopes, and offended with the King. They openly blamed his ministers. They appointed a committee to inquire into the miscarriages with regard to Ireland<sup>s</sup>. The distresses of the Irish Protestants, who had been forced to take refuge in England, employed their first care. They addressed the King to furnish them with an immediate supply. They discovered an inclination to retaliate upon the Popish absentees in England, the hardships which had fallen on the fugitive Protestants of Ireland. The King promised to grant their request. But he took advantage of some treasonable papers which had been intercepted to demand a further supply. The elder Hampden made a motion for that purpose. But such was either the œconomy or discontent of the house, that he was not so much as seconded. The disappointment of William was aggravated by an insult upon his nation; for when Hampden urged the necessity of an aid, to save the nation from the Irish and French, another member desired him to "add the Dutch."

Gazettes.

June 1.

THESE



THESE marks of discontent proceeded more from a dislike to William, than from any affection for James. The resolutions of the commons seemed firm and violent against the excluded King and his adherents. They voted, that the most considerable Papists should be taken into custody. They resolved, that their horses and arms should be seized. They ordered impeachments against several persons for composing and publishing a declaration from the late King. They voted, that the declaration itself should be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. A bill for the attainder of several persons was introduced. A clause was inserted, to apply to the relief of the Protestants the estates of the Popish Irish now in arms for the late King. But these resolutions against the friends of James increased not the generosity of the commons in favour of William. He insinuated in person the apparent necessity of a further supply. He reminded the house of the necessity of a timely provision of the money for the States of Holland. To the first request the commons made no reply. They answered the second, by instructing a committee to inquire into the cause why the Dutch fleet had not sooner joined that of England. This inquiry, however, seemed to have proceeded more from the ill-humour of the house, than from necessity. Thirty Dutch ships of the line had joined the English fleet, on the sixth of June, at St. Helens. The combined fleet, consisting of near seventy men of war, hovered on the enemy's coast. The French having accomplished their purpose, by landing James in Ireland, kept themselves safe in their ports; but their privateers in the mean time annoyed the trade of England with great success<sup>t</sup>.

C H A P.  
IX.1689.  
in the house

THE ill-humour of the commons appeared in measures where of commons, frugality was nowise concerned. The bill of rights had been introduced into the house, to convert the several articles which had been presented to William with the crown into a regular law.

<sup>t</sup> Journals of the commons, May and June.



C H A P.  
IX.

1689.

The settlement of the crown upon the Prince and Princess of Orange, the Princess of Denmark, and their children, was to be confirmed by the same act of the legislature. The dispensing power was totally extinguished by an additional clause, except in cases where a dispensation is expressly allowed by the statute. The bill passed the commons. But it was essentially amended by the lords. To the clause which disabled Papists from succeeding to the crown, they added the words, "or such as should marry Papists." Sophia, Dutchess of Hannover, and her posterity, were inserted in the line of succession by the lords. The lower house rejected both amendments, under various reasons. The lords adhered. The commons continued obstinate. Conference followed conference. The peers at length declared that they would admit of no further debate on the subject. The lower house flew into violent heats. They adjourned "for two days; and, when they met, they appointed a committee to inspect the Journals, whether there was any precedent for a conference where the freedom of debate was refused. The King, perceiving the vehemence of the commons, endeavoured to sooth them with a message, which, however, contained a kind of reproach. He informed them, that he was so sensible of their disposition, that he was willing that no further proceedings upon raising of money should be undertaken till their meeting in winter \*.

and in that of  
the lords,

THE commons, inflamed with the delay in granting them permission to inspect the council-books, paid little regard to this concession. In a committee of the whole house, they proceeded, on the third of August, to consider the state of the nation. They resolved, that there had been unaccountable delays in sending a necessary aid to Ireland. That adequate preparations had not been made for sending a force into that kingdom, and that several ships had fallen into the hands of the enemy, for want of a sufficient pro-

\* July 31.

\* Journals, Aug. 2.



tection from government. The lords exhibited symptoms of the same vehemence. They had appointed a committee of inquiry. They applied for leave to inspect the minutes of the council. But, notwithstanding the apparent ill-humour of both houses, they avoided to proceed to extremities. Ministers were accused, but not punished. Officers, who had been proved to have neglected their duty, escaped without censure. They passed from the affairs of Ireland to the settlement of the revenue, and to the completing the bill of indemnity. Neither, however, was finished in the present session. The exceptions made in the bill of indemnity were so extensive, that they comprehended half the people in England. Violent debates arose upon the subject. But the settlement of the revenue engrossed the greatest part of the King's attention. He expressed with great vehemence his desire of having the revenue of his predecessor settled upon him for life. The jealousy of many prevented the accomplishment of his desire. The sullenness of his disposition was known to several. The imperiousness of his character was perhaps exaggerated by all. The Whigs were afraid, that to make him independent, was to render his government arbitrary; and those who adhered in secret to the late King, wished to make the reigning Prince uneasy upon his throne. His disappointment induced him to renew his former threats. He sometimes affirmed, that he would no longer remain in a country where he only enjoyed the name of King<sup>y</sup>.

C H A P.  
IX.

1689.

THE party who had raised William to the throne were the most forward in their opposition to the measure of rendering him independent. They have been, without any sufficient reason, highly blamed upon this subject. The exigencies of the times were great. But the sums already granted were ample. William himself complained of a want of permanency in the revenue, more than of the insufficiency of the aids received. The money voted since the

Reflections.

<sup>y</sup> Burnet.



C H A P.  
IX.

1689.

beginning of the session, exceeded, by more than one third, the receipts of any whole year in the two preceding reigns. An appearance of an appropriation of the supplies to particular services offended the King, as it seemed to insinuate a distrust of his conduct. A new constitution was, however, to be established. The commons were certainly excusable, in continuing the dependence of the crown, till the rights of the subject should be established on a permanent and solid foundation. There is, however, reason to conclude, that the King's private conduct obstructed the completion of his wishes, more than the public spirit of the commons. He loved not the company of his subjects. He neither flattered their favourite prejudices, nor mixed in their amusements. He even quitted London when questions of the utmost importance were agitated in parliament. He passed his time at Hampton-Court in a state of retired inactivity, which bordered upon absolute indolence. Few had access to his person; and those that were admitted were obliged to make allowances for his disposition, in reconciling their reception to their pride. He was compared, with great disadvantage, to both his uncles. Charles and James lived in the intimacy of equals with their subjects. Though their conduct as sovereigns was almost uniformly blamed, they were always irreprehensible in their behaviour as gentlemen<sup>2</sup>.

Aug. 20.  
Parliament  
adjourned.

DISSATISFIED with the conduct of the commons, harassed with the contests between the houses, offended at their complaints against his own conduct with regard to Ireland, William put an end, by adjournment, to the session on the twentieth of August. But though neither house had the good fortune to please the King, their measures seemed uniformly favourable to the late settlement of the crown. They renewed the aversion of the people against the bad measures of the two last reigns, by reversing unpopular attainders and illegal judgments. The blood of Ruffel, Sidney,

<sup>2</sup> Publications of the times.



Mrs. Lisle, and Alderman Cornish, was restored; and all the proceedings and records concerning their trials were ordered to be cancelled. Exorbitant fines imposed in the preceding reigns were voted illegal. Money extorted by Jefferys, the late chancellor, who died on the eighteenth of April in the Tower, was charged, with interest, upon his estate. The noted Otes was remembered on this occasion. The judgments against him were reversed, and he himself was recommended to the King, who gratified him with an ample pension. The unfortunate Duke of Monmouth was the only one forgot of the whole party. Though urged to his ruin by the present King<sup>a</sup>, and seduced by the prevailing party, his memory and his children were neglected. William himself seemed willing to preclude the latter from the favour which was on others liberally bestowed. He conferred, at his coronation, the title of Earl of Monmouth on the Lord Mordaunt; perhaps that none of the posterity of the Duke might succeed to his dangerous popularity<sup>b</sup>.

THE affairs of Scotland continued to be important through the greatest part of the present year. On the eleventh of May, the commissioners appointed by the convention, with a cavalcade of most of the Scottish nobility and gentry then residing in London, were introduced to the King and Queen at Whitehall. They presented to the King a letter from the states, the instrument of government, a paper containing a list of grievances to be redressed, and an address for converting the convention into a parliament. These papers were successively read, and William made a suitable reply. The coronation-oath was then tendered to the King by the Earl of Argyle. A scruple expressed by William to a clause of the oath, which seemed to infer religious persecution, has been recorded to his honour. William, in his disposal of places in Scotland, paid attention to his own friends. The con-

Affairs of  
Scotland.

<sup>a</sup> D'Avaux.

<sup>b</sup> Reresby, Burnet, Journals, Publications, passim.

vention



C H A P.  
IX.

1689.

vention of states being turned into a parliament, the Duke of Hamilton was appointed commissioner. The Lord Melvin, a person of a ductile and easy temper, but of limited capacity, received the seals, as secretary of state. The Viscount Stair was restored to the office of lord president of the court of session; and his son, Sir John Dalrymple, was appointed lord advocate. Stair, on whose advice the King chiefly depended in Scottish affairs, was as singular in his character as in the fortune of his life. A man of considerable, but profligate abilities; he had raised himself from obscurity, by the means of his temporising talents. During fifty years of his life, he complied in every thing with every government. He marked with acuteness the changes of the times, and ran dexterously down the current. True to no principle but his own interest, he caballed with every party, and betrayed all. He fought against Charles the First in a military office. In a civil capacity, he abetted with zeal and eagerness the most arbitrary measures of his son. To sum up his character in the words of those who knew him best: He was an enthusiast without religion, a judge without justice, a statesman destitute of integrity and honour<sup>b</sup>.

Progress of

THE placing of such men in the chief offices of the kingdom furnished many persons, whose ambition was disappointed by the new promotions, with a plausible pretence for an opposition in parliament. Besides, the instructions of the King to his commissioner, with regard to the redress of grievances, were more circumscribed in their object, than the Scots had reason to expect from a Prince on whom they voluntarily conferred the crown. The lords of the articles had been long deemed destructive to the first principles of a free parliament; yet the abolition of that institution could not be obtained from the King. The ill humours of the parliament were, however, suppressed for some time, on ac-

<sup>b</sup> Burnet. Balcarras. Proceedings of Parliament vindicated, p. 36.



count of the dangers which threatened the new government. The castle of Edinburgh was still kept, in the name of James, by the Duke of Gordon: but, despairing of any relief, and pressed by a siege, he surrendered the place, upon honourable terms, on the thirteenth of June. The adherents of the late King, terrified with this unexpected misfortune, now turned their eyes to the Viscount Dundee. That nobleman, having been urged in vain to return to the convention, was publicly declared a fugitive, an outlaw, and a rebel, by that assembly. Driven by his enemies, and incited by his own native ardour, he resolved to defend himself by force of arms. Apprized of a design laid by General Mackay to take him by surprise, he retired to the Grampian mountains, with a few horse. He marched from thence to Gordon castle, where he was joined by the Earl of Dunfermling, with fifty gentlemen. He passed through the county of Murray to Inverness. Macdonald of Keppoch lay with seven hundred men before that town; after having ravaged, in his way from his own country, the lands of the clan of Mackintosh<sup>c</sup>.

DUNDEE, having promised to the magistrates of Inverness to repay, at the King's return, the money extorted from them by Macdonald, induced the latter to join his arms. He proposed immediately to march in search of Mackay; but Macdonald and his followers chose first to return home with their spoil. Dundee was forced to yield. He accompanied them to Lochaber. He arrived, on the eighth of May, in Badenoch. He sent letters from thence to the chiefs of all the clans. He appointed them to meet, at a general rendezvous in Lochaber, on the eighteenth of the same month. He resolved to fill the intermediate time with action. Mackay, with his army, had arrived at Inverness. Dundee, passing suddenly through Athol, surprized the town of Perth. In hopes of gaining to his party the two troops of Scottish dra-

the Viscount  
Dundee.

<sup>c</sup> MS. 1689.



C H A P.  
IX.  
1689.

goons who lay at Dundee, he marched suddenly to that place; but the fidelity of Captain Balfour, who commanded them, disappointed his views. Having raised the land-tax from the inhabitants as he passed, Dundee returned through Athol and Rannoch to Lochaber, to hold the diet of rendezvous. Macdonald of Glengary, Macdonald of Morer, Stewart of Appin, and Macdonald of Glenco, joined him with their followers on the day appointed. In a few days, Cameron of Lochiel, with six hundred men, and Macdonald of Keppoch, with two hundred, arrived in the camp of Dundee. His army now consisted of fifteen hundred men. With these he took the way of Badenoch, and forced the castle of Ruthven, with its garrison of fifty Grants. Mackay, who was on his march to Ruthven, retreated upon the approach of Dundee. Colonel Ramsay, who was passing through Athol, with a considerable reinforcement, to join Mackay, fled back to Perth; and Mackay himself, having been pursued in vain by Dundee for four days, advanced to Strathbogy, and left the whole Highlands exposed to the enemy<sup>d</sup>.

He retreats  
to Lochaber.

THE officers of the Scottish dragoons, who held a secret correspondence with Dundee, wrote to him false intelligence, as an excuse for their own fears. They informed him, that a party of Irish, who had endeavoured to land in Scotland, under the Duke of Berwick, were driven back, and the Duke himself taken prisoner. Besides, Mackay had been reinforced with a regiment of English horse, and another of foot. Dundee, upon receiving this intelligence, retreated to Badenoch. The natives of the low-country, who served in his army, quitted him on his march, without leave. The Highlanders, never subject to authority on a retreat, plundered the country wherever they came. He himself fell sick. Mackay hovered on his rear. A slight skirmish happened, in which the Highlanders prevailed. But the victors,

<sup>d</sup> MS. 1689.

during



during the action, lost their baggage. Dundee at length arrived at Ruthven<sup>e</sup>. Ramsay, during his absence, had passed, with twelve hundred men, to Inverness. Mackay, joined by this timely reinforcement, advanced with hasty strides. Other regiments had arrived at Perth and Dumblain. Dundee perceived dangers approaching on every side. The Highlanders deserted, every night, by hundreds. He found himself obliged to accompany the fugitives. He retired to Lochaber. Two hundred only of his whole force remained in the field; and to complete the unhappiness of his situation, he received, at the same time, intelligence of the surrender of the castle of Edinburgh<sup>f</sup>.

C H A P.  
IX.  
1689.

LETTERS arriving on the twenty-third of June from King James, with a promise of immediate succours from Ireland, Dundee ordered the neighbouring clans to assemble round his standard. But still he had scarce any thing but men for prosecuting the war. The Highlanders were armed only with their own proper weapons. He had but forty pound weight of powder in his whole army. Without cannon, without tents, without provisions, destitute of money, and even possessing no commission to command for the late King, his active spirit surmounted all difficulties, and communicated to others his own fire. He gained the affections of a proud and ignorant populace, by his attention to their very prejudices. He repressed the jarring interests and jealousies of the better sort, by the authority of his character, and their high opinion of his courage and skill in war. His very name reminded his followers of the gallant Montrose. They saw in him what their fathers had told them of the chief of his family; and they transferred to their present commander their enthusiastic zeal for a former leader, who had covered their arms with so much success and renown. Dundee was not of a disposition that would permit this spirit to languish in a state of inactivity. Events daily

Marches against the enemy.

<sup>e</sup> June 4.

<sup>f</sup> MS. passim.



C H A P.  
IX.

1689.

arose which hurried him to action. The Lord Murray, son of the Marquis of Athol, laid siege to the castle of Blair, held by some of the adherents of King James. Sir Alexander Maclean, then on an expedition in Cromar, by Dundee's orders, marched against Murray, and raised the siege. But Mackay was on his way to attack the place. Dundee, reinforced by three hundred Irish, under Colonel Cannon, by forced marches, arrived in Athol on the sixteenth of July. Having refreshed his men, he lay all night under arms in the field<sup>s</sup>.

Meets them  
at Rinrory.

IN the morning of the seventeenth of July, the Viscount Dundee was informed, that Mackay's advanced guard, consisting of four hundred men, had marched through the pass of Killicranky, a narrow defile, formed by the steep side of the Grampian mountains, and a dark, rapid, and deep river. He ordered Sir Alexander Maclean, with an equal number of his tribe, to attack the enemy. Maclean had scarce advanced half a mile, when Dundee was informed that Mackay had marched, with his whole army, through the pass; and was advanced to the field of Rinrory, scarce two miles distant from the place where the Highlanders lay. He commanded Maclean to halt. He advanced suddenly with his whole force, being resolved to give battle to the enemy. When he came in sight of Mackay's army, he found them formed in eight battalions, ready for action. They consisted of four thousand five hundred foot, and two troops of horse. The Highlanders, under Dundee, amounted to little more than half that number. These he ranged instantly in order of battle. Maclean, with his tribe, formed the right wing. The Macdonalds of Sky, under their chieftain's eldest son, formed the left. The Camerons, the Macdonalds of Glengary, the followers of Clanronald, and a few Irish auxiliaries, were in the center. A troop of horse were placed behind, under Sir William Wallace. The officers sent by

<sup>s</sup> MS. Account, 1689.

James



James from Ireland were distributed through all the line. His whole army stood in fight of the enemy, for several hours, on the steep side of a hill, which faced the narrow plain where Mackay had formed his line. Dundee wished for the approach of night; a season suited for either victory or flight<sup>h</sup>.

C H A P.  
IX.

1689.

AT five of the clock in the afternoon, a kind of slight skirmish began between the right wing of the Highlanders and the left of the enemy. But neither army wishing to change their ground, the firing was discontinued for three hours. Dundee, in the mean time, flew from tribe to tribe, and animated them to action. At eight of the clock he gave the signal for battle, and charged the enemy in person, at the head of the horse. The Highlanders, in deep columns, rushed suddenly down the hill. They kept their shot till they were within a pike's length of the enemy; and, having fired their muskets, fell upon them sword in hand. Mackay's left wing could not for a moment sustain the shock. They were driven by the Macleans, with great slaughter, from the field. The Macdonalds, on the left of the Highlanders, were not equally successful. Colonel Hastling's regiment of foot stood their ground, and forced the Macdonalds to retreat. Maclean, with a few of his tribe, and Sir Evan Cameron, at the head of his clan, fell suddenly on the flank of this gallant regiment, and obliged them to give way. The slaughter ended not with the battle. Two thousand fell in the field and the flight. The tents, baggage, artillery, and provisions of the enemy, and even King William's Dutch standard, which was carried by Mackay's regiment, fell into the hands of the Highlanders. The victory was now complete. But the Highlanders lost their gallant leader. Perceiving the unexpected resistance of Colonel Hastling's regiment, and the confusion of the Macdonalds, Dundee rode rapidly to the left wing; and as he was raising his arm, and pointing the Camerons to ad-

Battle of Killcranky.

<sup>h</sup> MS. Account, 1689.



C H A P.  
IX.

1689.

Death and  
character of  
Dundee.

vance, he received a ball in his side. He, however, survived the battle, and wrote a letter to King James, giving an account of the victory<sup>1</sup>. He even thought that his wound was not mortal; but he died the next morning at Blair<sup>2</sup>.

THUS fell, in the midst of victory, the gallant Viscount Dundee. To the enthusiasm of valour which ought to animate a soldier, he added all the skill and prudence of an experienced general. Trained to war from his youth, he was ever in possession of himself. Danger discomposed not, though it elevated his mind. He was as provident in his conduct as he was undaunted in action. Open and free by nature, winning in his manner, liberal through policy, attentive to the passions of others, a perfect master of his own; he was obliging to men whom he ought to oblige; to those whom rigour could only subdue, occasionally severe. He could descend to the level of the low, without losing his dignity. He could rise above the greatest, without offending the proud, or awaking the envy of the jealous. Without any commission from his sovereign, without any previous acquaintance with those whom he roused to arms, without any of the common resources of war, destitute of ammunition and artillery, he reduced an ungovernable multitude into discipline, by the mere authority of his name. Had he survived the victory which he obtained, he might have carried forward even the fickle tribes which he commanded to actions of greater consequence and renown. They loved him with enthusiasm; they revered his memory when dead. Their songs and traditions placed him in the first rank of their heroes. His name is scarce mentioned to this day without either a sigh or a tear. The hopes of King James in Scotland perished with Dundee. Colonel Cannon, who succeeded to the command, possessed neither the popularity nor abilities of his predecessor. After some insignificant actions, more remarkable for their own va-

<sup>1</sup> MS., Letter, 1689.<sup>2</sup> MS. Account, 1689.



four than for the conduct of their leader, the Highlanders dispersed themselves in disgust; and the war, soon after, ended favourably for William, without any repulse given to his enemies<sup>1</sup>.

C H A P.  
IX.

1689.

DURING the military operations in the North of Scotland, the parliament sat in a continual ferment at Edinburgh. A violent opposition rose, upon various grounds. The passions of the discontented were inflamed, by men who had been disappointed in their views of ambition. A majority appeared against the crown. They passed an act for the abolition of prelaey<sup>m</sup>. They incapacitated all obnoxious persons from serving the government. They claimed the privilege of examining and rejecting the judges. The conduct of William, it must be confessed, furnished his enemies with plausible grounds of complaint. He had named the lords of session by an act of prerogative, though the appointing the judges in the same manner had been one of his own charges against the late King. He had broken through the whole constitution of the college of justice. In cases of partial vacancies in the court of session, it had been usual for the King to nominate; and the other lords were to examine, and at pleasure to reject or approve. The vacancy declared in the throne had made a total vacancy on the bench. The parliament claimed the power, which they had exercised at the restoration of monarchy, to examine, and to reject or receive the judges. William, to support his prerogative, was advised to adopt a measure in itself absurd. He continued such a number of the late King's judges as were sufficient to examine those whom he wished to promote. A bill was brought in, which asserted the total vacancy of the bench. It was provided in this act, that the nomination should be in the crown, and the approbation entirely in parliament. The ministry adhered to the King's present nomination, and the parliament forbade the judges to open their commissions, or to hold their session<sup>n</sup>.

A violent opposition.

<sup>1</sup> MS. Account, 1689.

<sup>m</sup> July 1.

<sup>n</sup> Burnet, Ralph, Balcarras.



C H A P.  
IX.1689.  
in parlia-  
ment.

THE disputes ran so high between the two parties, that the ministry seemed resolved to secure by force what they could not obtain by favour. They drew the forces, in unusual numbers, to Edinburgh. The majority were not to be intimidated out of their opinions, Tumult and confusion prevailed. The commissioner adjourned the house to the eighth of October. The opposition, inflamed with resentment, prepared a remonstrance to the King. Under expressions of zeal for his service, and loyalty for his person, they upbraided William, in effect, with a breach of the conditions upon which he had received the crown. They recapitulated the several acts to which he had not given his assent, and which seemed to have been designedly defeated by a long adjournment. They annexed, in a decent but spirited manner, their reasons for adhering to their votes. They requested the King, in prosecution of his acceptance of the claim of right, to give his assent to the specified acts, and to take such measures as were best calculated for redressing all the other grievances of the nation. This ferment in the Scottish parliament was ascribed to the profligate politics of the two Dalrymples, who had endeavoured to impress the King with an opinion, that he had a separate interest from his people°. Besides, William himself was as fond of the prerogatives of the crown as any of his predecessors; and he was not a man to be convinced out of any favoured system of government<sup>p</sup>.

Irish affairs.

IRELAND presented, in the mean time, a scene of misery, distraction, and civil war. James, resolving to head his army in the North, left Dublin on the eighth of April. The Protestant insurgents, having ruined the country in their retreat, retired, upon his approach, to Derry and the other side of the river Finn. But James was in no condition to take advantage of the flight of his enemies. His troops were destitute of pay, without discipline,

° Proceed. vind. p. 12. Remonstrance.

<sup>p</sup> Auct. citat. passim.



and without arms. One half of the soldiers were armed with pikes. The other half had muskets, but utterly unfit for service. He had ordered, but without effect, the Duke of Tyrconnel, and De Pontis, the French agent, to hasten the arms and ammunition to the North. He, however, advanced toward Derry, deriving hopes of the surrender of that place from the apparent fears of the Protestants. But the enemy seemed resolved to dispute the passage of the river Finn. The King detached Hamilton to Straban, and the Marquis de Pufignian and the Duke of Berwick, with half their detachment, to Cladiford, four miles above that place. James himself remained, in the mean time, at Omi. Hamilton, Pufignian, and Berwick, joined their troops. They forced, at the head of a few volunteers, the passage to Cladiford, in the face of six thousand of the enemy. The Mareschal de Rosen advanced to Straban. With two troops of horse and one of dragoons, he swam across the river at Lifford. The insurgents fled at the first charge, having resolved to reserve their whole efforts for the defence of Derry. King James, apprized of their design, resolved to return to Dublin, to hasten from that city things necessary for a siege. The Mareschal de Rosen was left at the head of the army; and M. de Maumont, Hamilton, the Duke of Berwick, Pufignian, and M. de Lerry, were in succession the next in command.

WHEN the King was returned to Charlemont, he received an express from his army, that Derry had desired to capitulate. Rosen referred the deputies of the town to a declaration issued by the King on the first of April. He requested the presence of James. That Prince returned suddenly to Straban. But Rosen had already left that place, resolving to shew himself, with his whole army, before the town, to intimidate the insurgents to an immediate surrender. James joined him, on his way from Straban. But Rosen, contrary to the King's inclination, surrounded

James marches  
to Derry.

\* MS. Journal, corrected by K. James.

\* James II. 1689.



C H A P.  
IX.

1689.

the town with his army, within the distance of half a cannon-shot from the wall. A trumpet was sent to summon Derry. The townsmen promised to send an answer in ten hours. But Rosen continuing still to advance, the insurgents fired upon his men, and the treaty was interrupted. James, provided with nothing necessary for a siege, returned, the second day after his arrival, with Rosen, toward Dublin. Maumont was left before Derry in the chief command. But the precipitate motions of Rosen were not the cause of the change of opinion in the inhabitants of Derry. Two English regiments, under the command of the Colonels Cuninghame and Richards, had arrived, a few days before, in Lake Foyle, upon which the town is situated. Lundy, who commanded in the place, was either swayed by treachery or fear. Without permitting the men to land, he ordered the officers to come to a council of war. They soon agreed, that the town was not tenable. Their resolutions were communicated to the magistrates, and they resolved to offer terms to the King. The English regiments prepared to return. The populace were alarmed. Tumult, clamour, and confusion arose. The governor and magistrates lost all authority. Some desperate persons flew to the walls. They turned their cannon against the enemy, and fired. The garrison chose two governors; Walker, a clergyman, and one Major Baker. Their whole force consisted of seven thousand men and three hundred and fifty officers; with which they resolved to hold the town to the last extremity.

Wretched  
state of his  
army.

BUT the spirit of the inhabitants of Londonderry would have availed little against the Irish army, had they not been almost destitute of every implement of war. They possessed no battering cannon. They had not a single mortar. Few of the soldiers were even provided with muskets. A blockade, rather than a siege, was formed around the town. The insurgents

Walker's Diary.

had



had scarce any thing to fear, except famine; and the negligence of the government of England could only deprive them of certain relief. They were, however, resolved not to owe their safety entirely to the unprepared state of the enemy. They made a sally, the day after the King's departure, with three thousand foot and three squadrons of horse. They posted their horse upon the strand. With their foot they lined the hedges, a little further advanced on the left. M. de Maumont, contemning the enemy, placed himself at the head of his advanced guard of forty troopers; and, with the other general officers as volunteers, charged, on full gallop, the horse of Derry. He received the whole fire of the foot as he passed. But the shock, notwithstanding, put the enemy in disorder. Four hundred of his foot advancing in the mean time, he led them to the insurgents. An obstinate combat ensued. Maumont was killed by the first fire. Two horses were killed under the Duke of Berwick. But the insurgents were at length repulsed<sup>a</sup>.

C H A P.  
IX.  
1689.

THE news of the action was carried to the King at Charlemont. He was affected beyond measure at the death of M. de Maumont. He commanded his body to be carried to Dublin; and sent positive orders to Hamilton, on whom the command had devolved, to forbid for the future the general officers to expose themselves to danger in such an irregular manner. The Marquis de Pusignan died, a few days after, of the wounds he received in the same action. The blockade of Derry, in the mean time, continued. The hopes of James rested upon the scarcity of provisions, which threatened already to create a famine in the town. He was not, however, idle in Dublin. Such troops as could be armed filed off, by his orders, toward the North. The French fleet having landed some stores in Bantry-Bay, he expected to finish soon the siege by their aid. But the distance of the place, the surrounding

He returns  
to Dublin.

<sup>a</sup> MS. Journal, passim.



C H A P.  
IX.

1689.

morasses and deserts, the want of carriages, and even the want of skill, retarded extremely the transporting the cannon and heavy stores. Two battering pieces and one mortar were sent to Derry, on the thirtieth of May. The troops before the place were neither numerous nor fit for service. Ill-paid, ill-clothed, half-armed and undisciplined, they formed a rabble still more despicable than those within the walls; in whom religious enthusiasm, and their fears of the Irish Papists, had supplied the place of skill.

Irish parlia-  
ment meets.

IN pursuance of the writs issued by James, the parliament met at Dublin on the seventh of May. The admission of Catholics into the several corporations, and even the terrors with which they had impressed the minds of the freeholders in the counties, secured, with little difficulty, the elections in favour of their own sect. Six Protestants only were returned to serve in the house of commons; two sent from the university, and four from other places. Many of the Protestant nobility having left the kingdom, a very great majority of the lords assembled in parliament were Roman Catholics. James, sensible of the mischiefs which already sprung from his bigotry, shewed every inclination to be moderate on the article of religion; but he soon found, that he was not master of the kingdom in which he reigned. He opened the session with a speech calculated to flatter his Irish subjects, without giving offence to the two British nations. He commended the loyalty and zeal of the first. He endeavoured to gain the second, by expressing his abhorrence of persecution and arbitrary power. He declared his firm purpose to establish liberty of conscience in matters of religion. He expressed his disregard of any other test but loyalty to his own person and government. He assured his parliament, that he would give his assent to all laws that might promote the prosperity of the nation, the improvement of trade, and the relief of those who had been injured by the late

\* MS. Journal, passim.



acts of settlement, as far as might be consistent with reason, justice, and the public good. He expressed his grateful sense of his obligations to the Most Christian King. He owed, he said, to his generosity the happiness of meeting his Irish subjects in parliament. He concluded with assuring them, that he was as sensible as they could desire of their signal fidelity and loyalty<sup>y</sup>.

C H A P.  
IX.

1689.

SIR Richard Nagle, the attorney-general, having been chosen speaker by the commons, he prompted the house to prepare immediately two addresses. The first they presented to James, expressing their loyalty and affection for his person, and their obligations to the late lord-deputy, the Duke of Tyrconnel. The second, which was to be transmitted to the Most Christian King, contained their high sense of the generosity with which that Prince had received and assisted their sovereign. A bill was brought instantly into the house, which contained a recognition of the undoubted title of King James, and an abhorrence of the usurpation and person of the Prince of Orange. The King, soon after the meeting of the parliament, published a proclamation, addressed to all his Irish subjects<sup>z</sup>. He expressed his satisfaction, that all the calumnies and aspersions with which his enemies had estranged from him the affections of his subjects, were now self-confuted and rejected by all. His conduct since his arrival in Ireland, he said, was sufficient to demonstrate the falsehood and malice of his enemies. He affirmed, that he had made it his chief concern to satisfy the minds of his Protestant subjects; and that the defence of their religion, their privileges, and properties, commanded equally his care with the recovery of his own rights. He appealed to the world, that he had preferred many of them to places of the highest honour and trust about his person, as well as in his army; that he had granted his royal protection to those whose minds were shaken by the arts of his rebellious subjects; that he had dispelled their

Their proceedings,

<sup>y</sup> Speech.<sup>z</sup> May 18.



C H A P.  
IX.

1689.

public apprehensions, and secured them against the attempts of their private enemies. He said, that his ears had been open to all their complaints; that he had extended his mercy to the refractory: that he had pardoned many hundreds, who had appeared against him in arms; and that the most notorious criminals were kept in easy confinement. He resolved, he said, to entail liberty and happiness upon his people. He promised to put it out of the power of his successors "to invade the one or infringe the other;" and he solemnly called God to witness, that such had always been his design<sup>a</sup>.

injustice, and

JAMES was probably sincere in these professions; but he was destitute of the power of adhering to his declaration. The influence of the French in his councils equalled the supposed greatness of their aid. D'Avaux, as ambassador of France, exerted a kind of tyranny over a Prince whom he pretended to support. He was the declared enemy of the Protestants; and his object was less to restore James, than to protract the war. The violence of the Roman Catholics rose in proportion to their success. In their zeal for their own interests, they paid little regard to those of their unfortunate King. James had recommended some means of relief to the sufferers by the acts of settlement; but the commons received a bill for the total repeal of these acts with a kind of barbarous joy. To a law which subverted the whole property of Ireland, James was forced, by the instances of D'Avaux and the violence of his parliament, much against his own inclination<sup>b</sup>, to assent. This impolitic and precipitate measure was followed by others equally unjust and violent. The parliament passed a general bill of attainder, which contained more than two thousand persons of all orders and degrees. The Irish in the service of King William, the Protestants who left the kingdom, those who returned not on the proclamation of King James, many whose ordinary residence

<sup>a</sup> Proclamation.<sup>b</sup> James II. 1689.



was in Britain, were attainted of high treason, and subjected to the pains of death and forfeiture, unless they surrendered themselves to trial by a certain day. This act encroached upon the prerogative of the King. He was precluded from the power of pardoning, after the first day of the succeeding November. Neither James nor the persons affected knew the whole extent of this rigorous bill. The act was kept concealed in the custody of the chancellor; and the King, four months after, learned by an accident the force of a law which so much intrenched on his own prerogative<sup>c</sup>.

IN a supplement to the act of attainder, the real and personal estates of all absentees were vested in the King, till they should exhibit sufficient proofs of their loyalty. To render Ireland totally independent of England, was an object which occupied the next care of this violent parliament. They declared, by an express bill, that the English parliament had no power to bind Ireland; and that writs of error or appeal should be no longer prosecuted in England. They passed a bill for a general liberty of conscience. They recalled the provisions settled on ministers in towns corporate. They appropriated to the Popish clergy the ecclesiastical dues and tythes payable by persons of their own persuasion. Notwithstanding the bigotry of James, he was far from being pleased with the violent proceedings of the Roman Catholic party. Oppressed by the importunities of his subjects, intimidated by D'Avaux, who threatened to retire to France, in case of the King's refusal to gratify the Papists, he yielded, in a degree inconsistent with his declarations. He, however, shewed at length some attention to the English interest. He refused to consent to the repeal of Poynings's law. He would not permit inns of court, for the education of law-students, to be established in Ireland. This obstinacy, as it was called by his enemies, estranged from him the minds of the

<sup>c</sup> James II. 1689. Journals of the Irish house of commons.



C H A P.

IX.

1689.

p801

more violent Papists. Besides, a faction, headed by the Duke of Tyrconnel, were in close correspondence with the court of France. They knew that James designed only to pass through their country to his other dominions. They were afraid that the aversion which he had already discovered to the independence of Ireland might induce him, should he happen to be restored, to subvert the violent regulations which they had already made. Some even formed a project of resigning the sovereignty of their country to Lewis the Fourteenth. Their complaints of the conduct of their sovereign at the court of France, establishes some kind of proof of this fact. James was peculiarly unfortunate. He was charged by the Protestants of violence in favour of the Papists: he was accused by the Papists of too much lenity to the Protestants<sup>d</sup>.

Coin debased.

THE difficulties, which induced James to assent to the violent acts of the Irish parliament, betrayed him into unpopular measures in his executive government. The scanty sums remitted from France had been committed to the management of D'Avaux, by his own court. The King was obliged to solicit that minister for the money which his necessities required. He was even obliged to satisfy the ambassador with regard to the service for which he demanded any supply. But had the disbursement been more free, the remittances were altogether inadequate to the necessities of the unfortunate King. The rabble, which had gone under the name of an army, had been hitherto supported by their officers, or fed by depredation. The funds of the officers were at length exhausted. The country itself could bear no longer the riot and injustice of the soldiers. Pressed with these difficulties, King James, by the advice of his council, resolved to coin pieces of copper, which should be received for silver. He foresaw the inconveniencies of this measure<sup>e</sup>. But all Ireland possessed not

<sup>d</sup> M<sup>s</sup>. 1689.<sup>e</sup> Ibid. James II. 1689.

the



the means of paying the army, in current coin, to the middle of the month of June<sup>f</sup>. Two hundred thousand livres remained only of the French remittances; and the King found it absolutely necessary to reserve that sum, to forward his measures with regard to Britain, and to procure intelligence of the motions of his enemies. The army was satisfied with even this appearance of money. The people received the fictitious coin, in hopes of being repaid in a more favourable state of affairs. A tax of twenty thousand pounds a month, granted for thirteen months by the parliament, furnished the government with an appearance of resources. The King, in the mean time, endeavoured to support the former revenue. He opened a trade with France, to supply the want of commerce with England. But the French, building upon the necessity of his affairs and their own services, claimed and obtained advantages in traffic, which offended his own subjects<sup>g</sup>.

THE blockade of Derry, upon the arrival of some artillery in the Irish camp, was converted, in the beginning of June, into a kind of siege. The works of the enemy were destroyed in a sally before they could be put in a posture of defence<sup>h</sup>. Fresh preparations were, however, made. The besiegers possessed neither the means nor the skill of attack. A force sent from England appeared in the Lake of Derry, on the thirteenth of June. But Kirk, who commanded the succours, was either too cautious or too cold in his operations. Though he assured the townsmen of speedy relief, he avoided every hazardous enterprise; and, for five weeks, remained inactive in his ships, or loitered on an island in the lake. The force which he had was too small for the service. Though two regiments had already retired, as insufficient, three only were sent with Kirk to the same service. James apprized of the arrival of the English, sent the Marechal de Rosen to command before Derry. Rosen committed the care of the

Siege of  
Derry.

<sup>f</sup> MS. Journals, 1689.

<sup>g</sup> MS. 1689.

<sup>h</sup> MS. Journals, 1689.

siege:



C H A P.  
IX.

1689.

siege to Hamilton, and posted himself on the banks of the lake, to prevent a descent from the English fleet. The works before the town proceeded but slowly till the end of June. No impression could be made, even then, on the walls; as the few cannon possessed by the Irish were placed on the bank of the river, to prevent the approach of the English fleet. The besieged were, in the mean time, pressed with want of provisions. On the twenty-ninth of June they proposed to surrender, upon conditions. This was construed by Rosen into a mere feint to gain time. The besieged continued to fire, and drove the Irish from two retrenchments, which they had taken the day before<sup>1</sup>.

De Rosen's  
cruel order.

THE Mareschal Rosen, incensed at the unexpected resistance of Derry, adopted an expedient at once weak, unprecedented, and barbarous. He sent parties to drive to the walls of the town all the inhabitants of the open country, as far as Charlemont. Men, women, and children, were collected from all quarters by this cruel order. He placed four thousand unhappy persons between his lines and the town; vainly hoping, that the besieged would either surrender themselves, or relieve their friends. This wretched measure produced no effect on the townsmen. They fired upon their friends from the wall; but no mischief was done. Rosen, convinced of the folly of his expedient, or touched with a momentary pity, withdrew the unhappy people, after a few hours, and permitted them to retire home. Some might have died of hunger and fatigue. The miseries, however, which followed this detestable measure, have been greatly exaggerated. James himself has been unjustly blamed. He was alarmed at the intelligence, and offended at his general. He wrote to all his officers, at their peril to pay no regard to the order. He sent his express commands to the Mareschal himself, to drop his unjust as well as impolitic design. "These people," says James, "lived peaceably

<sup>1</sup> MS. Journals, 1689.



at home. They had either my particular protection, or they relied upon my declaration. Rosen's measure was inevitably to depopulate a country which I was resolved to defend. Besides, this precipitate and unjust order, furnished my enemies with an instance of my breach of faith in Ireland, which would contribute to ruin my interest in my other kingdoms<sup>k</sup>."

THOUGH Rosen upbraided James with what he called his ill-timed lenity<sup>l</sup>; though he issued orders, which manifestly shewed that he thought himself independent of that Prince<sup>m</sup>; though his late measure produced all the bad effects which had been foreseen; though he even insinuated to the men of Derry, that he would protect them, upon condition they would surrender, against the King himself<sup>n</sup>: yet such was the wretched situation of the latter, that he durst not remove an officer whom Lewis the Fourteenth had placed at the head of his armies. He, however, dispatched the Lord Dover to France, to solicit, among other things, the removal of Rosen, as one who had much injured his service by his violence and cruelty. He temporized, in the mean time, with the Mareschal himself. He laid the blame upon that general's not knowing the engagements into which he had entered with his people. Rosen became peevish and fretful. He represented to the King the ill consequences of his clemency; as his protections were found in the pockets of several, who were killed in arms against his authority<sup>o</sup>. He continued, in the mean time, the siege of Derry. Though an active and vigilant officer, he made little progress. He was destitute of every necessary. Desertion and sickness had reduced his numbers to five thousand men. These were raw and dispirited; and the terrors as well as enthusiasm of the enemy rendered them obstinate<sup>p</sup>.

CHAP.  
IX.  
1689.  
The siege of  
Derry raised.

Opposed by  
James.

<sup>k</sup> MS. Instructions to Lord Dover. MS. Journal, 1689.

<sup>l</sup> MS. Letters of De Rosen.

<sup>m</sup> MS. Instructions to Lord Dover.

<sup>n</sup> MS. Ibid.

<sup>o</sup> MS. Letters of De Rosen.

<sup>p</sup> MS. Journal.



C H A P.  
IX.

1689.  
The siege of  
Derry raised.

THE greatest part of the month of July was spent in fruitless attempts to make a breach in the walls. The weather was unsuitable to the season of the year. The heavy rains and the flux of the tide had filled the trenches. The Irish had but two battering-cannon; and these they possessed not the skill to use with effect. A council of war was held on the nineteenth of July, in which all agreed in the opinion, that famine only could reduce the place. The King ordered them to convert the siege into a blockade. He desired them, in the mean time, to blow up the fort of Culmore, to lay waste the country near Derry, to prepare every thing for a retreat, in case provisions should be forced into the town. The besieged were reduced to the last degree of distress. They were obliged to eat starch, to kill horses, and even dogs. On the twenty-eighth of July, a spy was taken by the Irish, who assured them that the townsmen had now finished their last provision. Their whole hopes rested upon seven ships detached from Kirk's squadron, that seemed resolved to enter the harbour. The serjeants and soldiers, disregarding their leaders, sent a signed paper to Major-general Buchan, offering to surrender the next day<sup>a</sup> on terms. The wind became favourable for the ships. Two victuallers, advancing on full sail, broke the boom which the Irish had placed across the river. The town was supplied with provisions; and Rosen, having previously made every disposition for a retreat, retired<sup>b</sup>.

Rout at New-  
ton Butler.

DURING these transactions before Derry, the Irish received a considerable check in another quarter. The Lord Mountcashel had been ordered, on the twentieth of July, against the Protestants of Inniskillin, who were in arms for William and Mary. Having assembled his troops, to the number of three thousand six hundred men, at Belturbat, he rested in that place three days. On the thirtieth of July he made an attempt upon Crom-castle.

<sup>a</sup> July 29. <sup>b</sup> MS. Journal.



He possessed himself of the first intrenchments with ease. But his soldiers, rushing tumultuously to the walls, were repulsed with considerable loss. Mountcashel was in the mean time alarmed with intelligence, that the Inniskilliners, reinforced with regulars by Kirk, were on their march against him, with four thousand men. He retired to Newton, to put himself in a condition to receive the enemy. In the morning he ordered O'Brien's regiment of dragoons to advance to Liniskenny. They met a body of the enemy, and fled without making any resistance. Mountcashel covered them from pursuit. But he resolved to retreat to Belturbat. The whole body of the enemy were close at his heels. They overtook him at Newton. He himself acted at once the part of a good general and a brave soldier. The soldiers, and even many of the officers, deserted him without firing a shot. Mountcashel disdained to fly. Forsaken by all his own regiment, he put himself at the head of a few gallant officers and gentlemen volunteers. He was at last wounded, overpowered, and taken prisoner, having in vain courted death in the field. His whole foot were almost cut off to a man in their flight. Few were lost by the enemy, as no resistance had been made by the common soldiers'.

JAMES, highly incensed against the officers who had deserted Mountcashel in the action, appointed a council of war to inquire into the conduct of all, and to punish the guilty. Alarmed at the same time by an unexpected invasion, he issued commissions for raising new levies. He formed a camp near Dublin. All his general officers arrived from Derry. Disaffected persons were seized every where. He omitted nothing necessary for the security of his person, or the defence of the kingdom. He applied for the succours from France. He endeavoured to shew spirit and resolution in public; but he was privately in slavish subjection to D'Avaux and De Rosen. They joined with the most violent of

Factions at  
court.



C H A P.  
IX.

1689.

the Irish Papists against the King. Discontent, faction, and malice prevailed in his court. The adherents of Tyrconnel, the Irish of the ancient race, expressed the utmost resentment against James's lenity to the Protestants, his partiality to his British subjects, his opposing the repeal of Poynings's law, his resolution to keep Ireland in its former dependence on England<sup>t</sup>. D'Avaux, a man of an intriguing disposition, inflamed their discontents, and added to their jealousy. They entered into a close correspondence with him, and, by means of one Bishop Malony, at Paris, with M. de Louvois, with regard to a proposal to transfer their allegiance from James to some other Catholic Prince, able and willing to support them against the usurpations of the English. Lewis had either the generosity or the prudence to reject this plan<sup>u</sup>.

Distress of  
James.

THOUGH James was no stranger to these intrigues, he found himself obliged to temporize. He was in the hands of his enemies. But no safety remained, but in making them believe that he still deemed them his friends. He had prorogued the parliament on the eighteenth of July. He was afraid to meet again an assembly, whose violent measures had already done so much detriment to his affairs. Besides, he was informed of their vast designs<sup>x</sup>. Though they had, from a complaisance to their sovereign, dropt their scheme of independence on England, they were resolved to insist at their next meeting upon that measure. James could oppose no effectual force to their violence. The Protestants were either his enemies from the principles of their religion, or from the injuries which they had sustained from his government. He was surrounded with difficulties on every side.

Schomberg  
lands in  
Ireland.

To add to the distress of his affairs at home, his kingdom was now invaded by a foreign force. Ten thousand men, under the Duke of Schomberg, appeared on the twelfth of Au-

<sup>t</sup> MS. letter of Melfort.<sup>u</sup> Instructions to E. Maxwell.<sup>x</sup> Ibid.

gust,



gust, in ninety transports, on the coast of Donaghadee, in the county of Down. He made a lodgment on shore the same evening; and the next day landed without opposition his army, horses, and train of artillery. Having marched to Belfast on the fifteenth, he continued in that place four days, to refresh his troops. He invested Carrickfergus. He summoned the garrison in vain. He opened four batteries against the place. He attacked it with the guns of the fleet. One thousand bombs were thrown into the town. The houses were laid in ashes. The garrison, having expended their powder to the last barrel, marched out, on the ninth day, with all the honours of war. But the soldiers broke the capitulation. They disarmed and stript the inhabitants, without any regard to sex or quality. Even women, stark naked, were whipped publicly between the lines<sup>y</sup>; and all those irregularities prevailed, which the spirit of retaliation suggests to mankind when crowned with success.

C H A P.  
IX.

1689.

JAMES left Dublin on the twenty-sixth of August, attended by two hundred of his guards and some gentlemen volunteers, and placed himself at the head of seven regiments of foot at Tredath. The Duke of Berwick having, by his father's orders, broken up the roads to retard the enemy, took post<sup>z</sup> with a considerable detachment at Dundalk. Schomberg, joined in the mean time by the Inniskilliners and the regulars, under Kirk, advanced slowly, through a difficult country, deformed with bogs and encumbered with mountains. The Duke of Berwick, upon the approach of the enemy, abandoned Dundalk. Schomberg encamped in the neighbourhood of that place. The inaccessibleness of the country through which he had marched, had hitherto prevented all attempts from the enemy. But the country before him was plain. The cavalry of the enemy might cut off his communication with the fleet, which had not yet arrived, as he had directed, in the road

He encamps  
at Dundalk.<sup>y</sup> Instructions to Father Maxwell. Journal.<sup>z</sup> Sept. 6.



C H A P.  
IX.

1689.

James offers  
battle in vain.

of Carlingford. He himself laboured under every species of military distress. His troops were raw and undisciplined. Disease had crept into his camp. He was in want of provisions. The weather was uncommonly rainy and severe. He resolved therefore to remain at Dundalk, and to fortify himself against the attacks of an enemy whom he could not engage with any prospect of success in the field<sup>a</sup>.

THE King, being joined by the main body of his forces, and apprized of the distressed condition of Schomberg, marched from Tredath, eight Irish miles, to Atherdee. He advanced on the sixteenth of September to within three miles of Dundalk. Anxious for a battle, he viewed in person the intrenchments of the enemy on the eighteenth. But he found that Schomberg, by fortifying himself in Dundalk, seemed less to prepare for battle than for a siege. On the twentieth of September, James advanced with his whole army near the lines of the enemy, and endeavoured in vain to provoke them to fight. He stood three hours in order of battle before Dundalk. But Schomberg kept within his intrenchments; and the King, disappointed for the present in his hopes of ending the campaign with an engagement, retired slowly to his camp. Despairing of being able to allure the enemy to the field, he ordered Atherdee to be fortified, that he might with more advantage begin the ensuing campaign. The majority of his council of war declared themselves against this measure. They had also expressed their dislike against his advancing at all against the invaders. Some had advised him to retreat behind the Shannon<sup>b</sup>. The boldest were for placing the army behind the Boyne. James, supported by Tyrconnel, opposed both these timid measures; and, by shewing that he could stop the progress of the enemy, ended with a degree of reputation the campaign<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Auct. citat. passim.<sup>b</sup> MS. 1689.<sup>c</sup> Journals, 1689.



THE inactivity of Schomberg proceeded less from his fears of the enemy, than from a want of confidence in his own army. The soldiers, uninured to hardships, were sickly and dispirited. The officers negligent, indolent, and ignorant of war. He laboured under a want of provisions. A great part of the arms of the soldiers were unfit for service. He possessed neither carts nor waggons. His men were without shoes, and many of them in want of clothes. But the loss sustained by sickness was greatly exaggerated by those who defended the Duke's conduct. Besides, the Irish army was difficult of access, when Schomberg, by reinforcements from England and Scotland, was enabled to push his operations with any prospect of success. The country was full of swamps and defiles. James lay in an advantageous position, behind a river; and his troops had acquired some confidence and discipline in their motions, in the view of the enemy. He, however, laboured under many of the same disadvantages with Schomberg. Though his army greatly exceeded the invaders in number, scarce one half were completely armed; and he found as much inconvenience in receiving his provisions from Dublin, as Schomberg felt from the uncertain supplies which he derived from the English fleet<sup>d</sup>. The two armies retired, as it were, with mutual consent, to their winter-quarters. No action worthy of remembrance happened in Ireland. A slight advantage, gained by the Inniskilliners on the side of Sligo, was magnified by the zeal of the party into a kind of victory<sup>e</sup>.

C H A P.  
IX.1689.  
Both armies  
retire to win-  
ter-quarters.

THE war on the continent was more singular in itself than remarkable for great events during the present campaign. Almost all Europe having combined against France, seemed to threaten that kingdom with invasion, and even with conquest. Lewis the Fourteenth, trusting to his great resources, prepared himself to repel with vigour the storm which he had imprudently raised.

Foreign  
affairs.<sup>d</sup> Schomberg's letters to William.<sup>e</sup> Journals, 1689.

He



C H A P.  
IX.

1689.

He formed two armies in Flanders. He opposed a third in Catalonia to the Spaniards. To make a barrier on the side of Germany, he laid waste, in a cruel manner, the Palatinate. He strengthened with garrisons such places in the electorate of Cologne as owned the Cardinal of Furstemberg for their sovereign. But, with near four hundred thousand men in the field, he found himself outnumbered by his enemies. Eleven thousand English troops, being those whose fidelity King William could not trust, led by the Earl of Marlborough, increased to forty thousand men the army of the States of Holland, under the Prince of Waldec. The Germanic body, united under the Emperor, opposed their force to France. The Elector of Bavaria commanded an army on the Upper Rhine. The main army, consisting of the Imperialists and Saxons, was led by the Duke of Lorrain. The Elector of Brandenburg, with his native forces and the troops of Westphalia, appeared on the Lower Rhine.

Campaign

THE Duke of Lorrain, passing the Rhine at Coblentz, and the Moselle at Alcken, conducted his march through the Forest of Saon, to lay siege to Mentz. He appeared before that city on the seventeenth of July, and opened the trenches on the twenty-second. But the Marquis d'Huxelles held the place till the eighth of September. The Elector of Brandenburg conducted in the mean time the siege of Bonne in an unusual form. He surrounded the city with the fire of one hundred pieces of cannon. This noisy, but ineffectual, attack continued till Mentz fell into the hands of the Duke of Lorrain. Reinforced by a detachment of the Imperialists, the Elector opened his trenches on the sixteenth of September in form. Two hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, beside mortars, played incessantly upon the place; and the Baron d'Asfeld desired at length to capitulate from the ruins of Bonne. He received the same terms with Mentz, and surrendered the place on the twelfth of October.

THE



THE French, unwilling to risk the fate of a battle, had resolved to remain on the defensive during the whole campaign. The Prince of Waldec made several attempts to provoke to an engagement the Mareschal d'Humieres; and at length an undecisive action happened at length at Walcourt. The French were forced to quit their ground with loss; yet the Prince obtained none of those advantages with which victory is usually crowned. He was forced a few days after the battle to repass the Sambre; and suffered himself to be challenged to an engagement in his turn. Upon the whole, the campaign was unsuccessful on the side of the French. They had lost several places of great importance, and fortune declared against them in the only battle that was fought during the season. In Catalonia they were not more successful than in Flanders. They were driven back to their own borders by the Duke de Villa Hermosa. That general, pursuing the Mareschal de Noailles, laid Roussillon under contribution; and afterwards retook the town of Campredon in sight of the French army. The same bad fortune which seemed to persecute France, fell with still greater weight on her friends. The Prince of Baden, who commanded for the Emperor, on the side of Hungary, defeated the Turks in various actions. He forced their intrenchments on the banks of the Morava, he defeated them at Nissa, he obtained a complete victory at Widin. The diversion to the troops of the Emperor, which had been expected from the Ottomans, was disappointed; and France found herself obliged to rely on her own arms.

C H A P.  
IX.1689.  
On the continent.



## C H A P. X.

*State of the nation.—William confirmed on the throne.—Parliament meets.—Their proceedings.—Commons refractory. Parliament dissolved.—Whigs disgusted.—A Tory parliament.—Revenue settled.—Affairs of Scotland.—Affairs of Ireland.—William arrives in that kingdom.—Passage of the Boyne.—James defeated.—Reflections.—He retires to France.—Schemes of that kingdom in his favour.—He is treated with great coldness.—Military transactions.—Athlone besieged in vain.—William repulsed at Limerick.—He returns to England.—Mary's administration.—Battle of Beachy-head.—Foreign affairs.—Battle of Fleurus.—Campaign of 1690.—Proceedings of parliament.—Torrington acquitted.—Preston and Ashton seized and condemned.—Intrigues of Marlborough and Godolphin.—Princess of Denmark's correspondence with her father.—King William in Holland.—Conference at the Hague.—Campaign of 1691 in Flanders, —Germany, —Savoy, —Spain, —and Hungary.—Transactions at sea.—Affairs of Scotland.—Intrigues of King James.—Affairs of Ireland.—Miseries of that country.—Athlone taken.—Battle of Agbrim.—Siege of Limerick.—Pacification in Ireland.—Reflections.—English parliament meets.—Their proceedings.—Unpopularity of William.—Opposition in parliament.—Proceedings.—William in Holland.—Affairs of Scotland.—Massacre of Glenco.*

## C H A P. X.

1689.  
State of the  
nation.

THE success of William in the first campaign of his reign was neither answerable to the expectations of the nation, nor adequate to the supplies granted by parliament. His fleet had been worsted at sea by an enemy, whose power on that element had been hitherto despised. His army at land had been defeated



C H A P.  
X.

1689.

defeated by a few half-armed irregulars, who carried nothing fit for war except courage to the field. While the English and Dutch navies lay, with diseased crews, in a state of inactivity on the coast of France, the narrow seas swarmed with the privateers of the enemy, who interrupted the trade of the kingdom, and with impunity enriched themselves. The efforts against James in Ireland were obstructed first by unaccountable delays; and they were afterwards rendered ineffectual, either through the avarice or negligence of the servants of the crown. These misfortunes, however, ought not wholly to be laid to the account of William. The unsettled state of parties at home prevented him from giving sufficient attention to affairs abroad. He was a stranger in the country in which he reigned. His ministers were either ignorant, or employed in domestic faction. His army was new to action. His navy was ill-provided; and his own morose and fullen temper had cooled in many their late zeal for his service<sup>f</sup>.

William con-  
firmed on the  
throne

WANT of success in his military operations was not the only circumstance that rendered William uneasy on his throne. During the interval of parliament, the oaths of allegiance to the new government were to be taken. Many of the clergy chose rather to incur suspension than to comply. Several less scrupulous took the oaths with a kind of temporizing reserve. Five of the seven bishops, whom James had committed to the Tower, were of the number of the nonjurors. This powerful schism in the church disturbed the King and distracted his government. The opinions of many of the people followed the scruples of the clergy, and surmises against William's attachment to the established religion were propagated and received with ardour. The abolition of episcopacy in Scotland was produced as a proof even of his enmity to the church of England. He was accused of favouring most those who were known to have the greatest aversion to the mode of

Several bi-  
shops refuse  
the oaths.

<sup>f</sup> Burnet.



C H A P.  
X.

1689.

worship appointed by law. These insinuations had great weight with the church in general; and in the two universities, especially in Oxford, they were received for matter of fact, without any dispute. The conduct of William in ecclesiastical affairs seemed to justify the whispers of his enemies<sup>a</sup>. Though the commons rejected his scheme of a comprehension, he still pursued that measure, with more zeal than any prospect of success. He resolved to call a convocation; and he issued a commission to ten prelates and twenty inferior clergymen, to prepare such an alteration in the book of canons as might induce Dissenters to enter the pale of the church<sup>b</sup>.

William confirmed on the throne.

NOTWITHSTANDING these discontents, William was now firmly settled upon the throne. The circumstance which threw James into the hands of the Catholics in Ireland, proved evidently fatal to his hopes of recovering the crown of England. The violence of a Popish parliament was ascribed to the enthusiasm of a Popish King. The breach upon the acts of settlement, the cruelties of De Rosen, the vehemence of D'Avaux, the complaints and real grievances of the Protestants, the miseries of a civil war, in a country where the contending parties were inflamed with religious zeal, were laid all to the account of James. Men could not distinguish between the name of authority and the possession of power. They were ignorant that the unfortunate King had been subdued by his nominal friends, when he made a show of resistance to his enemies. In their certain knowledge of his attachment to the Romish faith, they distrusted all his measures. The breaches made by others upon his declarations in favour of the Protestants, were attributed to his own enthusiasm. They considered a man, whom calamity itself could not render moderate, too dangerous to be trusted again with authority. But still King James continued to have many friends. His manner, his

<sup>a</sup> Burnet.<sup>b</sup> Gazette.

person,



person, his disposition, were compared with advantage to those of the reigning Prince. His hereditary right to the throne still swayed the minds of many; and several, who feared him in his prosperity, sincerely pitied his uncommon misfortunes.

C H A P.

X.

1689.

IN this disposition of the nation, William met his parliament, on the nineteenth of October. He wrote his speech with his own hand in French; and a translation was read in the house of lords by the lord chief baron Atkins, who had been appointed speaker, in the room of the Marquis of Halifax. He thanked his parliament for their former supplies. He deemed it a misfortune to be obliged to make new demands. He explained the necessity of pushing with vigour a war, into which he had entered by their advice and assurance of their assistance. He mentioned the perils to which he had exposed his person, to rescue the nation from the dangers which threatened their religion and liberty. He urged the propriety of an immediate supply, from the situation of affairs on the continent. To satisfy them how the money already granted had been expended, he had directed, he said, the accounts to be laid before them, whenever they should be called. The most remarkable circumstance in the speech is, that there is not the least insinuation dropt concerning Ireland. The King was either chiefly bent on the continental war, or, from a point of delicacy, he declined to mention a kingdom where the name of James must have been necessarily involved, in any mention to be made in its affairs. He concluded with recommending the dispatch of a bill of indemnity, which, by quieting the minds of his subjects, might induce them to concur in promoting the good and honour of the kingdom<sup>1</sup>.

October.  
Parliament  
meets.

To prevent the renewal of disputes between the two houses, William was advised to prorogue, for one day, the parliament,

A temporary  
prorogation.

<sup>1</sup> Journals, Oct. 19.



C H A P.

X.

1689.

to put an end to all inflammatory bills. They met again on the twenty-third of October<sup>k</sup>; and the King referred them to his former speech. The Whigs and Tories, though enemies among themselves, were unanimous where the crown was concerned. Their principles had yielded to their views, upon office. Each party hoped to gain an exclusive possession of the King; and therefore each came with its claim to the political field. The Whigs expected a return to the favours which they had already conferred. The Tories built their pretensions on their attachment to monarchy, and the prospect of future services. The commons unanimously resolved to aid his Majesty in the reduction of Ireland, and in joining with his allies abroad in a vigorous prosecution of the war against France<sup>l</sup>. They ordered an address to the King, to lay before them an estimate of the expence of the war for the ensuing year. This complaisance to the crown was immediately followed by a sudden attack by the Whigs on the Tories. A committee was appointed to inspect the bills left depending at the late prorogation<sup>m</sup>. They brought in a bill of pains and penalties against such persons as had been employed against their party in the two preceding reigns<sup>n</sup>.

Vote of sup-  
ply.

THOUGH these proceedings bore the appearance of violence, no breach had as yet happened in the good understanding which subsisted between the parliament and the crown. Upon an estimate of the expences of the ensuing year, two millions were voted to be added to the public revenue<sup>o</sup>. The ways and means for raising this great sum, were interrupted by disputes between the parties. Men of Tory principles had already filled the most lucrative offices under the government. The Whigs proposed, that all officers, civil and ecclesiastical, now in place, should pay half a year's profits of their salaries and perquisites toward the present supply. They moved, that the penalties incurred by all civil of-

<sup>k</sup> Oct. 23.<sup>l</sup> Oct. 24.<sup>m</sup> Oct. 25.<sup>n</sup> Oct. 26.<sup>o</sup> Nov. 2.

ficers,



fficers, in not taking the test in the late reign, should be speedily levied, and applied to the same purpose. The first question passed in the negative. To the second the house agreed<sup>p</sup>. The commons, without finishing the supply, proceeded to an inquiry into the mismanagement of the war in Ireland. They found that the army in that country laboured under a want of every necessary. They threw the whole blame upon one Shales, a commissary. But when they addressed the King, to know by whom Shales had been recommended to his office<sup>q</sup>, he refused to give any answer. Offended at the delay in the supply, disgusted at the manifest distrust entertained concerning his own management of the war, he could no longer suppress his resentment. He, however, consented that the commons should nominate some persons to inspect the state of the army in Ireland<sup>r</sup>.

THE abuses committed in the victualling of the navy, were not less flagrant than the iniquitous frauds exercised with regard to the army. The seamen had been served with cheap and unwholesome provisions<sup>s</sup>. Diseases prevailed in the fleet, and many died. The survivors were highly provoked, and loud in their complaints. The merchants of London complained, in a petition to the house of commons, of the negligence of government in protecting their trade. They affirmed, that the war with France had been declared without any previous notice being given to the city of London; that the channel was infested with privateers; that near one hundred sail of ships, amounting in value to six hundred thousand pounds, had been taken by the enemy; that such vessels as had escaped the hands of the French had been obliged to lie in the western ports, for want of convoys; that some merchants had been forced to hire foreigners to protect their ships, or to pay money to the King's ships to cover them from the enemy as they sailed into the Downs. They ascertained by evidence the latter

Inquiry into  
abuses.

<sup>p</sup> Nov. 8.

<sup>q</sup> Nov. 27.

<sup>r</sup> Nov. 30.

<sup>s</sup> Nov. 22.



C H A P.  
X.

1689.

part of their complaint against Captain Churchill, who was himself a member of the house; and though some charges contained in the petition might have been exaggerated, enough was true to prove the unaccountable negligence of government. The navy seemed, in a great measure, to consider themselves as independent. Some captains had acted more like pirates than guardians of the merchantmen. Some vessels were seized, plundered, and even with a kind of ceremony condemned by the commanders of ships of war; and one captain had refused to obey, though ordered, to make restitution by a decree of the admiralty court<sup>1</sup>.

Commons refractory.

THESE public grievances and complaints, furnished matter of high debate to parties already inflamed. The whole month of November passed, without any considerable progress being made to aid the government with adequate supplies. The heats in parliament were allayed, though not extinguished, before the beginning of the succeeding month: but still the commons shewed less inclination to assist the crown, than to carp at the late measures. They presented an address to the King, explaining the ill success of the affairs of the nation. They objected to the conduct of government with respect to Ireland. They lamented the untoward condition of the army. They were loud against the wretched state of the fleet. They earnestly requested the King to avail himself of the service of persons less suspected in their principles toward his own person, and more satisfactory to the nation. These complaining resolutions rose chiefly from the Whigs. The Tories, still uncertain of the King's favour, endeavoured to carry points, which, by being accommodating to the opinions of the nation, might contribute to preserve their own importance. They had, in the preceding session, procured a vote for the settlement of an independent revenue upon the Princess of Denmark. The measure, however, was interrupted by adjournment. Some quarrels,

<sup>1</sup> Petition. Ralph, passim.

unworthy



unworthy of a place in history, happened between the royal sisters; and William, with a vehemence unsuitable to his prudence, took the part of his wife against the Princess of Denmark. The motion was renewed with success. The King chose to grant, with a good grace, a settlement which the Princess could now command; and, in an answer to the address of the commons, he charged his revenue with an annuity in her favour of fifty thousand pounds<sup>u</sup>.

C H A P.

X.

1689.

THE complaisance of the commons to the King, was not equal to their attention to the Princess of Denmark. They resolved to grant the revenue but for one year. The supplies which they had voted were either in themselves insufficient for the service, or charged on inadequate funds. The Whigs, to whom William owed his throne, were severe upon his prerogative. Disappointed in their views of an exclusive possession of power, they founded an opposition to the crown, upon specious grounds. In restoring the corporations to their former rights, they endeavoured to animadvert upon those who had been instrumental in surrendering the charters in the two last reigns. They incorporated together the bills of indemnity, and pains and penalties. They carried upon every occasion their resentment into past times; and, in wounding the influence of the Tories, attacked the power of the crown. William, with a passion not unnatural to Kings, deemed every encroachment upon the royal prerogative an injustice to himself. He perceived, that the Whigs had only suspended the exertion of their principles to obtain his confidence and the exclusive possession of his favour. He resolved to trust the Tories, whose principles seemed to be more attached to the crown than to hereditary succession; and he therefore came to a resolution to dismiss an assembly that had been returned at a time favourable to the opinions which opposed his authority. He

1690.  
Parliament  
dissolved.<sup>u</sup> Ralph, Kennet, Journals.



C H A P.  
X.  
1690.

came to the house of lords on the twenty-seventh of January, and prorogued the parliament to the second of April. The prorogation, by putting an end to some favourite bills, disconcerted and displeased the Whigs. But their astonishment was completed by a proclamation for a dissolution, which was issued on the sixth of February. A new parliament was, by the same instrument, summoned to meet at Westminster on the twentieth of March.\*.

January.  
Whigs dis-  
gusted.

THE dissolution of the parliament raised the resentment of the Whigs, as much as it elevated the spirits of the Tories. Such of the latter party as favoured the late King, exulted in a circumstance which threw a kind of disgrace on those who had contributed most to the Revolution. The Whigs were said to suffer their principles to be subdued by their rage. They admitted the emissaries of the late King to their conversation<sup>y</sup>; they expressed their distrust of the reigning Prince, and their aversion to his favourite, the Earl of Portland<sup>z</sup>. They gained the city of London, to such a degree, that they would advance no loans on the money-bills. They insinuated, that the restoration of James would be not only easy, but even safe; and even a treaty was reported to have been settled by the late King, by the whole cabal. But this seems to have been one of the many fictions of party. The wrath of the Whigs was, however, equal to their disappointment. They carried their complaints to the press. In animadverting upon the Tories, they taxed the King with ingratitude, as well as imprudence. Their arguments were as unsuccessful, as their plan of possessing an exclusive power. Having failed in passing the corporation-act, with the projected amendments, the court retained its influence in the new elections. Men of monarchical principles were generally returned to the new parliament. The city of London itself, alienated from the King by the Whigs, chose Tories in the room of their former members; and, in short,

\* Journals.

<sup>y</sup> Burnet.

<sup>z</sup> Ibid.



the majority of the commons were said to consist of men at once averse from the person of William, and to the Revolution which had placed him on the throne<sup>a</sup>.

C H A P.  
X.  
1690.

DURING the interval of parliament, several changes, unfavourable to the Whigs, were made in the higher departments of state. Though the Marquis of Halifax was removed<sup>b</sup> from the office of privy seal, Danby, now Marquis of Caermarthen, who was equally obnoxious to the party, filled all vacancies with his creatures. The Earls of Monmouth and Warrington, and Sir Henry Capel, whose zeal in the late Revolution had been much distinguished, were dismissed from the treasury. Sir John Lowther, under the patronage of Caermarthen, was appointed first commissioner; and Hampden, accommodating his principles to his interest, was made chancellor and under-treasurer of the Exchequer. To this victory over their political opponents, the Tories added a considerable advantage of another kind. The lieutenancy of London was placed in the hands of those who had held it in the reign of James. Compton, Bishop of London, who had been a Whig against James, became a Tory to William. Having received orders to form a list, he filled it with the names of the most violent churchmen and Tories. The Whigs exclaimed with vehemence against this manifest partiality against their party; but they built too much upon their services, to command longer the gratitude of the King<sup>c</sup>.

February.  
Changes and  
promotions.

THE new parliament having met at Westminster on the twentieth day of March, Sir John Trevor, a Tory in principle, and a man of political courage and address, was chosen speaker by the commons. He promised to the King to manage his own party, provided he might be furnished with money to purchase votes. William was too eager to carry his own favourite schemes in parlia-

March.  
A new par-  
liament.

<sup>a</sup> Ralph, Burnet.

<sup>b</sup> Feb. 19.

<sup>c</sup> Publications of the times.



C H A P.  
X.

1690.

ment, to refuse<sup>d</sup> his consent to a proposal, which necessity itself can scarcely justify. In his speech, he told the two houses, that he continued his resolution of passing into Ireland. He depended, he said, on their chearful concurrence in reducing that kingdom, a work so necessary for their own safety. He desired them forthwith to make a settlement of the revenue, which he was willing to convert into a fund of credit to raise ready-money for the war. He reminded them of the earnestness with which he had recommended an act of indemnity to the last parliament. But, to prevent the renewal of tedious debates, when the public business required so much dispatch, he promised to send them an act of grace, with the exceptions of a few persons by name. He recommended unanimity in parliament. He insinuated his desire of an union with Scotland. He concluded with informing the two houses with his resolution, to leave the administration of the government in the hands of the Queen, during his absence in Ireland; and he left it to themselves to consider, whether an act of parliament should be necessary for confirming her in that power<sup>e</sup>.

Revenue settled, and other proceedings.

THE favourable complexion of the new parliament, appeared in the first votes of the commons. They unanimously thanked the King for his speech. They promised to support him with their counsel and assistance to the utmost extent of their power<sup>f</sup>. Having waited in a body upon William with their address, he promised, as he had upon every occasion since his landing in England, that, as he had already risked his life in their cause, he was resolved to venture it again in their service. Whig seemed to strive with Tory in complaisance to the crown. A supply of twelve hundred thousand pounds was voted, without one dissenting voice<sup>g</sup>. They settled the hereditary revenue upon William and Mary<sup>h</sup>, the King

<sup>d</sup> Burnet.<sup>e</sup> Journals, March 20.<sup>f</sup> March 22.<sup>g</sup> March 27.<sup>h</sup> March 28.

and



and Queen, and the bill brought in for the purpose, contained a clause of credit for a million, which the commons undertook to discharge at a proper time. But though this parliament were highly complaisant to William, the Tories, who formed a great majority in the house of commons, endeavoured to adhere to their principles. They rejected a bill, containing an oath of abjuration of the late King, which, it was intended, should be taken by all persons in office. A bill, recognizing the right of William and Mary to the throne, however passed, though it seemed to imply, that the convention which conferred upon them the crown was an illegal assembly<sup>1</sup>. An act of grace, sent by the King to the commons, was passed, without either debate or division, as the Whigs, finding the inferiority of their numbers, had declined a contest, which had produced nothing but repeated defeats. The King and Tories, having been thus successful in all their views, the parliament was adjourned on the twenty-third of May<sup>2</sup>.

WHILE William seemed to have quashed all opposition in England, by throwing himself into the hands of the Tories, a violent majority appeared against his measures in the parliament of Scotland. The ill-humour which had produced the remonstrance in the preceding year, had been augmented by the resentment with which William received that paper. The meeting of an inflamed assembly was dangerous; to prorogue them for any length of time, inconvenient; and to dissolve them in the present distractions, imprudent. The King endeavoured, in the meantime, to gain over the heads of the adverse party, by putting into commission the principal offices in the state. Few were satisfied with what they received. The disappointed were rendered outrageous. The Lord Melvil, a man unsuitable to troublesome times, was appointed commissioner to the parliament, which was appointed to meet on the first of March. Terrified at the state of

Affairs of  
Scotland.

<sup>1</sup> April 25.

<sup>2</sup> May 23.

opinions,



C H A P.

X.

1690.

opinions, he prevailed with William to adjourn them from time to time. But this procrastination of the national affairs having raised great clamours against the government, the parliament was appointed to sit upon business on the fifteenth of April. The adherents of James derived hopes from the expected confusion; and many took the oaths to the new government, to furnish themselves with an opportunity of breaking their solemn engagements with advantage to their favoured cause<sup>1</sup>. The most violent of the Presbyterians, offended at the reservation of patronage made by the King, in the proposed establishment of the church, joined themselves to the Jacobites; and this coalition, though formed of such heterogeneous materials as could promise no permanency, filled the new government with apprehensions.

Intrigues in  
favour of  
James

His intrigues had placed, in some degree, Sir James Montgomery at the head of the opposition. His avowed attachment to presbytery endeared him to the fanatics, and he had gained the Jacobites, by his professed endeavours to restore King James to his throne. His design, however, was to deceive both parties. To the Presbyterians, he averred, that the adherents of the late King would join with them in all their views to ruin Melvil and Stair. He assured the Jacobites, that the Presbyterians, despairing to obtain their demands from the reigning Prince, would throw themselves in the arms of the late King. In this situation of affairs, the parliament was opened at Edinburgh<sup>m</sup>. The commissioner began the session with a speech, recommending unanimity, and demanding a supply. Diffident, however, of his strength, he adjourned the house for seven days. In the intermediate space of time, he received the permission of William to agree to any law, with regard to the government of the church, which might seem best to the majority. The hopes of the Jacobites were destroyed by this concession. The King's supremacy over the church

<sup>1</sup> Balcarras.<sup>m</sup> April 15.



was rescinded by an act, which received the royal assent on the twenty-sixth of April. Even the articles which laid so much restraint on the freedom of parliament were repealed<sup>a</sup>. The Presbyterians demanded nothing which the commissioner was not empowered to grant.

C H A P.  
X.

1690.

MONTGOMERY, who was in correspondence with James, endeavoured to press the commissioner beyond the utmost limits of his instructions. He made a motion in parliament, for the settlement of the church, in the form established in the year 1648. Though the house approved not of this measure, they appointed a committee to consider of a bill to settle the government of the church. The late concessions had greatly softened the rigour of the Presbyterians toward the government. A bill was introduced for granting a supply to his Majesty; and those who adhered to James from principle, being deserted by their political allies, sunk into a kind of despondence. William, preparing for an expedition into Ireland, was unwilling to leave an enemy behind him in Britain. Though his troops under Livingston had obtained a kind of victory over the Highlanders in Strathspey, he was averse from a vigorous prosecution of a war, which was hastening of itself to an end. The opposition in parliament had been in the mean time disarmed by their own folly, as well as by the sound policy of the King. The vague conditions proposed by Montgomery to James, in the name of the Presbyterians, had only produced ambiguous returns from that Prince<sup>b</sup>. He was no stranger to the circumstance which had induced the Presbyterians to treat. He ascribed their conduct more to their resentment against William, than to any regard for himself. He was therefore cautious in his answers with regard to their general proposals, though he endeavoured to gain individuals by honours, commissions, and large promises<sup>c</sup>.

in parliament.

<sup>a</sup> May 8.

<sup>b</sup> MS. 1690.

<sup>c</sup> Annandale's confession. Dalrymple's Append.



C H A P.  
X.1690.  
An end put  
to opposition.

THE conspirators, disappointed in their hopes in parliament, began to fear for their own safety. Though they had carefully burnt in the Earl of Breadalbin's bed-chamber the papers and commissions which they had received from James, some of them found in their own profligacy a cause of suspicion against the fidelity of their friends. A kind of strife ensued, which of them should first appropriate to himself the merit of a discovery. The Earl of Annandale, the Lord Rofs, and Sir James Montgomery, who were the original authors of the plot, were the principals in this honourable contest. The noted Ferguson, a man born for conspiracies, was an associate in this plot. Though rewarded by William with a place of considerable value for his former services, he deserted his principles, and intrigued for James. The Jacobite members, yielding in the mean time to their own fears, left the commissioner with a clear majority in parliament. He gave the royal assent to a bill, establishing presbytery as the national church of Scotland. The estates of those in arms against the government were forfeited, a supply was raised by a tax upon chimneys, the army was continued, a test was established and imposed upon all men in office, and on the electors and elected for parliament, renouncing the pretensions of James, and recognizing William as their rightful and lawful sovereign<sup>a</sup>.

Affairs of  
Ireland.

THE military affairs of Ireland suffered little change during the winter, and civil matters were governed by a Popish faction more than by the late King. The Protestants suffered much from the insolence of the Papists, but more from their own fears. They applied to the King for a redress which he could no longer afford; and, according to the common fate of the unfortunate, he was blamed for neglecting what he could not perform. To the encroachments of his own sect he had nothing but the feeble aid of proclamations to oppose. The Catholics denied utterly his supre-

<sup>a</sup> Ra'ph, Burnet, Balcarras passim.



macy in ecclesiastical affairs; and thus he found his prerogative diminished by a faith to which he had imprudently sacrificed his crown. The English army, in the mean time, lay in their winter quarters, exposed to sickness and distress. Schomberg, though every day supplied with reinforcements from Denmark, Scotland, and England, was in no condition to annoy effectually the enemy. James was equally inactive, though strengthened with five thousand auxiliaries from France. But even in this aid he might perceive his own total want of importance and power. The Count de Laufun, who commanded this force, acted independently of every authority. His soldiers lived upon the natives at free quarters, as if he had been stationed in an enemy's country, not in the kingdom of a Prince whom he endeavoured to restore to his authority<sup>r</sup>.

C H A P.  
X.

1690.

PARTIES of the English army, detached from their winter-quarters, committed depredations on the country, and obtained advantages over the Irish. Colonel Wolsley, with an inferior force, gave a check to the Duke of Berwick, near Belturbet. The strong castle of Charlemont capitulated to another party, the garrison being in want of provisions. The only frigate which remained to James of his once powerful navy, was taken in his fight, in the bay of Dublin, by Sir Cloudeſly Shovel. But these advantages, though they were magnified in England, could little contribute to finish the war. James, though ill provided with the other necessaries of war, possessed a numerous army. But that unfortunate Prince had been long subdued in his own mind. Harassed by the tyranny of the French, tired of the frigid loyalty of the Irish, possessing no resources, and despairing to maintain a kingdom ruined by rapine and civil war against the great force and ample revenue of England, he had for many months discovered the utmost impatience to quit the island<sup>s</sup>. The five thou-

Military  
transactions.<sup>r</sup> Ralph, Leland, Life of James II.<sup>s</sup> MS. Memorial, Oct. 1689.



C H A P.

X.

1690.

and French troops that had arrived in Ireland in the preceding winter, he had entreated the King of France to send with him to England. Lewis, encouraged by a conspiracy formed in Britain, resolved at length to aid James with a powerful fleet and army. He wrote to that Prince, to quit Ireland as untenable, and to place himself at the head of the force which he had prepared for his aid. But before he had taken any effectual measures for his departure, certain intelligence of William's expedition arrived from England.

William in  
Ireland.

WILLIAM left London on the fourth of June. He arrived at Carrickfergus on the fourteenth. He passed from thence to Lifford, the head quarters of the Duke of Schomberg. He reviewed at Lough-britland his army, which consisted of thirty-six thousand men. This great force was formed of various nations, English, Dutch, Germans, Danes, and French. Supplied with every necessary, healthy, vigorous, and fit for the field, their zeal and courage seemed equal to the absolute certainty of victory which they entertained in their own minds. The Irish army having abandoned Ardee at the approach of William, fell back to the south of the Boyne. On the banks of that river they were joined by James, who had marched from Dublin at the head of his French auxiliaries. The banks of the Boyne were steep. The south side was hilly, and strengthened by ditches. The river itself was deep, and it rose very high with the tide. These advantages induced James to resolve, against the advice of his officers, to keep possession of that post. His army was inferior in numbers, in discipline, in every thing, to the enemy. Flight would dispirit his troops and tarnish his own reputation. He therefore determined to throw at once on the issue of a battle the fate of the Irish. Urged by his friends in England, encouraged by a projected invasion of that kingdom by France, assured of the aid of a powerful fleet, which had already entered the narrow seas, he had previously



viously determined to quit Ireland. But the strength of his situation, the sudden appearance of the enemy, which made even a retreat dangerous, induced him to defer his purpose<sup>t</sup>.

C H A P.  
X.  
1690.

THE battle of the Boyne is involved in that obscurity which covers actions where chance, more than conduct, prevails on both sides. On the thirtieth of June the two armies appeared on either bank of the river. James extended his troops in two lines, opposed to the deep and dangerous fords of the Boyne. A morass defended him on the left. In his rear lay the village of Dunore. Three miles behind was the narrow pass of Duleck, calculated equally to retard and cover his retreat. William, having in person examined from the opposite shore the position of the enemy, resolved, contrary to the advice of Schomberg, to attack them the next day. He formed his army in three columns. The right, under the Count de Schomberg and Douglas, was ordered to pass near the bridge of Slane. The center, commanded by the Duke of Schomberg, was directed to force the fords in the front of the enemy. The King himself led the left to a fordable part in the Boyne, between his camp and the town of Drogheda. Young Schomberg was first in motion. He passed the river. He attempted the morass. The left wing of the Irish were in a manner surprised, and they retreated. The center, commanded by the Duke, passed the fords with little interruption. The Dutch guards formed gradually on the bank, and then advanced. The Irish infantry descended from the rising grounds on the enemy. But they instantly deserted their officers. The cavalry behaved with more spirit. They broke a body of Danes, and drove them into the river. They threw into confusion the French Protestants. They were however repulsed with slaughter by the Dutch. But they had the fortune of killing Schomberg when they retreated along the line<sup>u</sup>.

July 1.  
Battle of  
the Boyne.

<sup>t</sup> James II. 1690.

<sup>u</sup> Ralph, Leland, Life of James II.



## C H A P.

## X.

1690.  
James de-  
feated.

WHEN the right of the enemy, under young Schomberg, forced the passage of the river, they stretched their line to the right. The Count de Lausun marched with his left to observe the motions of the enemy. King James, believing the main body of the English were following their right, had weakened his own right wing and center, by reinforcing Lausun. He himself, with the reserve, came up with the rear of Lausun, whom he found arranged in order of battle, within half cannon-shot of the enemy. When James and the French general were consulting together about the manner of attack, the first was informed that the left of the enemy had forced the passage of the river. They prepared immediately to charge Schomberg; but the ground, intersected with ditches, was impracticable. In the mean time the whole line of the English began to move towards their right. King James, afraid of their getting possession of the pass of Duleck, and cutting off his retreat from Dublin, marched also towards his left. The defeat of his right was no longer a secret. Several of the scattered and wounded horsemen mixed themselves in their flight with his line. When they arrived at the pass of Duleck, the Count de Lausun earnestly entreated James to make the best of his way to Dublin. He affirmed that the enemy, who were so strong in horse, might make detachments, and possess themselves of the capital. James made objections: but he yielded at length to the request of Lausun; and arrived at Dublin that night\*.

## Reflections.

THE French auxiliaries, forming themselves in the rear of the Irish army, presented so good a countenance to the enemy, that they were suffered to pass quietly through the pass of Duleck. They even carried away five of the six field-pieces that attended the left wing. But when night came, the panic of the Irish increased. The greatest part of the troops dispersed. The French only adhered to their colours. Such was the passage, rather than

\* James II. 1690.



the battle, of the Boyne. No action promised to be more important in its consequences. None seems less remarkable for either the conduct of the leaders or the valour of the troops. In the spirit of the undertaking lies William's greatest praise. The improvidence of James was equal to the cowardice of his army. The first seemed wantonly to risk every thing without any apparent necessity. The latter was preposterously cautious, while he scarce had any thing further to lose. William may be blamed for knowing so little of the ground through which his attacks were to be led. James was unpardonable for not availing himself of what fortune had thrown in his hands. But one King despised too much his enemies. The other was perplexed with a distrust of his friends. Had the authority of James prevailed over the pride of the Irish, he might perhaps have involved his rival in those difficulties which fell afterwards with so much weight on himself. By opposing the French auxiliaries, instead of the Irish, to the center of the enemy, he might have cut to pieces the main body, incumbered as they were in a deep river, with difficult banks, before they could derive any aid from either of their wings.

C H A P.  
X.  
1690.

WHEN James arrived at Dublin, he found letters from his Queen, and an account of the victory obtained by the French at Fleurus over the Prince of Waldec. Encouraged by this intelligence, he began to listen to the advice of his friends, who unanimously concurred in requesting him to retire to France. When he was mounting his horse, the French general officers arrived, and hastened his flight, by informing him that even the French troops themselves were dispersed in search of provisions. With two troops of horse he left Dublin at five in the morning. These he posted to defend the bridge of Bray, while he himself with a few attendants took his journey through the hills of Wicklow, and pursued his way to Duncannon. In the morning of the second day he arrived at that place. He went on board a Malouine which

King James  
flies to  
France.

he



C H A P.  
X.

1690.

he found in the harbour, fell down with the tide, and sailed round to Kinsale. There he found three French frigates under the command of M. du Quesne. This little squadron had been obtained by the earnest entreaties of his Queen, from M. de Seignelai, the French minister for the marine. In her anxiety for the safety of her husband's person, she persuaded him to send these frigates to the coast of Ireland, to receive the orders of James and to favour his escape. Under the escort of these he immediately sailed, and arrived at Brest on the ninth of July<sup>y</sup>.

Projects of  
that king-  
dom in his  
favour.

THE precipitate flight of James from Ireland ruined his reputation as well as his affairs. When he landed in France, he soon perceived the pernicious effects of that measure, and repented sincerely of his own conduct. The French King had formed the most effectual plans for his service. That Prince was master at sea ever since the battle of Bantry-bay. By the victory at Fleurus he was confessedly superior to his enemies at land. He had ordered a fleet to sail, not only capable to engage, but, as it afterwards proved, to defeat the combined force of the maritime powers. He designed at the same time to send a squadron of twenty-five frigates to St George's channel, to burn all the ships on both sides but such as should be necessary to transport King James and some troops to England. This scheme, if executed with spirit, would have confined William in Ireland, while his rival might mount without resistance his throne. M. de Seignelai, the author of the project, intended to put it in execution in person. When he was preparing to take the command of the fleet he was suddenly taken ill; and his commission devolved on the Chevalier de Tourville. Though the latter in some measure succeeded, by the defeat of the English and Dutch fleets, the flight of King James had deprived him of the power of executing M. de Seignelai's whole plan<sup>z</sup>.

<sup>y</sup> James II. 1690.<sup>z</sup> Ibid.



MORTIFICATION and disgrace were added to the misfortunes and imprudence of the late King. When he arrived at St. Germain he was visited by Lewis the Fourteenth. That Prince treated him with great politeness. But when he opened his project for invading England, Lewis received it with manifest coldness. He said he could attempt nothing till he heard of the state of affairs in Ireland. James argued in vain, that there was no occasion to hear from Ireland, to convince his most Christian Majesty that England was naked and defenceless. But Lewis coldly replied, that he was averse from another expedition, which might be as precipitately relinquished as the former. He pretended an indisposition. He denied, under that pretext, all access to King James, till the season of action was past. "When the King," says that unfortunate Prince himself, "perceived this cause of delay, he was afflicted and tormented with various passions. Shame and regret were joined to disappointment and despair. The defection of his subjects, the desertion of his favourites, the loss of the battle, had never thrown him into such a melancholy state of mind, as his being hindered from opening his heart to that Prince who was his only friend and support in the world. But he was destined," he continues, "to be a victim to patience by providence, which his friends and enemies exercised by turns. He pressed to be permitted to go on board the French fleet. But this was refused, as nothing could be done without troops. The threatened junction of the Elector of Brandenburg with the Prince of Waldec was urged as an unanswerable excuse."

BUT though James repined at his fortune, he had only his own imprudence and want of spirit to blame. The resistance made by his friends in Ireland either proved that his opinion of their firmness was unjust, or that he rated too high the power and conduct of his rival and enemy. King William, having permitted his army

C H A P.  
X.1690.  
He is ill received in France.Transactions  
of William.<sup>a</sup> James II. 1690.



C H A P.  
X.

1690.

to rest the whole of the day which succeeded the passage of the Boyne, summoned Drogheda, on the third of July. The governor, intimidated with threats, that the garrison, in case of any resistance, should be put to the sword, yielded the place, without any honourable terms. The King advanced, on the fifth of July, to Finglass, a village two miles from Dublin. His first measures after his arrival in the capital were highly impolitic, if not unjust. He promised, by a declaration, to pardon and protect such of the lower sort as should, in a limited time, surrender their arms. But he excepted the gentry, whom he resolved to abandon to all the rigours of war and conquest. He issued a commission for seizing all their estates and effects, though no court of judicature was open to proceed according to law. The eagerness of his followers for forfeitures suspended every idea of justice. The commissioners executed their power with the utmost rigour. They even ruined a country, which they endeavoured to appropriate to themselves. Public misery, persecution, and confusion, prevailed every where. The King himself was either not sincere in his offers of mercy to the vulgar, or he possessed no authority to restrain the licence of his army. His declaration was disregarded, his protections slighted. Revenge, wantonness, and avarice, induced men to break through every form of decency, and every tie of faith. Despair animated the Irish to a renewal of hostilities, as submission produced nothing but oppression, injustice, and ruin<sup>c</sup>. The general officers who had accompanied King James to Waterford, returned with a determined resolution to continue the war. The Irish assumed courage from the languor of the enemy. They assembled round their colours, and, with the shew of an army, directed their march to Limerick and Athlone.

His military  
operations.

ON the ninth of July, the King resolved to divide his army. Douglas, with fifteen regiments, was detached to invest Athlone.

<sup>c</sup> Ralph, vol. ii. p. 225. Leland, vol. iii. p. 574.

He



He himself advanced southward in person, with the rest of his troops. He was, in the mean time, oppressed with the news of repeated disasters from every quarter. He received intelligence of the bloody victory over the Prince of Waldec at Fleurus, the day after the passage of the Boyne. He heard of the defeat of his fleet when he had scarce advanced thirty miles from Dublin. He, however, resolved to proceed. Though the late action had raised his reputation, it was by no means decisive with regard to the war. He placed a garrison in Wexford, and Clonmel was left by the Irish. Waterford was summoned and surrendered<sup>d</sup>, and Duncannon yielded upon terms. Intelligence of disasters and dangers in England, induced the King to form a resolution of returning to that kingdom. But, hearing of the retreat of the French fleet, he resolved to continue the Irish war, and, for that purpose, he went back, on the second of August, from the neighbourhood of Dublin to the army, with which he directed his march towards Limerick<sup>e</sup>.

DOUGLAS, in the mean time, pursued his destructive route to Athlone. His men plundered the country; they murdered many unfortunate wretches, who relied on the King's declaration. The peasantry came in numerous bodies to claim protection; but they were exposed to all the insolence, cruelty, and tyranny of a licentious army. Detested, abhorred, and feared, Douglas sat down with his cruel followers before Athlone. He carried on his works with vigour; but he was soon forced to abandon the siege. He laboured under a want of provisions; his troops were sickly; his gunners ignorant. The garrison, full of resentment for their country, were all on fire. A report prevailed, that an army of Irish advanced, and Douglas retired at midnight through devious paths. The unfortunate persons, who had declared for King William upon his approach, found themselves obliged to attend him, to

Siege of Athlone raised.

<sup>d</sup> July 25.

<sup>e</sup> Publications of the times.



C H A P.

X.

1690.

William be-  
sieges Lime-  
rick;

but is forced  
to raise the  
siege.

avoid the fury of their former friends. But they were robbed and plundered by those from whom they expected protection. Nothing but misery, distress, and even death, was seen. The harvest was trodden down by the troops, the wretched cabins of the unfortunate peasantry were consumed with fire<sup>†</sup>, and their cattle driven as booty away.

WILLIAM, on his march toward Limerick, was joined by Douglas and his licentious army. He appeared before that place on the ninth of August. The garrison consisted of near seven thousand men; but they were ignorant in the science of defence. Tyrconnel lay with a body of men within ten miles of the place. He could reinforce the garrison, though he could not with any prospect of success attack the besiegers. Boisleau, a gallant Frenchman, commanded in the place; and he resolved to suffer the last extremities before he should yield. Limerick is situated on the Shannon, where that river is broad, deep, and rapid. A part of the town stands on the Munster side, a part on an island in the Shannon, and a castle on the side of Clare. Two bridges joined together the three divisions of the place. Limerick could be only approached on one side, through a pass scarce one hundred and fifty yards in breadth, flanked on either side with impassable bogs. Besides, a small fort from a rising ground commanded the pass, which was itself incumbered with hedges and old walls.

THE pass, after a short resistance, was deserted by the Irish. The fort, which commands it, was not defended at all, and William sat down before the place. He summoned Boisleau in vain. The Irish cannonaded his camp. To their fire the King had only to oppose a few field-pieces. But he expected a train of battering artillery, under a convoy, from Dublin. Colonel Sarsfield passing suddenly the Shannon at Killaloe with a body of Irish horse, intercepted the train, blew up the powder, and rendered useless the

<sup>†</sup> Publications of the times.

most



most of the guns. Two guns happening to receive no damage, were brought to the camp. Other pieces of artillery were transported from Waterford, and a breach was made in the wall. William ordered the town to be stormed, on the twenty-seventh of August. He was, however, repulsed with great loss. The very women defended the breach. Five hundred English, besides the foreigners, whose loss was considerable, lay dead on the spot. More than double the number of the slain were wounded. William, disconcerted beyond measure at this unexpected check, sent a drummer to demand a truce for the burial of the dead; but the Irish refusing, in a haughty manner, his request, he disarmed his batteries and raised the siege, on the thirtieth of August.

THE Protestants of the country attended William's retreat, to avoid the resentment of the Irish. But they found enemies in their supposed friends, and they were plundered of their effects and cattle. The army ranged at large after booty; they knew no discipline; they owned no authority. The King either winked at their irregularities, or he yielded to a stream which he could not oppose. His declaration was infringed, his protections disregarded, his route covered with devastation, and all the other miseries of war<sup>s</sup>. Excesses of a savage barbarity, but upon very questionable authority, have been ascribed to the King himself, on his retreat from Limerick<sup>b</sup>. Disappointment might certainly have raised his resentment; at least the outrages committed by his troops contributed to stain the annals of the times; but whether they proceeded from his orders or his want of authority, is hard to decide. His army consisted of various nations; their passions and their views were different, though their rage against the Irish was the same: the Danes yielded to their native barbarity; the English were inflamed by recent injuries, as well as by ancient prejudices;

Cruelty and  
injustice of  
his army.

<sup>s</sup> Burnet, Ralph, Leland, &c. &c.

<sup>b</sup> Leland, vol. iii.



C H A P.

X.

1690.

the Dutch derived their claim to rigour from their attachment to their leader; and the Germans could scarce be supposed to sacrifice to humanity their usual maxims of war.

He returns to  
England.

WILLIAM, having left his licentious army at Clonmel, proceeded to Waterford, to take his passage to England. Having failed in his attempt on Limerick, no means of retrieving suddenly his military reputation presented themselves to his view. He left the administration of civil affairs in the hands of the Lord Sidney, and Thomas Coningsby. Having submitted the army to the command of two Dutchmen, the Count de Solmes, and the Baron de Ginckle, he sailed from the fort of Duncannon on the fifth of September; and, on the tenth of the same month, arrived at Kensington<sup>h</sup>. His expedition in Ireland had neither answered his own expectations, nor equalled the hopes of the nation. The glory of his spirited passage of the Boyne, had been much tarnished by his repulse at Limerick<sup>i</sup>. His conduct with regard to the Irish nation, was more calculated to raise their resentment, than to impress them with fear; and his want of authority, his carelessness, and perhaps resentment, gave birth to unpardonable acts of oppression. His neglecting to pursue with vigour the advantage which he had gained, protracted the war, and, with that circumstance, the miseries of a kingdom which he came to protect. But it ought to be confessed, that he laboured under difficulties, which obstructed his best designs. His army, though more numerous, was less united than that of the Irish; and they derived a licence, which could not be strictly controled, from an opinion that their enemies were traitors and rebels.

Mary's admi-  
nistration.

THE management of affairs in England had been vested in Mary, by an express act of parliament, during her husband's absence in Ireland. When the situation of that Princess brought her

<sup>h</sup> Kennet, vol. iii.

<sup>i</sup> Publications of the times, passim.



forward to public view, her good qualities appeared with considerable advantage. The prejudices which the peculiarity of her situation had raised against her humanity, were much lessened by an easy access to her person, and the softness of her manners. In political address she seemed not to be deficient; and the fame of her prudence rose among the people in proportion to their prior want of information concerning her real character. The part which she had to act was difficult. The times were critical and dangerous. Her council was formed, almost in equal numbers, of the two irreconcilable parties, the Whigs and the Tories. A powerful enemy pressed the nation from abroad. Discontents, factions, and even conspiracies, prevailed at home. Though the supplies for the navy had been ample, the preparations for equipping the fleet were languid; and the kingdom, through the negligence of government, or the design of some of its servants, seemed to lie exposed to invasion, and even to conquest. In this state of things, the reins were left in the hands of Mary. Her inexperience in business was supplied by attention; and public affairs, upon the whole, suffered no detriment from the circumstance of their being placed under a woman's care.

CERTAIN intelligence of the equipment of a powerful fleet in the ports of France had arrived in England, before William's departure for Ireland. The Earl of Torrington had hoisted his flag in the Downs, as commander of the fleet, on the thirtieth of May. He arrived at St. Helen's on the fourteenth of June. The Dutch fleet, under Evertzen, having joined the English, the admiral weighed anchor on the twenty-third; and proposed to wait at Dunose, at the back of the Isle of Wight, for the French fleet, which had appeared, on the twentieth, before Plymouth. The French, in point of numbers and in the size of the ships, were superior to the combined fleet of the allies; and therefore Torrington had resolved not to engage the enemy in the open seas.

He

The fleets at sea.



C H A P.  
X.

1690.

He was, however, forced to depart from his purpose, by the express orders of the Queen. The enemy had been in fight for five days: but the English admiral made such use of the winds and tides, that he eluded all the efforts of the French to bring him to battle. The two fleets lay off Beachy-head. The morning after Torrington had received orders to fight, he gave the signal, as soon as day appeared, for forming the line. The wind was easterly; and he bore down upon the enemy. The Dutch, forming the van, were engaged with the van of the French about eight of the clock in the morning, while the blue squadron of the English attacked the rear division of the enemy with great vigour<sup>1</sup>.

English and  
Dutch de-  
feated.

THE Earl of Torrington, though a man of undoubted courage, was slow in his motions with the red squadron, which he commanded in person. He, however, came up with the enemy at ten of the clock; but at such a distance from the Dutch, that he permitted their whole division to be surrounded. The Dutch behaved with the utmost courage. The most of their ships were disabled, three of their line of battle were sunk in the engagement, three more were burnt in the flight. They lost many men. Two of their admirals, and several captains, were slain. The English who were engaged suffered extremely from the enemy. The French ships were well manned, their fire was regular and rapid; their management of the sails during the action skilful and expeditious; and their courage equal to their hopes of a victory, which their superiority in strength seemed to promise. Their want of experience, and ignorance of the course of the tides, deprived them of a great part of the advantage which their arms had gained. Torrington having come judiciously to anchor, upon its falling calm in the afternoon, the French, neglecting that precaution, were imperceptibly driven westward with the ebb

<sup>1</sup> Torrington to Caermarthen, July 1, 1690.



to a great distance. The English admiral took advantage of this mistake, and weighing in the evening, stood eastward with the tide of flood. He was followed, but at a great disadvantage by the French, who had the folly to pursue a defeated enemy in a line. They, however, destroyed several disabled Dutch men of war, they drove an English ship of seventy guns ashore near Winchelsea, and continued the chase to the bay of Rye. The allies lost, in this unfortunate battle, eight ships of the line, besides several other ships that were rendered totally unfit for service<sup>k</sup>.

C H A P.  
X.  
1690.

THE French, either satisfied with the reputation which they had gained, or having formed no plan of an invasion, sailed, in a week<sup>l</sup> after their victory, to their own coast. They returned on the twenty-first of July, and anchored in Torbay. The panic, which had been suspended by their departure, was renewed upon their return. The militia was ordered to the coast. A camp was formed near Torbay. Terror, confusion, and clamour, prevailed every where. The fears of the nation were, however, found to be superfluous in the event. The enemy, having lain on the coast for a fortnight, concluded their naval campaign with the burning of Tinmouth, an inconsiderable village. Elated with this trivial exploit, they sailed toward Brest, on the fourth of August. Torrington retired after the battle to the mouth of the Thames. Having left the command to Sir John Ashby, he himself returned to London. The whole city was in the utmost consternation. The panic of the people was transferred to the government. The Jacobites and Non-jurors were accused of acting in concert with the enemy, and surmises of conspiracies, insurrections and treasons were propagated and believed every where. The populace were alarmed. Their hereditary jealousy of the French, turned their whole cry in favour of the new government. The

No consequence attends the victory.

<sup>k</sup> Torrington to Caermarthen, July 1, 1690. Kennet, Ralph, Burnet, Lives of the Admirals, Torrington's letter.

<sup>l</sup> July 8.

ministry,



C H A P.  
X.  
1690.

ministry, taking advantage of the current of the times, secured many suspected persons. Proclamations were issued, signifying the adherence of several persons of rank to the enemies of their Majesties, in the present invasion. But the conduct of the French after the victory seems to prove, that they neither held any regular correspondence with the discontented, nor concert with the Jacobites<sup>m</sup>. Some wild schemes were certainly formed by the adherents of King James; but they appear to have had no communication with France; nor was the fleet of that kingdom furnished with the means of invasion.

State of domestic affairs.

No circumstance could have been more favourable to the established government, or more fatal to the hopes of King James, than the ill-pursued victory obtained by the French fleet. The apprehensions of an invasion, and even of conquest, first raised the terror, and afterwards the resentment of the nation, against the supposed abettors of their ancient enemies. The ministry, either yielding to their own suspicions, or to improve to advantage the fears of the people, had strengthened, by proclamations against known Jacobites, the surmises entertained concerning a domestic conspiracy. To gratify the rage of the populace at home, as well as to quiet the tumults of the Dutch mobs, Torrington was accused of misconduct, and committed prisoner to the Tower. Informations of treason were encouraged. The common credulity of the vulgar, with regard to dark designs against the public happiness, was cherished and improved. The credibility of a plot was established by various public acts. The suspended bishops, a race of men more weak in their politics, than guilty in their conduct, were unjustly stigmatized, as persons concerned in a plot against the independence of the nation. The people, by these arts or accidents, became parties in the cause of the government. Addresses poured in upon the Queen from every quarter. The vehemence

<sup>m</sup> Caveat against the Whigs, part iii. p. 51. Burnet.



of the present loyalty of the people increased in proportion to their former fears; and though William had lost at Limerick the laurels which he had gained at the Boyne, he found his authority firmly established upon his return to England<sup>n</sup>.

C H A P.  
X.  
1650.

THE success of the French at sea was attended with actions of some renown by land. Having remained on the defensive during the preceding campaign, the French King exerted his whole force in the present year. He formed four armies on the side of Germany and Flanders. Forty thousand men, under the Dauphin, assembled at Landau. A considerable force, led by the Marechal de Boufflers, appeared upon the Moselle. The Marechals d'Humieres and Luxembourg, who commanded two armies in the neighbourhood of Courtray, were first in motion, and came the soonest to action. Luxembourg, being suddenly joined by the Marechal de Boufflers, advanced against the Dutch and Spaniards, under the Prince of Waldec. A bloody battle ensued<sup>o</sup>, at Fleurus, near Charleroy. The French general, by a hazardous but a decisive motion of his cavalry, obtained the victory. Covered from the view of the enemy by a rising ground, the horse fell upon the flank of the Dutch, while they were engaged in front with the French infantry. The Dutch cavalry fled at the first shock, their foot stood and shewed prodigies of valour. These lost seven thousand men on the spot; and being forced at length to retire, they left a bloody victory to the enemy<sup>p</sup>. Waldec being joined, soon after<sup>q</sup>, by the Elector of Brandenburg, prevented Luxembourg from deriving any considerable advantage from his success at Fleurus.

Battle of  
Fleurus.

ON the French side of Germany, nothing considerable happened during the campaign. The Dauphin and the Elector of

Campaign in  
Germany,  
Savoy, Cata-  
lonia,

<sup>n</sup> Dalrymple's Append. Auct. citat. passim.

<sup>o</sup> July 1. N. S.

<sup>p</sup> Hist. de France, tom. iii.

<sup>q</sup> July 22.



C H A P.  
X.

1690.

Bavaria, at the head of two armies, observed the motions of each other, without risking a battle. The first of those Princes, having passed the Rhine to amuse the enemy, after various movements intrenched himself in the plains of Newenburgh. Having remained in the place till the first of October, he left the troops, under the Mareschal de Lorges, and returned to Paris. The two armies, soon after, retired to winter-quarters. The war against the Duke of Savoy was attended with great success on the part of France. The Duke was totally defeated at Straffarda by the Mareschal de Catinat\*. Saluces, in consequence of the victory, fell into the hands of the French. Suza, which commanded the passes between Dauphiny and Piedmont, was taken; and the whole dutchy of Savoy was reduced by Saint-Ruth. The same success attended the French on the frontiers of Spain. Having found means to encourage an insurrection in Catalonia, they distracted the councils of Charles the Second; and prevented him from aiding to effect, either the Duke of Savoy, or his allies in Flanders.

and Hun-  
gary.

THE good fortune of the house of Austria against the Turks seemed to have expired with Pope Innocent the Eleventh, who died on the twelfth of August in the preceding year. The inveteracy of that pontiff against France had thrown him entirely into the interests of the Emperor, whom, under pretence of a war with the infidels, he aided liberally with the money of the church. The court of France, having by money and influence raised Ottonboni to the papal chair†, under the name of Alexander the Eighth, stopt the channel of a supply from Rome. The preparations of the court of Vienna were slow, and their efforts became feeble. On the side of Hungary, the Turks recovered all the laurels which they had lost to the Prince of Baden in the preceding year. That general, finding himself obliged to march into Transylvania,

\* Aug. 18.

† Oct. 2, 1689.



to stop the progress of the famous Tekeli, left Hungary exposed to the enemy. The Turks retook successively Nissa and Widin. They reduced Belgrade by assault, after a vigorous siege. All Upper Hungary beyond the Tibiscus fell into their hands; and they retired to winter-quarters in that country with every advantage for opening with a prospect of success the succeeding campaign.

C H A P.  
X.

1690.

THOUGH the French and their allies were successful in every quarter, Lewis the Fourteenth, with a happy negligence, declined to push his enemies on their most vulnerable side. The ignorance of the court of France with regard to the state of England preserved the latter kingdom from imminent danger, upon various occasions; but at no juncture with more apparent good-fortune, than in the present year. Their victorious fleet rode in triumph in the channel for many weeks. They lay, without the fear of an enemy, in the very bay where a foreign invasion had been made with success about twenty months before. Had they landed an army in the name of King James, the crown of England would have been again transferred from the reigning Prince, without a battle. There was no regular force, sufficient to face an enemy, in the kingdom. Discontents prevailed among the people, and factions in the cabinet. The adherents of the late King were still numerous. The present King had lost many of his former friends. But either Lewis was averse from putting an end to the contest concerning the throne of England; or, with his usual weakness, while he enjoyed the glory of victory, neglected its advantages. This undecisiveness of character proved always beneficial to his enemies. England owed to it her present constitution, and, perhaps, her independence; and William derived from his mortal enemy his best hold of his own throne.

Reflections  
on the con-  
duct of  
France.

\* Hist. d'Allemagne, tom. vii.



C H A P.  
X.1690.  
Parliament  
meets.

WILLIAM arriving at Kensington on the tenth of September, resolved in council to meet his parliament on the second of October. The session was accordingly opened on that day with a speech from the throne. The King informed the house, that he had used his best endeavours to reduce Ireland into a condition that it might be no longer a charge to England. He mentioned his first success in that island, and he laid the blame of his late miscarriages upon the excessive rains. He praised the behaviour of the troops in general. He complained of their little pay. He had evidently shewn, he said, that he had already preferred the satisfaction of his subjects to the most solid advantages of the crown; and he reminded them, that he had asked no revenue for himself, but what he had subjected to be charged to the use of the war. He affirmed, that he had spared neither his person nor his pains to secure their happiness. He recommended to them, by clearing his revenue of loans, to enable him to subsist. He desired them to consider immediately of means to pay off the arrears due to the army. The whole confederacy abroad, he insinuated, depended upon the speed and vigour of their proceedings. He complained of the behaviour of the English fleet in the late battle. He promised to vindicate the honour of the nation, by examining into misconducts, and punishing the guilty. He concluded his speech with observing, that the happiness of the kingdom depended upon the result of their counsels; and he hoped that they would agree with him in the conclusion, that whosoever should obstruct or divert their application from these matters, could be neither his friend nor the friend of England.

Proceedings

THIS parliament shewed no inclination to incur the censure of a want of friendship for William, by an opposition to his measures. The two houses presented loyal and humble addresses to the King for his expedition into Ireland, and for hazarding his

" Journals, Oct. 2.



person in reducing that kingdom \*. They thanked Mary for her conduct at home, while they expressed their gratitude to William for his actions abroad †. The commons applied themselves with great zeal to the business of the demanded supply. In a committee of the whole house, they resolved, that a sum, amounting to near two millions three hundred thousand pounds, should be granted for the maintenance of the army, and the support of the ordnance. The house came to a resolution, on the seventeenth of October, that one million of this supply should be raised on the credit or sale of the forfeited estates in Ireland. The rest of the sum granted was charged upon new duties imposed upon various articles of consumption and trade. The good understanding which had hitherto subsisted between the court and the parliament, was, in some degree, interrupted upon the subject of Irish forfeitures. The servants of the crown, and particularly the personal adherents of the King, had already destined the estates of rebels for themselves. They were therefore unwilling to permit their own private advantage to be sacrificed to the public service. A long contest ensued. Matters were, at length, accommodated between those who pretended to be the friends of the nation, and the friends of William. A third part of the forfeitures were left in the disposal of the King; and he was further empowered to grant what articles or compositions he pleased to those who were still in arms ‡.

THE contest for the favour of the court, which subsisted between the Whigs and Tories, rendered the grants of the commons ample and expeditious. The demands of the war establishment were great. The debts of the crown, since William landed at Torbay, notwithstanding the great supplies received from parliament, amounted to two millions. More than four millions were voted, in the present session, for the service of the year. That sum, together with the standing revenue, amounted to six mil-

of the commons.

\* Journals, Oct. 6.

† Oct. 8.

‡ Journals, passim.

lions,



C H A P.  
X.  
1690.

lions, raised on the subject. Besides, a clause of credit, at seven *per cent.* was inserted in the land-tax bill, to answer extraordinary demands. The whole was imposed on funds which, in the event, produced a surplus of near eighty thousand pounds. Nothing, in short, was omitted by the parliament, that might strengthen the hands of the King. A great majority of the commons were Tories. The Whigs were either ashamed of distressing a government which they had in a great measure formed, or they had not yet given all their hopes of favour away. William hastened, from time to time, the resolutions of the commons, by informing them of the necessity of his presence at a projected congress at the Hague. Having, at length, brought the business of the supply to a happy conclusion, he adjourned the parliament, on the fifth of January, with a speech of thanks from the throne<sup>a</sup>.

Earl of Torrington acquitted.

THE peers having waved the privileges of their house, with regard to the Earl of Torrington, he was brought to his trial on board a frigate at Sheerness, on the tenth of December. The misfortunes of the Dutch, in the battle off Beachy-head, had eradicated from William's breast, the memory of the services which he had derived from Torrington, in the late Revolution. He had spoken of the conduct of the fleet with great indignation, in the speech with which he opened the session of parliament. He expressed, upon every occasion, his resentment against the admiral. The making the Dutch parties against Torrington, secured to him the favour of the English. But when he came to his trial, justice only seemed necessary to establish his reputation. He was accused of having, either through treachery or cowardice, misbehaved in his command, drawn dishonour on the nation, and sacrificed the Dutch. Not one of the charges was proved. The rancour of Torrington's enemies appeared. His own defence was satisfactory and manly. He denied the justice of any com-

<sup>a</sup> Journals, *passim*.



plaint against his conduct. He even claimed merit from saving the fleet of England, when opposed to such a superior force. In the conclusion of his speech, he applied to the passions of his judges. He hoped, he said, that an English court-martial would not sacrifice him to Dutch resentment. He was unanimously acquitted. The King, however, deprived him of his command; and would never permit him to come into his presence<sup>b</sup>.

C H A P.  
X.  
1690.

ON the thirtieth of December, the Lord Preston, one Ashton, and a Mr. Elliot, were seized at Gravesend, by orders from the government, in a smack bound for France. In their possession were found various papers, consisting of cant letters, notes concerning the state of the navy, and a wild project for the immediate restoration of King James. Preston was brought to his trial on the twelfth of January. Though little doubt could be formed of his guilt, the proofs against him were not so complete as the statutes concerning treason seemed to require. He was, however, condemned. But, upon making a discovery of all he knew, he received a pardon. The evidence against Ashton seemed still more slender than the proofs upon which Preston had been found guilty. His defence was cool, and, in some degree, spirited and manly. He suffered with great composure. A paper which he left in the hands of the sheriff, was published, and received with ardour, by the friends of the late King. He denied his imputed guilt. He avowed his principles. He entered into a discussion of the Revolution. He enumerated the hardships imposed by the Prince of Orange upon King James. He died a member of the church of England. His paper, upon the whole, contained matter for controversy between the friends and opponents of the reigning Prince. The minds of the clergy, in particular, had been heated with polemical disputes; and two parties

1691.  
Persons con-  
demned for  
treason.

<sup>b</sup> Trial, passim. Burnet, Ralph. Publications of the Times.

carried,



C H A P.  
X.

1691.

carried, with great vehemence, their arguments to the press<sup>c</sup>. The discovery of this plot, decided the fate of the suspended bishops. Though no positive proofs were produced against the Bishop of Ely, he was supposed to be the writer of one of the letters that were seized. William, therefore, resolved, upon his return from the Continent, to fill the vacant sees with his own friends<sup>d</sup>.

Correspon-  
dence of the  
Earl of Marl-  
borough.

THIS discovery, however, was not capable of terrifying others from making warm advances to King James. The Earl of Marlborough and the Lord Godolphin were among the first who offered their services for the restoration of a prince whom they contributed to expel from his kingdom. The late King doubted their professions of affection for his person; but he ascribed their conduct to their prudence. "The repentance of Churchill," says James himself, "assumed the appearance of sincerity." He gave, without hesitation, an account of all the forces, preparations, and designs of the English government. He laid open the secret councils of the Prince of Orange; and his report concurring with undoubted intelligence received from other quarters, the King was induced to believe that he was sincere. He carried daily intelligence of all incidents in the secretary's office to the Jacobites, by which they avoided many inconveniencies and troubles. He desired instructions, without being admitted into the King's secrets; owning, that his former conduct ought justly to debar him from all confidence. He doubted not, he said, but he could bring over many great men to the King's party. He desired to know whether he should gain the Earl of Danby, or join with the party who were contriving his ruin. He offered to bring over the troops in Flanders. But he rather proposed to act in concert with those who were, the next session, to endeavour to expel all foreigners from the kingdom. He advised the King

<sup>c</sup> Publications of the Times.

<sup>d</sup> Burnet, vol. iii.



not to invade the kingdom with a great force. That a French power was too terrifying to the people. That twenty thousand men were sufficient to place him again on the throne<sup>c</sup>.”

C H A P.  
X.  
1691.

“CHURCHILL desired the King,” continues James, “to enjoin the Lord Godolphin not to lay down his place in the treasury, as he must be made serviceable in that post. He said, for himself, it would be impossible for him to enjoy any peace of mind, till he had made an atonement for his crimes, by endeavouring, though at the utmost peril of his life, to restore his injured Prince and beloved master. His comportment, upon the whole, seemed candid, and his penitence sincere. He confirmed, by letters to James<sup>f</sup>, the assurances which he made in person to his friends. He assured the King, that, upon the least command, he would abandon wife, children, and country, to regain and preserve his esteem. But he declined to bring over the troops in Flanders. The King sent him a letter, on the twentieth of April, 1691. He wrote to him in the most good-natured manner in the world. The Queen inserted a few words, with her own hand, testifying, that she was perfectly reconciled to Churchill. Godolphin was ordered to keep his employment to be more serviceable. That Lord had forgot his former scruples, about betraying his trust. The Lord Dartmouth proposed to come over, in person, provided he could have the command of a squadron of French men of war. But the court of Versailles would not trust their ships in his hands. Besides, he was soon after sent to the Tower<sup>g</sup>.”

with King  
James.

THE Earl of Marlborough, as a proof of his own sincerity, induced the Princess of Denmark to enter, with great zeal, into the views of her father. A letter, which she wrote, soon after this period, to that Prince, bears all the marks of compunction and

Letter from  
the Princess  
of Denmark.

<sup>c</sup> James II. 1691.

<sup>f</sup> Jan. 20th, and May 30th, 1691.

<sup>g</sup> James II. 1691.



C H A P.  
X.

1691.

affection. She told him, "that she was truly concerned for the misfortune of his condition; and sensible, as she ought to be, of her own unhappiness, in having contributed to the ruin of a father. If wishes could recall the past, I had long since," she said, "redeemed my fault. My mind, however, would have been greatly relieved, had I found more early means to communicate my repenting thoughts. But I hope they will derive one advantage from being late, and that is, that they will be deemed sincere. This plain confession shall bring relief to my mind, if I shall be so happy as to find that it carries any real satisfaction to yours; and that you are as indulgent and easy to receive my humble submissions, as I am truly desirous to make them, in a free, disinterested acknowledgment of my fault, for no other end but to deserve and receive the pardon of an injured father. I could wish that one compliment should be made in my name. But the expressions most proper for me would be least convenient for a letter. I must leave it to the bearer to express my respect for the Queen<sup>b</sup>."

King Wil-  
liam goes to  
Holland.

THE day after the adjournment of the two houses of parliament, King William left London, with an intention of embarking at Margate for the Hague. He lay that night at Sittingbourn. But, upon the setting in of an easterly wind, and a hard frost, he returned to London. On the sixteenth of January, he embarked at Gravesend; and, under the escort of a squadron of twelve ships of war, soon arrived on the coast of Holland. In his impatience to land, he committed himself and his retinue to open boats, in a foggy day. The coast was lined with ice. The pilots lost their way, and night came on. During eighteen hours, he lay under a cloak in the boat. He at length gained the island of Goree. Having refreshed himself in that place, he went again into his boat, and landing at Orange-Polder, repaired to Hounslardike.

<sup>b</sup> James II, 1691.



C H A P.  
X.

1691.

With a pomp more suitable to the vanity of a slighter character, than the usual gravity of his manner, he made his public entry into the Hague. In a set speech to the States, he acknowledged his gratitude for their former favours, and promised his future services. He took God to witness, that he had accepted the crown of the British kingdoms, to maintain and support their religion and tranquillity; and that he might be the better enabled to serve his allies, and particularly the States, against the power of France. He excused himself, by the urgency of his affairs, for not paying them sooner his respects in person. He expressed his affection to his native country, in the warmest terms. He assured them, that he was not only willing to sacrifice all that he possessed in the world, but even his body and life, in their service; and he hoped God would make him the instrument, to divert the danger which threatened the united States<sup>1</sup>.

THE King followed this patriotic speech, with one of equal spirit, in an assembly of some princes of the Germanic body, in which he presided. He explained to them their former errors. He recommended expedition in their preparations, and unanimity in their counsels, as things necessary to their future success. He found such as were present of the confederates, and the absent, by their ambassadours, ready to enter into all his views, with regard to an alliance, of which he was, for many reasons, deemed the head. They entered into a solemn engagement, in the presence of God, to preserve their present union, and to prosecute the war against the King of France, till he should execute certain articles. The conditions of the peace, which they proposed to force upon Lewis, were chiefly these: That he should make reparation to the Holy See for all injuries, and his infamous proceedings against Innocent the Eleventh; that he should restore to the Protestants all their estates and goods; that he should establish an entire

Conference  
at the Hague.King William  
III. 1691.  
Holland.<sup>1</sup> State of Europe, Feb. 1691.



C H A P.  
X.

1691.

liberty of conscience throughout the French dominions; that he should restore to his neighbours all the places which he had seized since the peace of Munster; that he should re-establish, in their rights and liberties, the estates of the kingdom; that he should not presume to raise any supply without the consent of the estates, legally called; that the tax upon salt, and all unreasonable impositions, should be abolished for ever; that he should restore to all parliaments their ancient and rightful authority; and their former franchises and revenues to the towns and cities of the kingdom. To effectuate this system of freedom, the French gentry were called from their allegiance; and to qualify the whole, the assembly of confederates solemnly averred, that they had nothing in view but the reformation of the government of France, which had been discomposed by violence and oppression<sup>k</sup>.

The French  
take Mons.

To these romantic and wild articles, the assembled princes added resolutions of a more serious kind. They determined to employ against France two hundred and twenty thousand men, during the approaching campaign. But when they were projecting future operations, the enemy entered upon present action. Lewis the Fourteenth sat down, suddenly, before Mons. William, who had retired from the Hague to Loo, placed himself at the head of the army. He advanced to Hall, within the sound of the enemy's guns. The state of his troops was so bad, and the dispositions of the enemy so good, that he durst not venture a battle, to relieve the place. Mons was taken, after a gallant defence, on the ninth of April<sup>l</sup>. Lewis, whose vanity was at least equal to his ambition, returned to Versailles; and, to celebrate his conquest, struck a medal, which reflected on the passive conduct of William. That Prince, repairing to the Hague, embarked for England on the twelfth of April<sup>m</sup>; and the next evening, arrived in London, where he found the palace of Whitehall in ruins, by an

<sup>k</sup> Declaration of the Allies.<sup>l</sup> Hist. de France, vol. iii.<sup>m</sup> Kennet, vol. iii.

accidental



accidental fire. His first business, after his arrival, was to fill the vacant sees; and though the nonjuring bishops had been long in a deprived state, in consequence of the act for altering the oaths, their removal became the subject of much polemical disquisition and altercation.<sup>a</sup>

C H A P.  
X.

1691.

THE King, having settled the affairs of the church, prorogued the parliament, and given orders concerning the management of the war in Ireland<sup>o</sup>, resolved to return to the Continent, to place himself at the head of the allied army. He embarked at Harwich, on the second of May; and, in the evening of the third, arrived at the Hague. The preparations of the confederates, and the character and situation of their leader, raised their hopes to a certainty of success, on their own part, and absolute ruin, on the side of France. The event was not answerable to these high expectations. The Mareschal Luxembourg, having suddenly possessed himself of Hall, which the allies had, in some degree, fortified, kept close within his lines. William, at the head of a superior army, failed in all his attempts to place the fate of the campaign on the decision of a battle. Luxembourg perceived, that to prevent a defeat, was to gain glory, when opposed to such odds. The summer was spent in a state of inactivity. Some unimportant movements were made on both sides. But the French had determined to engage only at a manifest advantage. Tired of a campaign which produced no laurels, William quitted the command of the army to the Prince of Waldec, on the twelfth of August. The Prince, in withdrawing the troops at Leuse, was attacked, unexpectedly, in the rear, by Luxembourg. The allies suffered some loss. But the French obtained little advantage. The glory of having stopt the progress of a superior enemy, was the only thing gained by Lewis, on the side of Flanders, since the taking of Mons, in the month of April<sup>p</sup>.

Campaign in  
Flanders.

<sup>a</sup> Publications of the Times.

<sup>o</sup> Burnet, vol. ii.

<sup>p</sup> Hist. de France, vol. iii. State of Europe.



C H A P.  
X.1691.  
In Germany,  
Spain, Savoy,  
and Hungary.

ON the frontiers of Germany the war languished between France and the confederates. The French had thrown their chief force into Flanders. The Emperor had turned his principal attention to the operations in Hungary. In Catalonia the French arms were crowned with success. The Marechal de Noailles took Urgel in the presence of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, who commanded the forces of the Catholic King. While the navy of Spain lay loitering in their ports, a squadron of the enemy insulted the coast, and bombarded Alicant and Barcelona. In Savoy, the fortune which had attended the Marechal de Catinat seemed to have deserted his arms. Though he took Veilana, and some other places of importance, he was repulsed at Coni, in Piedmont, and forced soon after to repass the Po. He was, however, more fortunate toward the end of the campaign. He converted into a siege the blockade of Montmelian, the only city in Savoy still held for the Duke; and that place, after a vigorous defence, was taken upon terms. The Imperial troops, sent to the aid of the Duke of Savoy, seemed more anxious to plunder their friends than to oppose the enemy. The Turks lost in the mean time all the advantages which they had gained on the side of Hungary in the preceding campaign. They were totally defeated at Salankemen by the Prince of Baden. Twenty thousand either lay dead on the spot, or were slain in the flight. The vizier, the seraskier, the most of the principal officers were killed; and the remains of the Ottoman army were obliged to shelter themselves behind the Saave<sup>1</sup>.

Transactions  
at sea.

THE combined fleets of England and Holland, commanded by Ruffel, performed nothing worthy of memory during the summer of the present year. Their manifest inferiority either confined the French to their ports, or induced the Count de Tourville to avoid the enemy at sea. When Ruffel sent his large ships into harbour,

<sup>1</sup> Hist. d'Allemagne, vol. vii.

the



the French took that advantage to aid their friends in Ireland. A squadron of eighteen men of war with twenty transports entered the Shannon. An English fleet, under Sir Ralph Delaval, soon after arrived on the coast: but the French remained unmolested in the bays of Ireland till the end of November. In the East and West Indies the war languished on both sides. The French having attacked a Dutch squadron, consisting of five ships, that had taken shelter under the guns of Fort St. George, on the coast of Coromandel, were obliged to cut their cables and stand out to sea. An attempt on Guadalupe, one of the French Leeward Islands, failed through a misunderstanding between General Codrington and Commodore Wright; and no other hostilities of any note happened in the possessions of either nation abroad\*.

C H A P.  
X.

1691.

THE discovery made by the conspirators in Scotland of their own plot, had quashed the hopes of the adherents of James in that kingdom. They even made offers of submission and fidelity to the reigning Prince; and he had the prudence to listen to their proposals. Some Highlanders, headed by Sir Evan Cameron of Lochiel, opposed all treaty with William. Though they had suffered a repulse at Cromdale, though James had left Ireland, and his affairs in that kingdom were ruined, they adhered to their political principles; and, without the means of carrying on a war with success, continued their hostilities. The lenity of William to the Scottish conspirators, his avowed dislike to the violence of the Presbyterians in their assembly, and, above all, the influence of the Earl of Breadalbin, who promised to effect with money, the pacification which could not be extorted from the Highlanders by force of arms, restored the North to tranquillity. Cameron himself submitted to the new government. An end put to a war which promised little glory and no reward of victory filled the mind of William with unfeigned joy\*.

Affairs of  
Scotland.

\* Lives of the Admirals, vol. iii.

\* Burnet. Mem. of N. Britain.

BUT



C H A P.  
X.1691.  
Intrigues of  
James.

BUT he owed this pacification more to the influence of James than to his own power. The late King held by his agents a communication with Breadalbin; and he corresponded with the chiefs of the insurgents. He suggested the scheme adopted by the former. He induced the latter to listen to proposals of peace. He had formed a project of invasion with the court of France; and he wished his adherents to reserve their strength till it could be exerted with a greater prospect of success. Whilst these things were transacted in the North, his emissaries were not idle in the South. He sent Mr. Ord, a gentleman of Northumberland, with instructions to some of his adherents in that county, and to the Earl of Home, one of his firmest friends. He recommended to them to hold themselves in readiness to join his intended invasion. He desired them to form measures for surprising Berwick, and, if possible, Newcastle and Tynemouth. He enjoined them to observe the exactest discipline upon their rising, to commit no oppression, to pay for every thing needful, and to rely upon his honour in being indemnified for their expence. In the mean time he required them to remain quiet, and, by preserving themselves, to take care of his interest.

William  
offended with  
the Presby-  
terians.

NOTWITHSTANDING these precautions, the government formed some suspicions concerning a secret plot in Scotland. The Earl of Home, Sir Peter Frazer, Sir Æneas Macpherson, and some other determined Jacobites, were seized and confined. But the arts of James's friends had in some degree lulled William into security. Their ready submission to his authority seemed to obliterate the memory of their former violence. Those who opposed him most became his greatest favourites. The episcopal party atoned for their opposition to the title of the King, by their inviolable adherence to the prerogatives of the crown; and the supposed insolence of the Presbyterians was calculated to throw William in the scale of their

\* MS. Instructions to Mr. Ord, 1691.



political enemies. The republican form of their church government appeared contrary to the first principles of monarchy; and they seemed unwilling to relinquish any part of their independence to a Prince who thought that they owed to himself the whole. To gratify his new friends, he enjoined the general assembly to receive such of the episcopal clergy as should demand seats, into the number of their members. They refused this demand, and he ordered them to be dissolved. They protested against the dissolution, as illegal; and to preserve their independence, they adjourned themselves. The King was highly offended at their conduct; and the Jacobites seemed to enjoy the dissension which their own arts had raised<sup>u</sup>.

CHAP.  
X.

1691.

THE campaign of the preceding year had not ended in Ireland with William's departure from that kingdom. When the fears of the nation were dissipated by the final retreat of the French fleet to their own coast, the Earl of Marlborough prevailed with the Queen and her council to permit him to lead five thousand men from England, on an expedition against Cork and Kinsale. On the twenty-first of September, 1690, he arrived before the former place; and two days after landed all his troops. Ginckle, who had succeeded Solmes in the command of the army in Ireland, detached near a thousand horse to the aid of Marlborough; and soon after he had opened his trenches before Cork, he was reinforced with four thousand Danes, under the Duke of Wirtemberg. The siege, already carried on with success, was in some degree retarded by a dispute about the command, between the Duke and the Earl. A breach was however made in the wall. The besiegers prepared for a general assault. The ammunition of the garrison being exhausted, they surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Though the season was far advanced, Kinsale was summoned. The Irish governor resolved to defend the fort to the last extremity. He

Affairs of  
Ireland.<sup>u</sup> Burnet. Mem. of N. Britain. MS. 1691.



C H A P.  
X.  
1691.

burnt the town, as untenable. He retired to the old and new fort. The first was taken after a gallant defence. The siege of the second was pressed with vigour. In ten days the place capitulated. The garrison were permitted to retire to Limerick, with all the honours of war; and Marlborough, having accomplished the object of his expedition, sent his troops to winter-quarters, and returned to England\*.

Unparalleled

THOUGH the winter suspended the regular operations of war, the miseries of Ireland increased during that season. Ginckle having neglected to form a regular line of troops along the Shannon, the enemy crossed that river in parties, and frequently beat up his quarters with success. The French having retired to Galway, to wait for a passage home, the whole weight of their own defence devolved on the native Irish. Despair and animosity had at the beginning seized their minds. Their success against William at Limerick had lately added to their confidence and courage. In their excursions against the enemy, they spread misery, ruin, and desolation over the whole country. The inhabitants were plundered. Their houses and cabins were burnt to the ground. The English and their auxiliaries and mercenaries yielded not to their enemies in this destructive and merciless mode of war.

miseries

To add to the distresses of an unfortunate nation, private murderers and robbers joined their depredations to the public devastations committed by two licentious armies. A species of wild Irish, who, from their habitual injustice and cruelties, had been successively distinguished by the appellations of Creaghts and Tories, infested the whole country, in small parties. An improvement on the barbarism of their predecessors imposed upon them a new name. They were called Rapparees, from the Irish name of a pike, with which they massacred indiscriminately the unfortunate

\* Lediard, vol. i.



persons who fell into their hands. They hovered on the skirts of the English army. They harassed them with pursuits. They cut off their stragglers. They surrounded their quarters with murder and desolation. To repel the fury of these assassins, the English established marauders of a similar kind. In injustice and cruelty they yielded not to their infamous opponents. The army itself, as possessing more force and as little humanity, were even worse than the Rapparees. Murder, anarchy, and misery, were seen every where. Men seemed to have forgot all their passions but avarice and revenge; and the cries of a wretched people brought nothing but an accumulation of distress<sup>y</sup>.

C H A P.

X.

1691.

THE appearance, rather than the substance of a civil government, subsisted at Dublin. The courts of justice were opened. A privy council was formed of men attached to the reigning King. They, however, possessed little authority. Their power was contemned by the army. The soldiers owned no superiors but the military officers. They disregarded even these, when their orders interfered with their own rapacity. The winter was throughout disgraced with acts of barbarity on both sides. The year 1691, in its first months, produced no memorable event. Tyrconnel, though stripped of his character of chief governor by James, had returned from France with a pitiful sum of money, to maintain the Irish war. Yielding to despondence, or swayed by his disgrace, he endeavoured to induce the Irish to submit to the new government, upon terms. This measure was opposed by Sarsfield, who had acquired so much reputation for his exploits in the former campaign. Quarrels and animosities prevailed. To put an end to disputes which threatened his interest in Ireland with ruin, James conferred the chief command on St. Ruth, a French general of experience and reputation. That officer arrived in Ireland; but he was furnished with none of the necessaries of

of that kingdom.

<sup>y</sup> Leland, vol. iii. Ralph, vol. ii. Impartial Hist. Mem. of Ireland, MS. 1691.



C H A P.  
X.

1691.

Athlone be-  
sieged.

war. Destitute of pay, in want of provisions, without stores, and ill provided with ammunition, a great part of the army had been forced to disperse. St. Ruth found himself obliged, by the bad state of his troops, to act upon the defensive; and, having placed a strong garrison in Athlone, he resolved to wait for the enemy on the further side of the Shannon<sup>z</sup>.

GINCKLE, supplied with every thing necessary to open the campaign with vigour, ordered his troops to rendezvous at Molingar. He decamped from that place on the sixth of June; and having, with little difficulty, obliged the garrison of Ballymore to surrender, he advanced toward Athlone. His army consisted of twenty thousand men. Having passed through dangerous and narrow defiles without any opposition, he arrived, on the nineteenth of June, before the place. Athlone, as well as Limerick, is divided by the Shannon. It was strongly garrisoned and tolerably fortified. The Irish army lay behind the town, on the side of Connaught. Ginckle, having finished his batteries, consisting of ten eighteen pounders, began to play on the bastion next the river toward Laneshorough, in the night of the twentieth of June. A practicable breach was made in a few hours. An assault was given at six of the clock the next evening; and the part of the town lying next to Leinster was taken with little loss<sup>a</sup>.

Athlone  
taken.

GINCKLE played incessantly upon the Irish town. He expended twelve thousand bullets and six hundred bombs in the space of ten days. The place was reduced to a heap of rubbish. The Irish continued obstinate. Having had some advantage over the enemy, by burning their bridge of boats, they were lulled into a fatal security. On the thirtieth of June, Ginckle suddenly entering the river in columns, surprised the town. Little resistance was made by the Irish; and all that fell in the way of the

<sup>z</sup> Auſt. citat. paſſim. MS. 1691.<sup>a</sup> MS. Journal.



assailants were put to the sword. The boldness and vigilance of Ginckle could be only equalled by the negligence of the Irish. History can scarce furnish a parallel to the success of an undertaking which seemed in itself impracticable. A fortified town attacked across a river, sustained behind by a considerable army, was taken in less than a quarter of an hour by a body of three thousand men, who were breast-high in water when they advanced to the breach<sup>b</sup>. St. Ruth, when informed of the assault, could scarce give any credit to the intelligence. He, however, ordered some battalions to sustain the besieged; but the succours came too late. The works of the town toward his camp were entire. The enemy had already lined the walls, and repulsed the Irish from their own works<sup>c</sup>.

C H A P.  
X.

1691.

ST. RUTH, covered with shame at his own negligence, decamped without beat of drum in the night. Having marched ten miles from Athlone, he posted himself at Aghrim, determined to recover his own reputation or to lose the kingdom, in one decisive battle. To augment his army he had withdrawn the garrisons from Sligo, Lanesborough, and James-town. Ginckle followed his example in reinforcing his army with all his detached parties. Having remained ten days at Athlone, he marched into Roscommon, and encamped along the river Suc. The Irish army extended their line more than two miles on the rising grounds of Kilcommeden. The slope before them was lined with hedges and ditches. A bog defended their front. Morasses skirted their right and left. On the twelfth of July, Ginckle determined to attack the enemy. St. Ruth marked his motions from the eminence, and formed his own line. He exhibited in his dispositions all the conduct of an experienced officer. He rode along the line. He directed every thing. He animated his troops with words calculated to confirm their courage and to rouse their minds. The strength of

Battle of  
Aghrim.<sup>b</sup> MS. Journal, 1691.<sup>c</sup> Ibid.



C H A P.

X.

1691.

the ground, the ardour of his men, his excellent dispositions, the rashness of the enemy, who seemed determined to advance, filled him with every hope of victory <sup>d</sup>.

Irish defeated.

GINCKLE, having crossed the Suir without opposition, advanced to the morass in the front of the enemy. One pass led to their camp on their right; another, by the castle of Aghrim, to the left. The first was ordered to be attacked. It was gained, after much resistance. The spirit of the enemy, and the difficulties of the ground, induced Ginckle to suspend his design to engage. But, to prevent the retreat of the enemy, he again changed his mind. The pass on the left was attacked, at five in the evening. General Mackay, in the mean time, plunged into the bog with the center, and advanced against the enemy. He was received, however, with such warmth, that his men were forced to retreat. St. Ruth, beholding this advantage, was elevated with the hopes of victory. The English cavalry, having forced the pass on the left, advanced in full speed on the flank of the pursuing Irish. The fugitives rallied, formed, and advanced. The battle seemed to hang in equal scales, when it was suddenly decided by fortune. St. Ruth, descending from the hill, advanced with a squadron of horse to sustain his foot, and attack the English cavalry. When he was on the point of coming to blows with the enemy, he was killed by a cannon-ball. The spirit of the Irish fell with their leader. Sarsfield, the next in command, was not stationed where his presence was most required. Confusion, disorder, and terror, spread from wing to wing. The Irish, on the point of being victors, resigned themselves to panic and flight. Many were slain in the battle, but more in a bloody pursuit of three miles. Several thousands of the vanquished were killed. The victors lost seven hundred men. The crown of Ireland depended on the opportune fall of St. Ruth. His death snatched victory from his hands; and,

<sup>d</sup> Ralph, Burnet, Leland, Mem. of Ireland.



by breaking the power of the Catholics, lessened their miseries, by deciding sooner their fate. Ginckle gained reputation by the action; but his army lost every claim to humanity, by giving no quarter<sup>e</sup>.

THE bulk of the Irish fugitives retired to Limerick, after the battle of Aghrim. Ginckle, having refreshed his army a few days, advanced to Galway. He sat down before that place on the nineteenth of July. Galway, though garrisoned with seven regiments, was not provided with the means of defence. Ginckle, wishing to end the war, permitted the Irish to retire to Limerick. He himself advanced toward that place. He sat down before it on the twenty-fifth of August. Contention, discord, confusion prevailed within the walls. Some were for surrendering upon terms for themselves; others, upon conditions, in favour of their whole party. The majority, headed by the French officers, resolved to hold Limerick to the last extremity. The successful defence of the place in the preceding year animated them with hopes of the same good fortune. Succours were expected from France. A fleet of twenty sail was already on the way, with men, provisions, ammunition, and money. The despair of the proscribed Catholics inflamed their minds against an enemy who had shewn so little humanity in the late battle. Tyrconnel, who had uniformly proposed submission, had died a few days before, in Limerick. Sarsfield, his political opponent, loved war, on account of its dangers; and the generals d'Ossone and de Tesse were resolved, for the benefit of their own country, to continue, as long as possible, the distraction among her enemies<sup>f</sup>.

Galway surrenders.

THE particulars of the second siege of Limerick are neither important nor distinctly known. Six weeks were spent before the place, without any decisive effect. The garrison was well sup-

Siege of Limerick.

<sup>e</sup> Mem. of Ireland, Leland, Ralph.

<sup>f</sup> Auct. citat. passim.



C H A P.  
X.

1691.

plied with provisions. They were provided with all means of defence. The season was now far advanced. The rains had set in. The winter itself was near. Ginckle had received orders to finish the war upon any terms. The dissensions between the French and Irish were renewed with redoubled fury. The English general offered conditions, which the Irish, had they even been victors, could scarce refuse with prudence. He agreed, that all in arms should receive their pardon: That their estates should be restored, their attainders annulled, their outlawries reversed: That none should be liable for debts incurred through deeds done in the course of hostilities: That all Roman Catholics should enjoy the same toleration, with regard to their religion, as in the reign of Charles the Second: That the gentry should be permitted to make use of arms: That the inferior sort should be allowed to exercise their callings and professions: That no oaths, but that of allegiance, should be required of high or low: That should the troops, or any number of them, chuse to retire into any foreign service, they should be conveyed to the continent, at the expence of the King. Sarsfield, who had obtained the title of Earl of Lucan from James after his abdication, was permitted to retain a dignity which the laws could not recognise<sup>s</sup>. The lords justices had arrived from Dublin on the first of October. They signed the articles, together with Ginckle; and thus the Irish Papists put a happy period to a war which threatened their party with absolute ruin.

Observations  
on the

THOUGH the terms granted at the capitulation of Limerick were, perhaps, necessary in themselves, and highly suitable to humanity, they were, soon after, equally disliked by both parties. The English Protestants looked with unbounded resentment upon articles, which rendered, in some measure, independent a sect, whom, on account of ancient prejudices and recent injuries, they

<sup>s</sup> Articles of capitulation.

abhorred.



abhorred. The Irish, having obtained with so much facility such good terms, imbibed an opinion, that they might have extorted conditions still more favourable from an exhausted enemy. The arrival of the French fleet, two days after the capitulation, with arms, stores, provisions, and ammunition, confirmed them in their sentiments on this subject. But that circumstance, in conjunction with many other obvious reasons, justified William for putting an end to the war, upon moderate terms. Many millions had already been expended in the reduction of Ireland. Near one hundred thousand men had been lost by sickness and the sword. The army, though victorious in the field, were exhausted with fatigue. Winter was approaching. The siege of Limerick must, in all probability, have been raised. A second disappointment before that place would have been equal to a defeat. The spirits of the Irish would rise. The French, encouraged by their success, would aid their allies with more effect.

THE pacification with the Irish furnished matter for much dispute; but the peculiar situation of that nation seems to have been overlooked in the contest. The desertion, upon which the deprivation of James had been founded in England, had not existed in Ireland. The lord-lieutenant had retained his allegiance. The government was uniformly continued under the name of the Prince from whom the servants of the crown had derived their commissions. James himself had, for more than seventeen months, exercised the royal function in Ireland. He was certainly *de facto*, if not *de jure*, King. The rebellion of the Irish must therefore be founded on the supposition, that their allegiance is transferrable by the parliament of England. A speculative opinion can scarce justify the punishment of a great majority of a people. The Irish ought to have been considered as enemies, rather than rebels. If, therefore, the pacification was expedient, it was certainly just.



C H A P.  
X.1691.  
pacification.

BUT the opponents of William give him no credit, either for his justice or his humanity, upon the present occasion. They ascribe his eagerness to finish the troubles of Ireland, to his earnest desire of prosecuting with more vigour the war on the continent. They allege, that had not an English parliament deprived his creatures of the hopes of Irish forfeitures, he would have been less liberal in the concessions which he made. Though there may have been more malice than truth in these allegations, some of the terms were neither suitable to his dignity, nor consistent with his usual prudence. The French fleet, by an express article between the generals Talmash and d'Uffone<sup>h</sup>, were permitted to remain in security till the end of November in the bays of Ireland. The permission given to the Irish soldiers to enter into the service of France, the mortifying condition of transporting more than twelve thousand subjects, at the expence of government, to the country, and to strengthen the armies of an enemy; the general pardon granted to robbers, assassins, and Rapparees; the lenity of the King to those in arms; his rigour to those who had formerly submitted; all contributed to destroy, in a great measure, the merit of a pacification which relieved the English nation from the burden of an expensive and destructive war.

William  
meets his  
parliament.

WILLIAM, having left the army on the twelfth of August, spent near two months in hunting in the neighbourhood of Loo. In the beginning of October he arrived at the Hague, and having settled some public affairs with the States, he embarked for England on the eighteenth of October, and landed the next day at Margate. On the twenty-second of the month, the parliament met at Westminster. The King told them in his speech, that he had appointed their meeting, to consider of the best and most effectual means of prosecuting the war against France in the next campaign. He hoped, he said, that the late success in Ireland

<sup>h</sup> Ralph, vol. ii. Burnet.



would encourage them to strengthen his hands. He doubted not but they would take care to pay the arrears of the army in Ireland; and he promised, that no attention on his part should be spared to keep that kingdom from being burdensome to England for the future. He mentioned the expediency of sending a strong fleet to sea early in the summer. He insisted upon the absolute necessity of employing an army of sixty-five thousand men to defend the kingdom, and to annoy the common enemy. He recommended vigour and dispatch in their counsels. He desired them not to neglect an opportunity, which might never return, of not only establishing the quiet and prosperity of the kingdom, but the peace and security of all Europe<sup>1</sup>.

THOUGH the nation in general were averse from a great standing army, though a party had been formed to oppose the government in parliament, the commons, after returning congratulatory thanks to the King, resolved to take his speech into immediate consideration<sup>k</sup>. Several days, however, passed before they granted a supply<sup>l</sup>. They ordered at length a state of the war to be laid before them, to ascertain the sums necessary for the service of the next year. On the eighteenth of November, a bill was presented to the house for giving one million five hundred and seventy-five thousand pounds, for the charge of the navy. But the bill for granting one million nine hundred thousand pounds for prosecuting with vigour the war against France, was not passed till the twenty-fourth of December<sup>m</sup>. Though the adherents of the crown prevailed in procuring a compliance with the King's demands, the business of the supply proceeded with languor. Men the most opposite in opinions joined in opposition. The Whigs, however, were more violent than the Tories. The first were irritated at their want of influence with a Prince who had ascended, upon their principles, the throne. The latter had, in some degree, forgot their objections to the title of Wil-

Supplies  
granted.<sup>1</sup> Journals, Oct. 22.<sup>k</sup> Oct. 27.<sup>l</sup> Nov. 6.<sup>m</sup> Dec. 24.



C H A P.  
X.

1691.

Unpopu-  
larity of the  
King.

liam, in his obvious attachment to the high prerogatives of the crown.

IN clogging the measures of government, the discontented among the two parties stood upon popular grounds. They railed against continental connexions, they argued for exerting the force of the nation at sea, they took advantage of the impolitic preference given by the King to his own countrymen, the Dutch, they added their force to the general disgust which his forbidding manner had spread among the English officers and nobility<sup>a</sup>. Though William could have been no stranger to these discontents, he took little pains to gain the esteem of the nation. He shut himself up all day. His closet was almost inaccessible. The few whom he received to an audience were more disgusted at his habitual silence, than if they had been denied admission to his presence<sup>b</sup>. When he dined in public with his Dutch officers and favourites, his English subjects were excluded from his table. The first nobility stood behind him unnoticed, or retired in silence and disgust<sup>c</sup>. He entered, in a manner unsuitable to his dignity, into the quarrels between the royal sisters. He treated the Earl of Marlborough, who had deserved much at his hands, with coldness and contempt; because that nobleman and his lady were in high favour with the Princess of Denmark<sup>d</sup>. The King, however, ought not to be altogether blamed for a conduct which seemed impolitic. The Whigs, who had raised him to the throne, soured his temper by their rudeness and presumption<sup>e</sup>; and he suspected, that the Tories were ready to make use of his favours against his authority.

An opposi-  
tion in par-  
liament.

THE views of opposition extended farther than to the possession of power. They adopted, however, the true interest, and

<sup>a</sup> Burnet, vol. iii.<sup>b</sup> Ibid.<sup>c</sup> MS. 1689,<sup>d</sup> Burnet, vol. iii.<sup>e</sup> Secret Hist. of one Year.



favoured the prejudices of the nation, to give weight to their arguments. They extended their inquiries to the management of the war at sea in the preceding summer. Many, who were displeased at the disgrace thrown on Torrington, to gratify the Dutch, shewed an inclination to animadvert upon the inactivity of Ruffel, who had succeeded him in the command of the fleet. Ruffel exculpated himself, by laying the blame on the government. The commons turned their inquiries from the navy to the army. They detected frauds in the musters. They found misapplications of money in the accounts of contingencies. In examining into the abuses of civil offices, they came to a resolution agreeable to the people, but distressful to government. They voted, that all the profits arising from every place under the crown, above five hundred pounds, should be applied to the charge of the war<sup>s</sup>. The speaker of the house of commons, the commissioners of the great seal, the judges, ministers at foreign courts, and the officers of the fleet and army, were excepted. The ministry, alarmed at this formidable resolve, made some members of the house sensible, by places and pensions, that the proposed reformation was contrary to their own interest<sup>t</sup>. New exceptions were made; and even the resolve itself, at length, was dropt.

THIS politic mode of convincing the most obstinate members, smoothed the passage of the supplies through the lower house. The grants amounted to more than three millions, for the service of the succeeding year. Though the Irish pacification displeased the nation, little animadversion was made upon that important measure in parliament. To facilitate the execution of the terms granted by Ginckle, a bill was introduced, early in the session<sup>u</sup>, for abrogating the oaths of supremacy and allegiance in Ireland. The oaths of fidelity and allegiance taken in England were substituted in their place. On a bill for regulating trials in cases of

Their proceedings.

<sup>s</sup>. Dec. 12.

<sup>t</sup>. Burnet, vol. iii.

<sup>u</sup>. Oct. 28.



C H A P.  
X.

1691.

high treason, a difference happened between the two houses of parliament. The commons disapproved of an alteration made by the lords in the forms of their own trials. Conference followed conference. Both parties were obstinate, and the bill was lost. The affairs of the East-India company engrossed a great part of the attention of the commons in the present session. Several merchants petitioned against the company, and their allegations, after repeated replies, were considered as sufficiently proved. The commons brought in a bill <sup>x</sup>, upon various resolutions, for the establishment of a new East-India company. The debates continued three weeks. The house, at length, addressed the King to dissolve the present company, and to constitute another, according to the powers reserved in their charter. William demanded time to answer. He seemed inclined to countenance the company; and the whole affair was laid before the privy-council.

William embarks for Holland.

THOUGH the opposition suffered the supplies to pass through the house of commons, they carried some bills that were disagreeable to the King. A bill was brought in, and passed by the two houses, for ascertaining the salaries and commissions of the judges. It deprived the King of the power of stopping the former, or annulling the latter, except for misbehaviour in office, or a perversion of justice. William was not of a complexion to yield any part of the power which the prerogatives of the crown had placed in his hands. He peremptorily refused his assent to a bill highly suitable to those principles which had placed him on the throne. On the twenty-ninth of February, he adjourned the parliament with a speech, in which he warmly thanked the commons for their great supplies. He acquainted the two houses of his intention of going beyond sea <sup>y</sup>. He ordered them to adjourn themselves to the twelfth of April. To gratify the Tories, whom he found to be the best friends of his power, he admitted the Earls of

<sup>x</sup> Jan. 16, 1692.

<sup>y</sup> Journals, Feb. 29.



Rochester and Ranelagh, the Lord Cornwallis, and Sir Edward Seymour, into the privy-council<sup>2</sup>. Seymour succeeded Sir John Lowther, another Tory, at the board of treasury; and Cornwallis was constituted, in the room of the Earl of Pembroke, a commissioner of the admiralty. These men had uniformly opposed his measures, disputed his title, and reflected on his conduct<sup>a</sup>; but he forgot, however, their avowed dislike to his person, in their attachment to the prerogative of the crown. He embarked, on the fifth of March, for Holland, having devolved the administration of affairs, as usual, upon the Queen<sup>b</sup>.

AN action of unexampled barbarity disgraced, in Scotland, the government of William, in the commencement of the year 1692. In the preceding August, in consequence of the pacification with the Highlanders, a proclamation of indemnity had been issued to such insurgents as should take the oaths to the King and Queen on or before the last day of December. The chiefs of the few tribes who had been in arms for James, complied, soon after, with the proclamation, except Macdonald of Glenco; and even HE failed in submitting within the limited time, more from accident than design. In the end of December he came to Colonel Hill, who commanded the garrison in Fort-William, to take the oaths of allegiance to the government. Hill, having furnished Macdonald with a letter to Sir Colin Campbell, sheriff of the county of Argyle, directed him to repair immediately to Inverary, to make his submission, in a legal manner, before that magistrate. The way to Inverary lay across almost impassable mountains. The season was extremely rigorous, and the whole country covered with a deep snow. So eager, however, was Macdonald to take the oaths, before the limited time should expire, that, though the road lay within half a mile of his own house, he would not stop to visit his family. After various obstructions,

1692.  
Affairs of  
Scotland.

<sup>2</sup> Kennet.

<sup>a</sup> Burnet, vol. iii.

<sup>b</sup> Kennet, vol. iii.



C H A P.  
X.

1692.

he arrived at Inverary. But the time being elapsed, the sheriff hesitated to receive his submission. Macdonald, however, prevailed at last over his scruples, with importunities, and even with tears<sup>c</sup>.

## Massacre

SIR John Dalrymple, afterwards Earl of Stair, a man of profligate principles, attended King William, as secretary of state for Scotland. Taking advantage of Macdonald's neglecting to take the oaths within the time prescribed, he procured from the King a warrant of military execution against him and his whole tribe. As a mark of his own eagerness, or to save Dalrymple, William signed the warrant, both above and below, with his own hand. The secretary, in letters expressive of a brutal ferocity of mind, urged the military officers who commanded in the Highlands to execute their orders with the utmost rigour. Campbell of Glenlyon, a captain in the Earl of Argyle's regiment, and two subalterns, were ordered, with one hundred and twenty men, to repair to Glenco on the first of February. Campbell, being uncle to young Macdonald's wife, was received by the father with friendship and hospitality. The men were treated in the houses of his tenants with free quarters and kind entertainment. Till the thirteenth of February, the troops lived in good humour and familiarity with the people. The officers themselves, on the very night of the massacre, passed the evening and played at cards in Macdonald's house. In the night, Lieutenant Lindsay, with a party of soldiers, called in a friendly manner at his door. He was instantly admitted. Macdonald, as he was rising from his bed to receive his guest, was shot dead behind with two bullets, which entered the back part of his head. His wife had already put on her clothes; but she was stript naked by the soldiers, who tore the rings from her fingers with their teeth<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> Inquiry into the Massacre of Glenco. State Tracts, vol. iii.<sup>d</sup> Ibid.



THE slaughter now became general. To prevent the pity of the soldiers to their hosts, their quarters had been changed the night before. Neither age nor infirmity was spared. Some women, in defending their children, were killed. Boys, imploring mercy, were shot by officers, on whose knees they hung. In one place, nine persons, as they sat enjoying themselves at table, were shot dead by the soldiers. The assassins are even said to have made a sport of death. At Inverrigen, in Campbell's own quarters, nine men were first bound by the soldiers, then shot at intervals, one by one. Near forty persons were massacred by the troops. Several, who fled to the mountains, perished by famine and the inclemency of the season. Those who escaped owed their lives to a tempestuous night. Lieutenant-colonel Hamilton, who had the charge of the execution from Dalrymple, was on his march with four hundred men, to occupy all the passes which led from the valley of Glenco. He was obliged to stop by the severity of the weather, which proved the safety of the unfortunate tribe. He entered the valley the next day. He laid all the houses in ashes, and carried away all the cattle and spoil, which were divided among the officers and soldiers.

CHAP.  
X.1692.  
of Glenco.

ALL Europe, as well as Britain, was shocked at the particulars of a massacre, at once barbarous, impolitic, and inhuman. The rigour of the warrant, the circumstances of its execution, the mask of friendship under which an unsuspecting and unarmed people were butchered by soldiers, could scarce be exaggerated by the enemies of William, or defended by his friends. The blame was laid by the latter on the minister. They affirmed, that the King, ever slow in transacting business<sup>e</sup>, had signed the warrant, among other papers, without inquiry. Some, with a mixture of absurdity and injustice, defended the measure itself, as consistent

Observations.

<sup>e</sup> State Tracts, vol. iii.<sup>f</sup> Burnet, vol. iii.



C H A P.  
X.

1692.

with the laws of Scotland. Others averred, that the officers extended their rigour beyond the letter of their orders. Though the opponents of William owned, that he was instigated to the measure by Dalrymple, they would not allow that he could be ignorant of the contents of a paper, which, apparently to screen his secretary, he had signed both above and below. Warrants of fire and sword, they acknowledged, had been often granted in Scotland; but they were seldom executed with any degree of rigour, and never against men who were not at the time actually in arms. If the troops exceeded their orders, a point by no means clear, the King, they said, in approving afterwards of their conduct, made their cause his own. He would not permit the actors in this tragedy to be punished. He even promoted the most active, and distinguished them with his favour<sup>s</sup>.

<sup>s</sup> State Tracts, vol. iii. p. 914.

BAYERISCHE  
STAATS-  
BIBLIOTHEK  
MÜNCHEN

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.























